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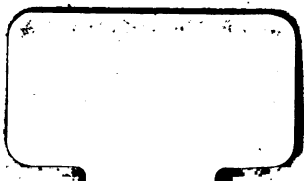
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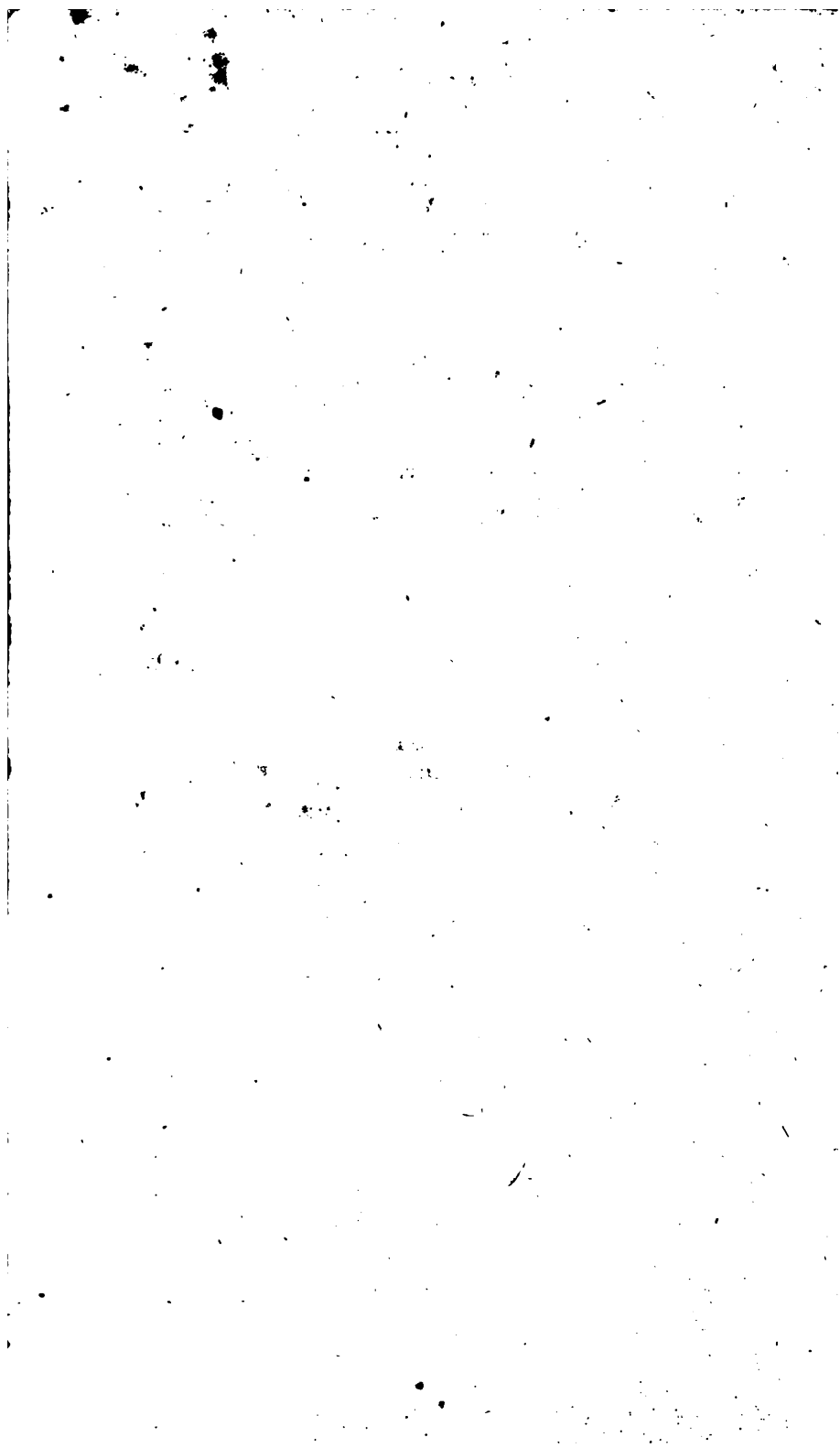
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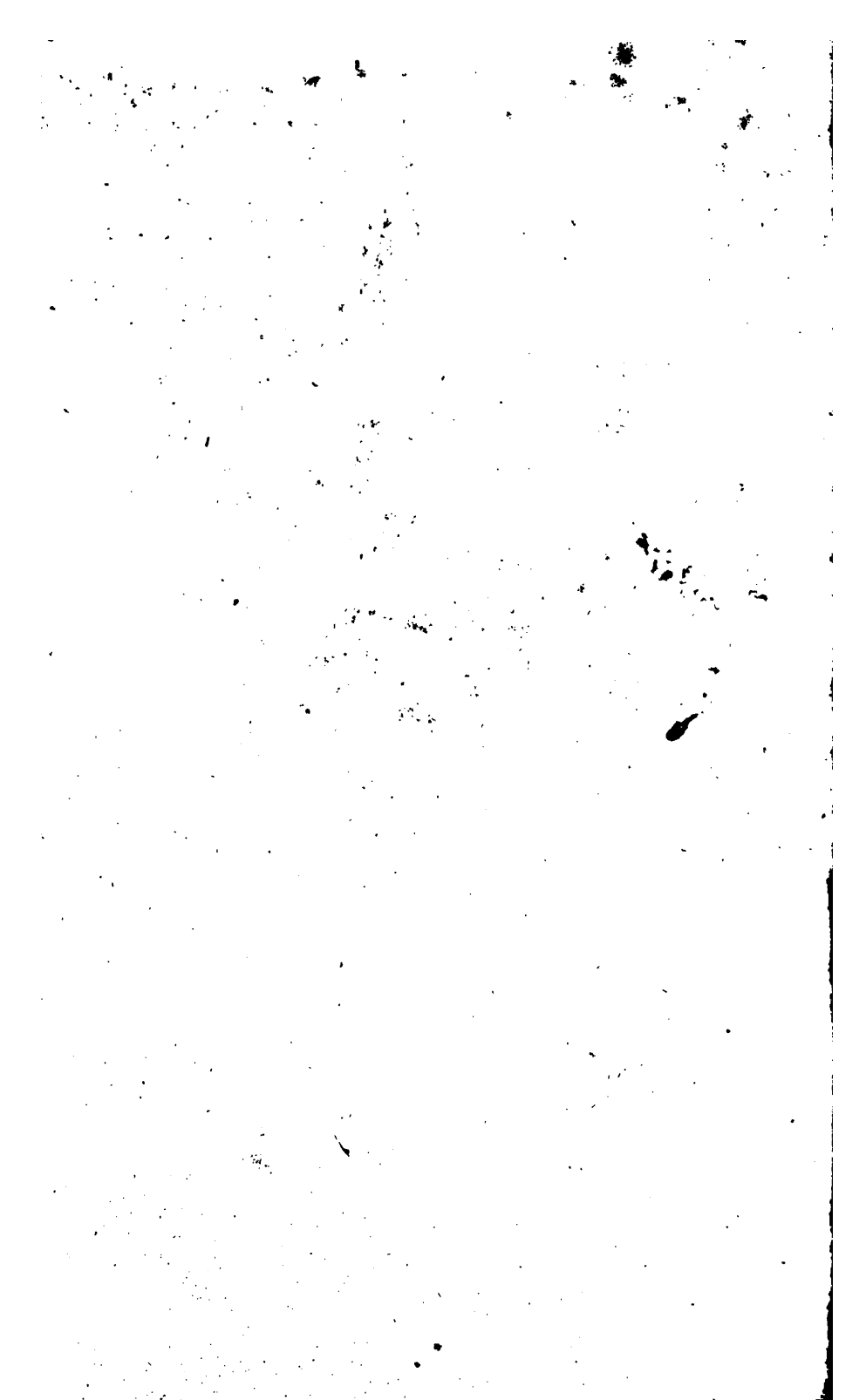
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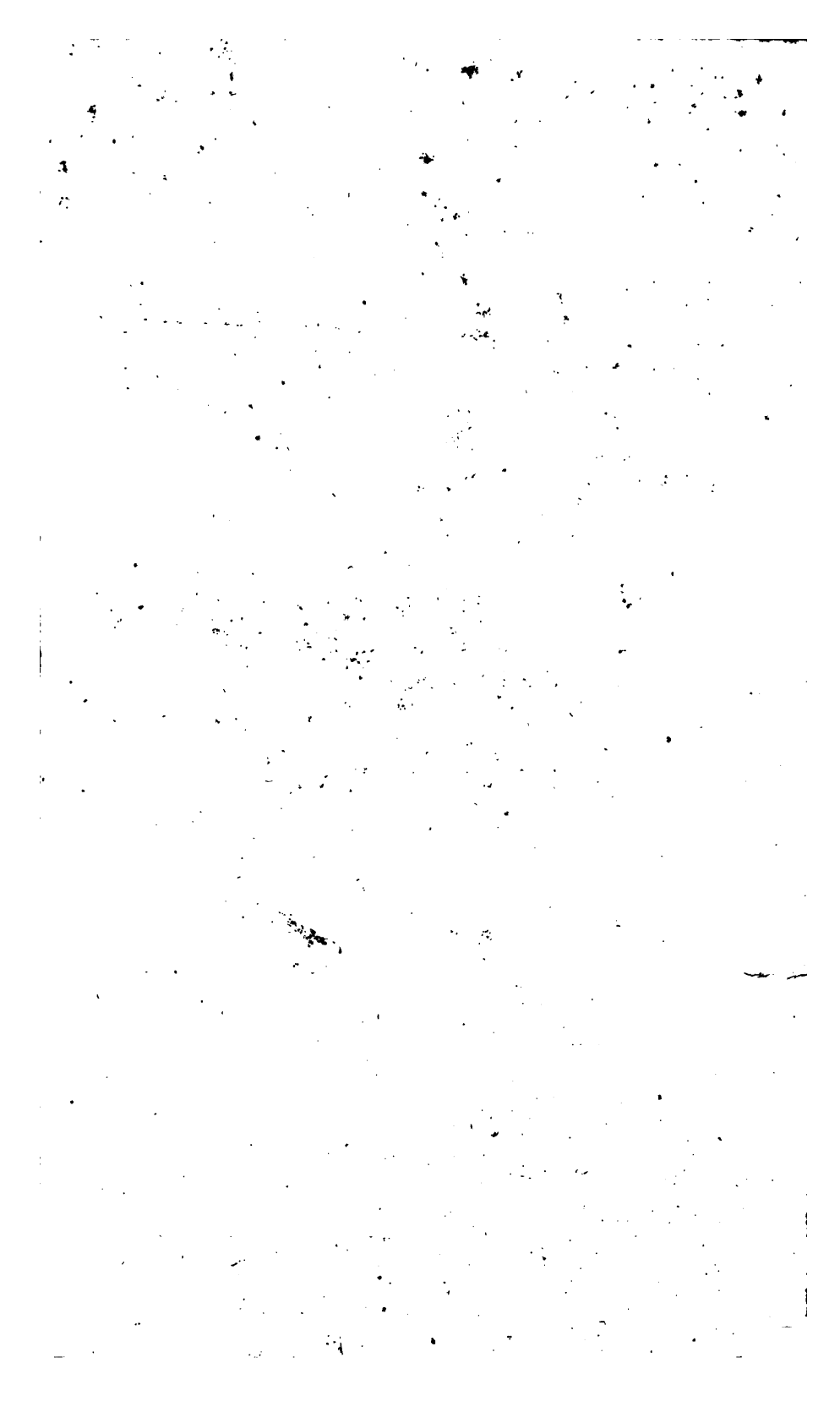
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2231 E. 207











A N
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

Illustrated with
CHARTS, MAPS, NOTES, &c.
A N D
A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

*Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξίχθησθαι μὴ κατὰ δύναμιν ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐποήσεως ἀκρίτως
ἀπὸρ ἱστορίαι συνῆξαν ἰσχύοντες.* Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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OF THE

N I N T H V O L U M E.

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A N

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

C H A P. XXVIII.

The History of the Cappadocians.

S E C T. I.

The Description of Cappadocia.

THIS country was known to the ancients by the *Name and*
name of Syria or Assyria, and the inhabitants by *division.*
that of Leucosyri. It borrowed the name of
Cappadocia, according to Pliny^a, from the river Cappa-
doux; according to Herodianus^b, from Cappadocus, the
founder of this nation and kingdom. Cappadocia, in an-
cient times, comprised all that country which lies be-
tween Mount Taurus and the Euxine sea; and was di-
vided by the Persians into two satrapies, or governments;
by the Macedonians, into two kingdoms, the one called
Cappadocia ad Taurum, and Cappadocia Magna; the
other Cappadocia ad Pontum, and commonly Pontus.
Cappadocia Magna, or Cappadocia properly so called,
lies between the 38th and 41st degrees of north latitude;
bounded by Pontus on the north; by Lycania, and part
of Armenia Minor on the south; by Galatia on the west;

^a Lib. vi. cap. 3.

^b Herodian, apud Stephan.

and by the Euphrates, and part of Armenia Minor on the east. Under king Archelaus, and some of his predecessors, Cappadocia was divided into ten prefectures, five of which lay near Mount Taurus; viz. Melitena, Cataonia, Cilicia, Tyanitis, Issauritis; the other five comprehended the remaining part of the kingdom; but Strabo gives no information as to their situation, and the towns of note which they contained.

Cities.

The metropolis of all Cappadocia, in ancient times, was Mazaca, or Eusebia, called afterwards Cæsarea, by Tiberius, in honour of Augustus. This latter name it still retains, being called by the inhabitants Kefaria. It is built round a rock, as Tavernier informs us, on the top of which stands a castle, and is still a populous and considerable city. It was the see of the renowned St. Basil, and its archbishop holds the first rank among the prelates who are under the patriarch of Constantinople. The other cities of note in Cappadocia are, Comana, called Comana Cappadocia, to distinguish it from another city of the same name in Pontus. Nyssa, in Christian times, the see of Gregory, surnamed Nyssenus, and brother to St. Basil. Nazianzum, the see and place of nativity of another Gregory, no less celebrated by the writers of ecclesiastical history. Archelais, so called from Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who either founded or repaired and embellished it. Diocæsarea, placed by Pliny in Cappadocia, by others in Phrygia. Faustropolis, so called in honour of Faustina, wife to the emperor Antoninus. Cabiſtra, mentioned by Tully in his letters^c. Pterium, memorable for the overthrow of Cræsus by Cyrus, which was attended with the ruin of the Lydian kingdom.

Rivers.

The rivers of this country that deserve any notice, are, the Melas, which rises in the western borders of Galatia, but passes through the southern borders of this kingdom and Armenia, and falls into the Euphrates; the Halys, which rising near Nazianzum, bends first to the west, then to the north, passes through Galatia and Paphlagonia, and discharges itself into the Euxine sea, between Sinope and Amisus; the Iris, now Cafalmach, which, as Strabo informs us, passed through Amasia, his own country, and, receiving the Themiscrya, falls into the Euxine sea, not far from Amisus.

^c Cic. lib. xv. Epist. 11. ad Senat. & ad Attic. lib. v. Epist. 18.

This country produces excellent wines, and most kinds of fruit; and was formerly rich in mines of silver, brass, iron, and alum; affording also alabaster, crystal, jasper, and onyx-stone. But it was chiefly celebrated by the ancients for its breed of horses, which were, and still are, in great request. Some parts of Cappadocia are very mountainous and barren, the Antitaurus running through those provinces which border on the two Armenias. In this part of Cappadocia stands Mount Argæus, of such an extraordinary height, that one may see, as some authors relate, from the top of it, the Euxine sea on one side, and the Mediterranean on the other.

Soil and climate.

Cappadocia was probably peopled by Togarmah, the last son of Gomer, and his descendents.

Origin.

As to the state of this nation in the early times, we find no traces in history. Cappadocia [was, without all doubt, a province of the kingdom of Lydia; and after the overthrow of Cræsus, passed from the Lydians to the Persians, to whom the Cappadocians paid an annual tribute, as Strabo writes^d, of fifteen hundred horses, two thousand mules, and fifty thousand sheep. The first king of Cappadocia we find mentioned in history is Pharnaces, a noble Persian, who, having saved Cyrus from a ravenous lion, running full speed against him while he was hunting, was rewarded with his sister Atossa, and the kingdom of Cappadocia. This country was afterwards subdued by the Macedonians, and changed into a province; but again restored to its former state by Ariarathes III. This prince, using the opportunity afforded by the dissensions that reigned among the successors of Alexander, put Amyntas their governor to death, and, with forces raised in Armenia, reinstated himself in the kingdom, which he transmitted to his posterity; who held it till the reign of Ariarathes VIII. the last of the royal race of Pharnaces. Two other families reigned in Cappadocia, namely, those of Ariobarzanes and Archelaus; but under the latter the kingdom was changed into a province of the Roman empire, nor ever more returned to its former state. It was enlarged under the emperors, by the addition of Pontus, and part of Paphlagonia; and thus it stood in the time of Ptolemy, who reckons Pontus Galaticus, Cappadocius, and Polemonaicus, as parts of this province. It was afterwards divided into ten prefectures; but, in the time of Constantine the Great,

Govern-ment.

^d Strab. lib. xii. p. 370.

Religion.

Pontus, Lycaonia, and Pisidia, being made distinct provinces, Cappadocia was confined to its former bounds (A).

The religion of the ancient Cappadocians was much the same with that of the Persians. At Comana there was a stately and rich temple, consecrated to Bellona, whose priests and attendants of both sexes amounted, in Strabo's time, to the number of six thousand, and upwards. The priests and their attendants used to represent battles on stated days, cutting and wounding each other in a transport of enthusiastic fury. No less famous and magnificent were the temples of Apollo Catanius, or Cataonius, at Dastacum; and of Jupiter in the province of Morimena, which last had three thousand sacred servants, or religious votaries. The chief priest was next in rank to that of Comana, and had, as Strabo informs us^e, a yearly revenue of fifteen talents. Diana Persica was worshipped in the city of Castaballa, where women, devoted to the worship of that goddess, were reported to tread bare-foot on burning coals, without receiving any harm. The temples of Diana, at Diospolis, and of Anias, at Zela, were likewise held in great veneration both by the Cappadocians and Armenians, who flocked to them from all parts. In the latter were tendered all oaths in matters of consequence; and the chief among the priests was no way inferior in dignity, power, or wealth, to any in the kingdom, having a royal attendance; and an uncontrolled power over all the inferior officers and servants of the temple.

Character.

The Cappadocians, in the time of the Romans, were reputed so vicious, lewd, and addicted to all manner of vice, that, besides the share they had in the old Greek proverb, they were so infamous among other nations, that a wicked and impious man was emphatically called a Cappadocian.

^e Strab. lib. xii. p. 375.

(A) The emperor Valens divided Cappadocia into two provinces, Cappadocia Prima, and Cappadocia Secunda, making Tyana the metropolis of the latter. We are told, that Valens, who was a great abettor of the Arian faction, did this in opposition to St. Basil, who, being bishop of Cæsarea, the metropolis of all Cappadocia, prevented the spread-

ing of that heresy in places under his jurisdiction. In this state Cappadocia continued till the erecting of the new empire of Trebisonde, with which it fell into the hands of the Turks, by whom the whole province, with the addition of Pontus, is now called Amasia, after the name of that city, where the beglerbeg of Anatolia resides.

We

We have no system of their laws. As to their commerce, they carried on a very considerable trade in horses, great numbers whereof their country produced; and we read of them in Scripture, as frequenting the fairs of Tyre with this commodity. As Cappadocia abounded with mines of silver, brass, iron, and alum, and afforded alabaster, crystal, and jasper, it is reasonable to suppose that they supplied the neighbouring countries with these commodities. From the reigns of their kings we shall be able to judge of their military capacity.

Laws and trade.

S E C T. II.

The Reigns of the Kings of Cappadocia.

THE first king of Cappadocia we read of in history, was Pharnaces, preferred by Cyrus to the crown, who gave him in marriage his sister Atossa; this is all we read of him in ancient writers. Xenophon calls him Aribæus, and says, he was killed in a war with the Hyrcanians.

Pharnaces.

Pharnaces was succeeded by his son Smerdis, mentioned only by Diodorus; and he by his son Atamnas, or Ariaramnes. This last cultivated a good understanding with the Persians, and served in the army of Darius, the son of Hytaspes, by whom he was employed against the Scythians; in which expedition he took Marfagetes, their king's brother, and presented him bound to Darius.

*Smerdis.
Atamnas.*

His son Anaphas is celebrated by the ancients for his skill in military affairs. He renewed the alliance which his father had made with the Persians; and was chosen one of the seven princes of Persia, probably in the room of Intaphernes, who was put to death by Darius for plotting a change in the government.

Anaphas.

Anaphas II. succeeded his father; but did nothing worth mentioning. His son Datames succeeded him, the first of his family that waged war against the Persians; we know not on what provocation. In that war, having hazarded a general engagement, his army was cut in pieces, and himself slain.

*Anaphas
II.
Datames.*

His son, Ariaramnes, reigned fifty years. In his time the Persians invaded Cappadocia, and having reduced great part of it, appointed Datames, brother to Ariaramnes, governor, by way of reward for his services against the Cadusians, whom he had subdued.

Ariaramnes.

Ariarathes
I. Ariarathes ascended the throne on his father's death, and admitted his brother Olophernes to partake of the same power. He accompanied Artaxerxes Ochus in his expedition against the Egyptians; and, on that occasion, signalized himself above all the other commanders of the Persian army. He was succeeded by his brother Olophernes, who reigned alone; but, in the succession to the crown, preferred Ariarathes, his brother's son, to his own children.

Ariarathes
II. Ariarathes II. reigned in the time of Alexander the Great, and continued faithful to the Persians at a time when most of the other princes submitted to the conqueror. Alexander was prevented, by death, from invading his dominions; but Perdicas, marching against him with a powerful and well disciplined army, dispersed his forces, and having taken Ariarathes prisoner, crucified him, with all those of the royal blood whom he could get into his power^f. Diodorus^g tells us, that he was killed in the battle. He is said to have reigned eighty-two years.

Ariarathes
III. His son, Ariarathes III. having escaped the general slaughter of the royal family, fled into Armenia, where he lay concealed till the civil dissensions, which rose among the Macedonians, gave him a fair opportunity of recovering his paternal kingdom, which he transmitted to his posterity. Amyntas, at that time governor of Cappadocia, opposed him, but was overcome in a pitched battle, and the Macedonians were obliged to abandon the fortified places which they possessed. Ariarathes, after a peaceable reign of many years, left the kingdom to his son,

Ariaramnes
II. Ariaramnes II. who did nothing worth mentioning, but was greatly respected by all the neighbouring princes on account of his good-nature, justice, and other princely virtues. During his reign the kingdom was in a more flourishing condition than it had been under any of his predecessors, he having maintained a good understanding with the adjoining states, and applied himself more to the arts of peace than war. He was succeeded by his son,

Ariarathes
IV. Ariarathes IV. whom he had taken for an associate in the kingdom during his life-time. Ariarathes proved a very warlike prince, and having overcome Arsaces, founder of the Parthian monarchy, considerably enlarged his own dominions.

Ariarathes
V. He was succeeded by his son Ariarathes V. who marrying the daughter of Antiochus the Great, entered into

^f Appian. in Mithridat. Curtius, lib. xii. ^g Diodor. lib. xviii.

an alliance with that prince against the Romans; but Antiochus being conquered, Ariarathes sent ambassadors to sue for peace, which he obtained, after having paid two hundred talents, by way of fine, for taking up arms against the people of Rome without any just provocation. He afterwards concluded an alliance with the Romans, and assisted them with men and money against Perſes; on which consideration, he was, by the ſenate, honoured with the title of friend and ally of the people of Rome. In ſome diſputes that aroſe between him and Pharnaces II. king of Pontus, concerning the confines of Cappadocia and Galatia, he referred the whole matter to the Roman legates, who decided in his favour, as the juſtice of his cauſe demanded. He left the kingdom, in a very flouriſhing condition, to his ſon Mithridates, who, upon his acceſſion to the crown, took the name of Ariarathes.

Ariarathes VI. ſurnamed Philopator, from the filial reſpect and love he ſhewed his father, diſpatched ambassadors to Rome, to acquaint the ſenate with his acceſſion to the crown, and to renew the alliance which his father had made with the people of Rome. The ambassadors were kindly received, the alliance was renewed, and the king highly commended by the ſenate for the reſpect he had ſhewn to the republic. He reſtored Mithrobarzanes, ſon to Zadriades, king of the Leſſer Armenia, to his father's kingdom, merely out of good-nature, though he foreſaw the Armenians would embrace that opportunity to join Artaxias, who threatened him with war, and was ready to invade Cappadocia. But all theſe differences were ſettled before they came to open rupture, by the Roman legates, Tiberius Gracchus, Lucius Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucius. Ariarathes, ſeeing himſelf thus delivered from an impending war by the mediation of the Romans, ſent ambassadors to preſent the ſenate with a golden crown, and tender his ſervice wherever they thought fit to employ his arms. The ſenate accepted of the crown, and requited the preſent with a ſtaff, and chair of ivory, which they beſtowed on ſuch only as were looked upon as entirely attached to their intereſt. Demetrius Soter, king of Syria, had offered him in marriage his ſiſter, the widow of Perſes, king of Macedonia; but Ariarathes had rejected the offer, for fear of giving offence to the Romans. For this reſuſal, in particular, the ſenate returned him thanks, and enjoined the ambassadors to acquaint their maſter, that the ſenate and people of Rome were fully convinced of his attachment to them, and ready to ſhew, on all oc-

Ariarathes VI.

His attachment to the Romans.

cations, how much they regarded the interests of their true friends and allies¹, among whom they accounted Ariarathes the chief, and most faithful. The king in a little time found, by experience, that their protestations were sincere; for Orophernes, or, as others call him, Holophernes, pretending to be the lawful son of Ariarathes V. and the elder brother, had recourse to Demetrius Soter, who was greatly incensed against Ariarathes for slighting the match which he had proposed with his sister. Demetrius was easily prevailed upon to espouse his cause, though he knew that Orophernes was but a supposititious, or, as some write, a natural, son of the deceased king. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, was ordered by the Romans to join Ariarathes with all his forces, and assist him against Demetrius to the utmost of his power. He assisted him accordingly, but to no effect; for the armies of the confederate kings were worsted, and Ariarathes was obliged to abandon the kingdom to his rival¹.

*Ariarathes
driven out
by Oro-
phernes.*

Yr. of Fl.

2189.

Ante Chr.

159.

*Is restored
by Attalus.*

Orophernes, being put in possession of Cappadocia, dispatched ambassadors to Rome with a golden crown of great value; which the senate declined to accept, till such time as they heard his pretensions to the kingdom of Cappadocia, which he, by suborned witnesses, made appear so plain, that the senate decreed Ariarathes and he should reign together as brothers and partners in the kingdom². But Orophernes was the same year driven out by Attalus, brother to Eumenes, and his successor in the kingdom of Pergamus, and Ariarathes restored to the entire possession of his paternal kingdom. Orophernes being expelled, Ariarathes sent ambassadors to demand of the Prieniens four hundred talents, which Orophernes had deposited in their hands. The Prieniens honestly replied, that, as they had been trusted with the money, they could not, without breach of the trust reposed in them, deliver it to any one except Orophernes himself, or such as came in his name. Hereupon the king entered their territories in a hostile manner, and, wasting them with fire and sword, though he should frighten the Prieniens into a compliance with his demands. But neither his threats, nor the calamities they suffered, could prevail upon them to betray their trust; even in the height of their miseres, while their city was besieged by the joint forces of Ariarathes and Attalus, they found means to restore the entire sum to

*Makes
war a-
gainst the
Prieniens;*

¹ Polyb. Legat. 119. Diodor. Sicul. Legat. 24. ² Polyb. lib. iii. p. 161. Liv. lib. xlvii. Justin. lib. xxxv. cap. 1. Appian. Syriac. p. 118. Zonar. ex Dion. ³ Appian. Syriac. p. 118.

Orophernes, though the king had threatened them with utter destruction, in case it was not delivered to him upon his entering the city, which he hoped to be master of in a few days. But, in the mean time, the Prienians appealing the Romans, the two kings were enjoined by the legates to raise the siege, and withdraw their forces, on pain of being deemed enemies to the republic. Ariarathes readily complied with the legate's orders; and marching into Syria, joined Alexander Epiphanes against Demetrius Soter, by whom he had been formerly driven out of his kingdom. In the first engagement Demetrius was slain, and his army entirely routed and dispersed; Ariarathes having on that occasion exhibited uncommon proofs of his courage and conduct.

and on Demetrius Soter.

Some years after this event, a war breaking out between the Romans and Aristonicus, who claimed the kingdom of Pergamus; in right of his father, he assisted the former to the utmost of his power, and was slain in the same battle in which P. Crassus, proconsul of Asia, was taken, and the Roman army cut in pieces. He left six sons by his wife Laodice, on whom the people of Rome bestowed Lycaonia and Cilicia. But Laodice, fearing her children, when they came of age, would take the government out of her hands, poisoned five of them, the youngest only having escaped her cruelty, by being privately conveyed out of the kingdom. Laodice was soon after put to death by the Cappadocians, who could not submit to her cruel and tyrannical government, and the young king placed on the throne of his ancestors¹.

Joins the Romans against Aristonicus, and is slain.

Ariarathes VII. soon after his accession to the crown, married Laodice, daughter to Mithridates the Great, in hopes of having in that prince a powerful friend to support him against Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who laid claim to part of Cappadocia. But Mithridates, without any regard either to friendship or affinity, suborned one Gordius to poison him; and, on his death, seized the kingdom, under pretence of maintaining the rights of the Cappadocians against Nicomedes, till the children of Ariarathes should be in a condition to govern and defend the kingdom for themselves. The Cappadocians were at first very thankful to Mithridates, as not entertaining any manner of suspicion against him; but finding him unwilling to resign the kingdom to the lawful heir, they rose up in

Ariarathes VII.

Is poisoned by Mithridates, who seizes the kingdom.

¹ Justin. lib. xxxvii. cap. 1.

arms, and, driving out all his garrisons, placed on the throne the eldest son of their deceased king, namely,

*Ariarathes
VIII.*

Ariarathes VIII. who was soon engaged in a war with Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, that prince laying claim to some of the provinces which bordered on this kingdom. In this war Mithridates joined his nephew, and not only forced Nicomedes to abandon Cappadocia, but deprived him of great part of his own dominions. A peace being at last concluded between the kings of Bithynia and Cappadocia, Mithridates, seeking some pretence to quarrel with Ariarathes, insisted upon his recalling Gordius, who had murdered his father: which proposal the other rejecting with abhorrence, both princes began to prepare for war. Mithridates first took the field, hoping to overrun Cappadocia before Ariarathes could be in a condition to make head against him. But, contrary to his expectation, he was met on the frontiers by Ariarathes, at the head of an army no way inferior to his own. Thus anticipated, he invited Ariarathes to a conference; and, in the sight of both armies, stabbed him with a dagger, which he had concealed under his garment, as we have related in the History of Pontus. This blow struck such terror into the Cappadocians, that they immediately dispersed, and gave Mithridates an opportunity of possessing himself of the kingdom without the least opposition. But he did not long enjoy his unjust acquisition. The Cappadocians, not being able to endure the tyranny and cruelty of his prefects, shook off the yoke, and recalling the king's brother, who had fled into the province of Asia, proclaimed him king.

*Murdered
by Mithri-
dates.*

*Ariarathes
IX.*

*Is driven
out by Mi-
thridates,
and dies of
grief.*

Ariarathes IX. was scarce settled on the throne, when Mithridates invaded his kingdom at the head of a very numerous army; defeated him with great slaughter, and obliged him to abandon the kingdom to the conqueror. The king soon after died of grief, and Mithridates bestowed Cappadocia on his son, who was then but eight years old, giving him also the name of Ariarathes^a. But Nicomedes Philopator, king of Bithynia, fearing that Mithridates, having now got possession of the whole kingdom of Cappadocia, would invade his territories, suborned a youth to pass himself upon the senate for the third son of Ariarathes, and to present them a petition, in order to be restored to his father's kingdom. With him he sent

^a Justin. lib. xxxviii. cap. 1, 2.

to Rome Laodice, sister to Mithridates, whom he had married after the death of her former husband Ariarathes. Laodice declared before the senate, that she had three sons by Ariarathes, and that the petitioner was one of them; but that she had been obliged to keep him concealed, lest he should undergo the same fate that befel his brothers. The senate assured him, that they would reinstate him in his kingdom; for the transaction was carried on with such art, that they had not the least suspicion of any deceit. But, in the mean time, Mithridates having notice of these transactions, dispatched Gordius to Rome, to deceive the senate, and persuade them, that the youth, to whom he had resigned the kingdom of Cappadocia, was the lawful son of the late king, and grandson to Ariarathes, who had assisted the Romans against Aristonicus, and lost his life in their serviceⁿ. This unexpected embassy induced the senate to enquire more narrowly into the truth; the whole plot was discovered, and Mithridates ordered to resign Cappadocia. Paphlagonia was at the same time taken for Nicomedes, and both kingdoms declared free. But the Cappadocians sent ambassadors to Rome, acquainting the senate, that they could not live without a king. The senate gave them leave to elect a king of their own nation, for the royal family of Pharnaces was extinct. They chose unanimously Ariobarzanes; and their election was approved by the senate, that prince having, on all occasions, shewn himself a steady friend to the Romans^o.

Mithridates ordered by the Romans to resign Cappadocia.

Ariobarzanes had scarce taken possession of his new kingdom, when he was dispossessed by Tigranes, king of the Greater Armenia, who resigned it to the son of Mithridates, according to the articles of an alliance previously concluded between these two princes. Ariobarzanes fled to Rome, and, having engaged the senate in his cause, he returned into Asia with Sylla, who was enjoined to restore him to his kingdom. This service he performed, after having, with a small body of men, routed Gordius, who came to meet him on the borders of Cappadocia, at the head of a numerous army. Soon after Sylla's return, Ariobarzanes was expelled anew by Ariarathes, the son of Mithridates, on whom Tigranes had bestowed the kingdom of Cappadocia. This event obliged Sylla to return into Asia, where he was attended with the same success, and Ariobarzanes placed again on the throne. After the death of Sylla, he was the third

Ariobarzanes I. driven out by Tigranes and Mithridates;

but restored by the Romans.

ⁿ Justin. ubi supra lib. xiii. p. 540.

^o Justin. lib. xxxviii. cap. 2. Strab.

*Resigns the
crown to
his son*

time forced by Mithridates to abandon his kingdom; but was soon restored by Pompey; who, after having entirely defeated Mithridates near Mount Stella, rewarded Ariobarzanes, for his services during the war, with the provinces of Sophene, Gordiene, and great part of Cilicia. But he being now advanced in years, and desirous to spend the remainder of his life in ease, and free from cares, resigned the crown to his son Ariobarzanes, in presence of Pompey, and never afterwards interfered with public affairs.

*Ariobar-
zanes II.*

Ariobarzanes II. proved a no less faithful ally and friend to the Romans than his father had been. He was very serviceable to Cicero during the time he was proconsul of Cilicia. The civil war breaking out between Cæsar and Pompey, he sided with the latter; but, after the death of Pompey, was received into favour by Cæsar, who even bestowed upon him great part of Armenia. While Cæsar was engaged in a war with the Egyptians, Pharnaces, king of Pontus, invaded his territories, and deprived him of his paternal kingdom, as well as of his new acquisitions. But Pharnaces being overcome by Cæsar, he was not only restored to his kingdom, but honoured with new titles by the Romans. After the murder of Cæsar, he refused to join Cassius and Brutus, who therefore, having declared him an enemy to the republic, invaded his dominions; and, having taken him prisoner, caused him to be put to death.

*Is put to
death by
Cassius and
Brutus.*

*Ariobar-
zanes III.*

He was succeeded by his brother Ariobarzanes III. who was by Marc Antony deprived both of his life and kingdom. In him ended the family of Ariobarzanes.

Archelaus.

Archelaus, the grandson of that Archelaus who, in the Mithridatic war, commanded in chief against Sylla, was, by Antony, placed on the throne of Cappadocia, though not related either to the family of Pharnaces, or to that of Ariobarzanes. His preferment was entirely owing to his mother Glaphyra, a woman of great beauty, but of a very loose behaviour; who, having gained Antony's good graces, obtained, by way of reward for her compliances, the kingdom of Cappadocia for her son. In the war between Augustus and Antony he joined the latter; yet, at the intercession of the Cappadocians, was not only pardoned by Augustus, but received from him Armenia the Lesser, and Cilicia Trachea, for having assisted the Roman prætors in clearing the seas of pirates, who greatly infested the coasts of Asia. He contracted a friendship with Herod the Great, king of Judæa, and even married his

his daughter Glaphyra to Alexander, Herod's son. Herod becoming jealous of his son, as if he aspired to the kingdom, Archelaus took a journey into Judæa, with no other view than to remove his suspicions, and reconcile him to his son; and his endeavours succeeded, though, on account of new suspicions, Alexander was afterwards, by his father's order, put to death. Herod accompanied in person Archelaus, on his return into Cappadocia, as far as Antioch, where he recommended him to Titus, then president of Syria, as the best friend he had. After the death of Alexander, Archelaus gave his children a princely education, and shewed a particular tenderness and concern for them till the day of his death. In the reign of Tiberius, he was summoned to appear before the senate; for he had been always hated by Tiberius, because, in his retirement at Rhodes, he had paid him no sort of court or distinction; an omission which proceeded from no pride or aversion to Tiberius, but from the warning given him by his friends at Rome: for Caius Cæsar, the presumptive heir to the empire, then lived, and had been sent to compose the affairs of the East; whence the friendship of Tiberius was then reckoned dangerous. But when he came to the empire, remembering how Archelaus had behaved, he enticed him to Rome by means of letters from Livia, who, without dissembling her son's resentment, promised him his pardon, provided he came to implore it in person. He obeyed the summons, and hastened to Rome; where he was received by the emperor with great wrath and contempt, and soon after accused as a criminal in the senate. The crimes alleged against him were mere fictions; but his concern, in seeing himself treated like a malefactor, was so great, that he died soon after of grief; or, as others say, laid violent hands on himself^p. He is said to have reigned fifty years. Pliny tells us^q, that he wrote a book of agriculture. Upon his death, the kingdom of Cappadocia was reduced to a province, and governed by those of the equestrian order.

*Hated by
Tiberius;*

*enticed to
Rome;*

*where he
dies, and
his kingdom
is reduced
to a Roman
province.*

^p Tacit. Annal. lib. i.

^q Plin. lib. xviii. cap. 3.

C H A P. XXIX.

The History of the Kings of Pergamus.

THE city of Pergamus we have already described in our history of Myſia, to which province it formerly belonged, and was ſubject to the ſame princes, till it became the metropolis of a ſeparate kingdom *. We ſhall therefore only add here, the hiſtory of the Pergamenian kings, who made a conſiderable figure among the potentates of Aſia, and proved very ſerviceable to the Romans in all their Aſiatic wars.

Yr. of Fl.
2065.
Ante Chr.
283.

Philetærus.

The firſt of his family we find mentioned in hiſtory was Philetærus, an eunuch, by birth a Paphlagonian, of mean deſcent, and in his youth a menial ſervant to Antigonus, one of Alexander's captains. He afterwards ſerved Lyſimachus, king of Thrace and Macedon, who appointed him keeper of his treaſures lodged in Pergamus. While he held this employment, Lyſimachus, at the inſtigation of his wife Arſinoe, barbarouſly murdered his ſon Agathocles, who had attended him in all his wars, and by whoſe conduct he had gained moſt of his victories. His death was publicly lamented by Philetærus, who was chiefly indebted to him for his preferment. Arſinoe, highly incenſed againſt him, found means, by degrees to ſupplant him in his maſter's favour; a circumſtance which he being apprized of, ſeized on the caſtle of Pergamus, and the treaſures which he had been entrusted with, to the amount of ninety thouſand talents, which he proffered, with his ſervice, to Seleucus, king of Syria. But both Lyſimachus and Seleucus dying, he kept the treaſures, and, with a ſtrong body of mercenaries, held the town till his death; which happened twenty years after he had revolted from Lyſimachus. He died in the eightieth year of his age, and is by ſome ſtyled prince, by others king of Pergamus; he was at leaſt the founder of this new kingdom, though perhaps he never aſſumed the title of king *. He left the kingdom to Eumenes his brother, or, as ſome write, his brother's ſon; who, availing himſelf of the diſſenſions that prevailed among the Seleucidæ, invaded Aſia, poſſeſſed himſelf of the principal places in

Eumenes I.

* See vol. iv. p. 383.

* Paryan. Attic. p. 7, & 9. Strabo, lib. xiii. p. 623. Appian. Syriac. p. 129.

that

that province, and; having hired a body of Galatians, defeated Antiochus as he was returning home, elated with a remarkable victory which he had gained over his brother Seleucus Callinicus¹. This victory put him in possession of the greater part of Asia; but he did not long enjoy his new acquisitions; for he died next year of immoderate drinking, in the twenty-second year of his sovereignty; for we do not find that he ever took upon him the title of king.

Eumenes was succeeded by Attalus I. the son of Attalus, brother to Philetærus by Antiochis the daughter of Achæus; for Attalus, though of a mean descent, being plentifully supplied with money by his brother Philetærus, visited most of the courts of the Asiatic princes, and was every where well received, being a man of excellent parts. He proved so serviceable to Achæus, who, revolting from Antiochus the Great, assumed the title of king, that he bestowed upon him his favourite daughter Antiochis. By her Attalus had one son named also Attalus; who, upon the death of Eumenes, took possession of Pergamus, and the places which he had added to his small principality. In the beginning of his reign he routed the Gauls with great slaughter, and forced them to abandon his territories, where they had proposed to settle. After this victory he assumed the title of king, and as such was acknowledged by all the neighbouring princes. Livy tells us, that he was the first of the Asiatic princes who refused to pay contribution to the Gauls, whom he defeated in a pitched battle². While Seleucus Ceraunus was employed in other wars, he raised a powerful army; and, entering Asia, subdued all the provinces on this side Mount Taurus; but was soon driven out of his new acquisitions by Seleucus, and his grandfather Achæus; who, entering into an alliance, deprived him of all his dominions, and even besieged him in his metropolis. Attalus, thus reduced to the last extremity, invited, with great promises the Gauls, settled in Thrace, to his assistance: they marched with all speed to Pergamus, obliged the enemy to raise the siege, and being headed by the king himself, retrieved in a short time all the cities and provinces they had lost.

Attalus, having thus recovered what the enemy had taken, while Achæus was busy in Paphlagonia, marched into Ionia, and the neighbouring provinces, where the

Yr. of Fl.

2107.

Ante Chr.

241.

Attalus I.

Routs the Gauls, and takes the title of king.

His conquests.

¹ Justin, lib. xxvii. cap. 2, & 3.

² Liv. lib. xxxviii.

*Enters into
an alliance
with
Rome.*

cities of Cuma, Smyrna, and Phocæa, voluntarily submitted; the Teians, Colophonians, with the inhabitants of Egea and Lemnos, sent deputies, declaring themselves ready to acknowledge him for their sovereign; the Carænes, on the other side the river Lycus, opened their gates to him, having first expelled Themistocles, whom Achæus had appointed governor of those provinces. From thence he advanced to Apia, and, encamping on the banks of the river Megistus, received homage from all the neighbouring nations. Here the Gauls, being alarmed by an eclipse of the moon, refused to pursue their march; a circumstance which stopped the career of his conquests, and obliged him to return to the Hellespont, where he gave the Gauls leave to settle, and allowed them a large and fruitful territory, with assurances that he would always assist and protect them to the utmost of his power. Having thus enlarged his dominions, he returned to Pergamus, where he received with great pomp and magnificence the Roman legate Lævius, and entered into an alliance with Rome, which secured to him all his acquisitions (B).

He joined the Romans in both their wars with Philip king of Macedon, who invaded his dominions, laying waste whole provinces; but was not able to reduce one city. In the second war Attalus had the command of the Rhodian fleet, with which he not only drove the Macedonians from the seas; but, in conjunction with his allies the Athenians, invaded Macedonia, and obliged Philip to abandon Attica, which he had greatly distressed, in order to defend his own kingdom. For those services the Athenians conferred upon Attalus all the favours they could devise, and even called one of their own tribes after

(B) In the reign of Attalus, a certain prophecy was found in the Sibylline books, by the college of the Decemviri, to whose care those books were entrusted, to this purport: "Whenever a foreign enemy invades Italy, he shall be driven out and overcome, if the image of the great mother of the gods at Ida, which fell from heaven, be sent for, and

brought to Rome." Whereupon five ambassadors were without delay dispatched to Attalus, who received them with all possible marks of friendship and kindness; and attending them in person to Pessinus in Phrygia, there delivered into their hands a stone which the inhabitants worshipped as the great mother of the gods (1).

(1) Polyb. lib. xxix. Liv. lib. ix.

his name; an honour which they had never before bestowed upon any foreigner ^v.

He died of an apoplexy, which seized him at Thebes in Boeotia, while he was making an harangue to the Boeotians, and exhorting them with more vehemency than his age and strength could bear, to enter into an alliance with the Romans against Philip, their common enemy. In the midst of his harangue he fell down speechless; but returning to himself, desired to be carried by sea from Thebes to Pergamus, where he died soon after his arrival ^z, in the seventy-second year of his age, and forty-third of his reign. He was a great encourager of learning, and wrote some books, which are often quoted by Pliny, Artemidorus, and Strabo. He caused the grammarian Daphidas to be thrown headlong from a rock, for speaking disrespectfully of Homer ^y. His generosity towards men of learning knew no bounds; whence he is highly commended by all the writers that flourished in his time; as is also his wife Apollonias, or, as others call her, Apollonis; whom, though of a mean extraction, they propose as a pattern of all princely virtues. By her he left four sons, Eumenes, Attalus, Philetærus, and Athenæus ^a.

His death.

He was succeeded by Eumenes, his eldest son, who, upon his accession to the crown, renewed the alliance which his father had made with the Romans, and observed it so religiously, that Antiochus the Great having offered him his daughter Antiochis in marriage, he declined his affinity, being convinced that Antiochus courted his friendship, with a view to strengthen himself against the Romans; for his eldest daughter he had bestowed on Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and offered the second to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, and was at that time making great preparations for war both by sea and land ^a. Eumenes, who was very jealous of so powerful a neighbour, did not fail to acquaint the senate with all his motions. In consequence of this intelligence, they sent P. Villius, and P. Sulpitius, under appearance of an embassy to Antiochus, but really to inform themselves of the preparations he was making; and, by often conversing with Hannibal, who was then in great esteem with Antiochus, either to abate his hatred towards the Romans,

Yr. of Fl.

2150.

Ante Chr.

198.

Eumenes II.

^v Liv. lib. xxxi. Polyb. Legat. 3. p. 786, 787. ^z Liv. lib. xxxiii. Polyb. p. 320. Plutarch. in Quinto Flaminio. ^y Suid. Val. Max. lib. 1. cap. 8. ^a Suidas in voce Attalus. ^a Polyb. Legat. 25.

*Inflames
the Romans
against
Antiochus.*

or make Antiochus jealous of him; for they apprehended Hannibal to be at the bottom of those vast preparations ^b. The ambassadors went first to Elæa, and from thence to Pergamus; for their instructions were to confer with Eumenes, before they repaired to the court of Antiochus. Eumenes did all that lay in his power to inflame them against Antiochus, assuring them, that he had nothing less in view than the empire of all Asia. Soon after the departure of the ambassadors, who returned very much dissatisfied with Antiochus, Eumenes sent his brother Attalus to Rome, to acquaint the senate, that Antiochus, at the persuasion of the Ætolians, had passed over into Greece with an army, consisting of ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants; and that the Ætolians were all to a man ready to join his forces. The senate received Attalus with the greatest demonstrations of friendship and kindness; returned thanks both to him, and the king his brother; provided him with lodgings at the expence of the public; and dismissed him with many presents; promising to send an army into Greece, which should defeat the king's measures, and keep in awe the Ætolians. Accordingly they sent M. Acilius consul into Greece, who, having vanquished Antiochus at Thermopylæ, obliged him to return into Asia ^c.

*Commands
the Roman
fleet.*

In this war Eumenes, who assisted the Romans with his navy, and all the land-forces he could raise, was appointed to command the Roman fleet likewise, in concert with C. Livius Salinator. This united navy happening to fall in with the fleet of Antiochus, which was returning from Greece into Asia, under the command of Polyxenidas, attacked them, sunk ten of their ships, took thirty, and dispersed the rest. This victory was in a great measure owing to Eumenes, who boarded some of the enemies ships in person, and during the whole action behaved with uncommon bravery. Some time after this engagement Eumenes, with a body of five thousand men, entered the territories of Antiochus; and, having laid waste all the country about Thyatira, returned to Canas, where the Roman fleet wintered, with an immense booty. While Eumenes was thus employed in aiding the Romans abroad, he was unexpectedly called home to the defence

^b Liv. lib. xxxiv. xxxv. Justin. lib. xxxi. cap. 4. Frontin. Stratag. lib. i. cap. 8. Appian. in Syriac. p. 90, 91. ^c Liv. lib. xxxvi. Plut. in Cato. Major. Appian. in Syriacis. Frontin. Stratag. lib. ii.

of his own country. Antiochus, invading his territories, laid waste the whole country about Elæa, and even sent his son Seleucus to lay siege to the royal city of Pergamus. Attalus, the king's brother, held out with a handful of men till the Achæans, the allies of Eumenes, sent a thousand foot and a hundred horse to his assistance. These were all chosen troops, who had served under Philopœmen, and were commanded by Diophanes, a man of great experience in war. This officer made such a bold and successful sally with his handful of troops, that Seleucus thought proper to abandon the siege, and retire.

*Antiochus
invades his
territories,
and lays
siege to the
city of Per-
gamus.*

In the mean time Eumenes himself arriving at Pergamus, and the Rhodian and Roman fleets joining that king's, Antiochus, and his son Seleucus evacuated his territories with great precipitation; and, hearing that the consul L. Scipio was ready to pass over into Asia with all his forces, dispatched ambassadors to L. Æmilius, who commanded the Roman army, to sue for a peace. On this occasion Æmilius consulted with Eumenes as well as with Eudamus and Pamphilidas, commanders of the Rhodian fleet. The Rhodians were not averse to a peace; but Eumenes, who would hearken to no terms, persuaded Æmilius to dismiss the ambassadors with this answer, that no peace could be concluded before the arrival of the consul; for L. Scipio was then in full march to join them. Antiochus, seeing there were no hopes of obtaining a peace upon honourable conditions, either of Æmilius, or of Scipio, resolved to hazard a general engagement, in the neighbourhood of Magnesia, where he was defeated, to which the gallant behaviour of Eumenes greatly contributed. After this battle, Antiochus was glad to accept a peace upon any terms. One of the conditions was, that he should pay four hundred talents to Eumenes, and a certain quantity of corn, to make amends for the losses he had sustained during the war.

*The gallant
behaviour
of Eumenes
at the bat-
tle of Mag-
nesia.*

The peace being concluded, Eumenes took a journey to Rome, where he represented to the senate, with a great deal of moderation, what he had done in the service of the republic; and told them, that he was come to beg of them, that the Greek cities, which at the beginning of the war were subject to Antiochus, might be added to his dominions, since in him they might promise themselves a faithful friend and ally, and consider his new acquisitions as their own. His demand was warmly opposed by the Rhodian ambassadors, and those of all the Greek cities in Asia. But both parties being heard, the senate,

*Eumenes
goes to
Rome.*

*How re-
warded by
the Romans.*

after a long debate, decreed, that all the countries on this side Mount Taurus, which belonged to Antiochus, should be given to Eumenes, together with the other provinces lying between the mountain and the river Meander, except Lycia and Caria, which were bestowed on the Rhodians. All the cities, which had been tributary to Attalus, were ordered to pay the same tribute to Eumenes; but such as had been tributary to Antiochus were declared free ^d.

*His war
with Pru-
sias, king of
Bithynia.*

Eumenes having thus, by siding with the Romans, enlarged his dominions, was soon after engaged in a war with Prusias, king of Bithynia, who, confiding altogether in Hannibal, whom he entertained at his court, invaded his territories. But Eumenes, being assisted by the Romans, gave him two great overthrows, one by sea, and the other by land; which so dispirited him, that he was ready to accept of a peace upon any terms whatsoever. Nevertheless, before the conditions were agreed upon, Hannibal found means to draw Philip, king of Macedon, into an alliance against Eumenes, and the Romans. Philip, incensed against the Romans, who had obliged him to evacuate the cities of Ænus and Maronea in Thrace, and no less exasperated against Eumenes, on whom they had bestowed them, sent Philocles, an old and experienced officer, with a considerable body, to join Prusias. Eumenes sent his brother Athenæus to Rome, with a golden crown of immense value, to complain of Philip for aiding Prusias, and of Prusias for making war upon the allies of the people of Rome, without any manner of provocation. The senate accepted of the present, and promised to send ambassadors forthwith to settle matters to the satisfaction of Eumenes, whom they looked upon as the most steady friend the republic had in Asia.

*Is defeated
at sea by
a contriv-
ance of
Hannibal.*

Mean while Prusias, having ventured a sea-fight, obtained, by a contrivance of Hannibal, a complete victory over Eumenes; for Hannibal advised him to fill a great many earthen vessels with various kinds of serpents, and other poisonous reptiles, and, in the heat of the fight, to throw them into the enemies ships, so as to break the vessels, and let the serpents loose. All the soldiers and seamen were ordered to attack the ship in which Eumenes himself was, and only defend themselves against the others as well as they could; that they might not mistake the ship, a herald was sent before the engagement, with a

^d Polyb. Legat. 25. & 26. Diod. Sicul. Legat. 10. Liv. lib. xxxvii. & xxxviii. Appian. in Syriac. p. 116.

letter to the king. As soon as the two fleets drew near, all the enemies ships, singling out the king's, discharged such a quantity of serpents against it, that neither their sailors nor soldiers could perform their duty, but were forced to fly to the shore, lest they should fall into the enemy's hands. The other ships, after a faint resistance, followed the king's example, and were all driven ashore with great slaughter, the soldiers being no less annoyed by the stings of the serpents than the arrows of the enemy. Most part of Eumenes' ships were set on fire, some were taken, and the others so shattered, that they could be of no farther service. Eumenes encamped on the shore, where he had placed some companies of foot; but the enemy did not think fit to quit their ships. Thus Prusias gained a complete victory by sea, and the same year obtained two remarkable victories by land, which were entirely owing to Hannibal, who, by different stratagems, put Eumenes to flight in all those engagements (C).

When news of the defeat of Eumenes were brought to Rome, the senate immediately dispatched ambassadors to conclude a peace between the two kings, and to demand Hannibal, who had excited Prusias to this war^f. By the mediation of the Roman ambassadors, a peace between the two kings was agreed on; and Prusias even consented that Hannibal should be delivered up to the Romans. That great general kept himself close in a castle which had been given him by Prusias. He had made seven doors, whereof some were private, and known to none but himself; for he entertained some diffidence of Prusias, and therefore had contrived those private outlets, that he might be able to withdraw, in case the king's soldiers should come to secure his person. But the soldiers sent by Prusias surrounded the castle on all sides. Hannibal finding himself effectually blocked up, had recourse to poison, which he

A peace concluded between the two kings by the mediation of the Romans.

^e Justin. lib. xxxii. cap. 4. Æmil. Prob. in Hannibale. ^f Polyb. Legat. lib. 47. Liv. lib. xxxvi.

(C) Having once advised Prusias to engage, and the king replying, that he durst not venture, because the entrails of the sacrifices portended no good success; "What! (said Hannibal), do you rely more on the entrails of an undistinguishing beast, than on the judgment of an experienced commander?" and, commanding the signal to be given, put Eumenes to flight at the first onset (1).

(1) Cic. de Divinat. lib. ii. Plut. de Exilio. Valer Max. lib. iii. cap. 7.

ever carried about with him; and thereby prevented the ill-treatment he was likely to meet with from the Romans (D).

Eumenes engaged in a new war with Pharnaces, king of Pontus, &c.

A new war unexpectedly broke out between Eumenes and Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, on one side, and Pharnaces, king of Pontus, and the Asiatic Gauls, on the other. Pharnaces laying claim to some territories possessed by Eumenes, invaded his dominions, and seized on the city of Sinope, which, by the articles of a former treaty, was to remain free. Provoked by these hostilities, Eumenes, and Ariarathes his ally, took the field, and, in a very short time, obliged Pharnaces to sue for peace; which was granted on terms very disadvantageous to the king of Pontus.

Eumenes enters into an alliance with Antiochus, king of Syria.

Eumenes, being thus delivered from any apprehension of war with his neighbours, entered into an alliance with Antiochus, son of Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, whom Heliodorus, after the murder of his brother Seleucus, with-held from his paternal kingdom. Eumenes, with the assistance of his brother Attalus, expelled the usurper, and placed Antiochus on the throne of his ancestors. About the same time Eumenes, disagreeing with the Rhodians, his ancient allies, not only persuaded the Lycians to revolt, but made frequent inroads into their territories on the continent. Ambassadors were therefore dispatched to Rome, to complain of the violent proceedings of Eumenes. But, as the king himself happened to go to Rome at the same time, the Rhodian ambassadors could not obtain any satisfaction for the damages they had suffered. Eumenes had undertaken this journey to acquaint the senate with the great preparations which Perses, king of Macedon, was making both by sea and land. The king was received at Rome with the highest honours, and entertained in a manner suitable to his dignity. What he

Goes to Rome to acquaint the senate with the designs of Perses.

(D) He died in the seventieth year of his age. Of his death the following oracle is said to have been uttered many years before: Λιβύσσα κρύψει βῶλον Ἀννίβη δέμας. "The land of Libya, or Libyssa, shall cover the body of Hannibal." By Libya, or Libyssa, Hannibal understood Libya in Africa;

whereas the place meant by this oracle was a little village in Bithynia, near the sea-side, called by the same name; whereof Pliny (1) speaks thus: "There was formerly, in those parts, a little town, called Libyssa; where there is now nothing worth seeing except Hannibal's tomb."

(1) Plin. lib. v. cap. 32.

said on this occasion, and the senate's answer, were kept so secret, that no one knew the true motive of his journey to Rome till the war was ended and Perſes taken prisoner.

After Eumenes the ambassadors of the Rhodians were heard; who inveighed against him for encouraging and abetting the Lycian rebels; and told the senate, that Eumenes, under the shadow of their power, was become as dangerous to Asia as Antiochus himself. But as the Rhodians were not in favour with the Romans, for having conveyed Laodice, the daughter of Seleucus, to her husband Perſes, their insinuations increased the esteem and kindness of the senate to Eumenes, on whom they conferred honours. They presented him with a stately chariot, and ivory staff, and sent him home with rich presents^b. On his return, as he was going from Cirrha to perform a sacrifice at Delphi, two assassins, sent by Perſes, rolled down two great stones upon him as he entered the streights of the mountains; with one he was dangerously wounded on the head, with the other in the shoulder. As he fell, with the blows, from a steep place, and thereby received many other bruises, those who attended him carried him on board of his ship, not knowing whether he was dead or alive. Finding he was still alive they conveyed him to Corinth, and from Corinth to Ægina, having caused their vessels to be carried over the isthmus. There he was cured of his wounds, with such secrecy, that, none being admitted to see him, the report of his death was spread all over Asia, and even believed at Rome^c.

This Rhodians complain of Eumenes.

Narrowly escapes being killed by two assassins sent by Perſes.

The news of his death spread all over Asia.

His brother Attalus, being over-hasty in giving credit to the public report, not only assumed the royal ensigns, but also married his brother's wife Stratonice, daughter to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. But, not long after, hearing that his brother was alive, and on his journey to Pergamus, laying down the diadem, he went to meet him, bearing a halbert, as one of his guards. The king embraced both him and the queen with great tenderness; but is said to have whispered in his brother's ear, "Do not be again in haste to marry my wife, till you are sure that I am dead." Nor did he, during his whole life, ever do or say any thing that could reflect on his brother's or wife's rash and imprudent behaviour, but treated them with his usual love and tenderness^d. The news of his recovery

^a Valer. Maxim. lib. ii. cap. 2. Legat. 16.

^b Diodor. Sicul. lib. ix. ^c Liv. lib. xlii. Appian. Legat. 25. ^d Liv. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. in Excerpt. Valesii, p. 306. Plutarch. in Apophthegm.

occasioned universal joy at Rome; whence ambassadors were sent to congratulate him on his safe arrival in his own kingdom, without any other commission or instructions. Eumenes did all that lay in his power to inflame them against Perſes; and this treacherous attempt increasing his ancient hatred and averſion to the Macedonians, he himſelf began to make vaſt preparations, in order to join the Romans and their allies againſt the king of Macedon. His example was followed by Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia; and the Romans drew into the ſame alliance Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and Maſiniſſa, king of Numidia. Perſes, in the mean time, ſent ambassadors to Rome, to clear himſelf of the crimes laid to his charge by Eumenes: they made an artful ſpeech to the ſenate; but as they gave no ſatisfaction with relation to the treacherous attempt of their maſter upon the life of Eumenes, war was declared againſt Perſes, and the ambassadors ordered to depart Rome the ſame day¹.

*Joins the
Romans
againſt
Perſes.*

Eumenes, upon advice that the Romans had at laſt declared war againſt Perſes, ſailed with his two brothers, Attalus and Athenæus, to Chalcis in Bœotia, leaving his youngſt brother, Philetærus, at Pergamus, to defend his own dominions. From Chalcis he marched into Theſſaly, where he joined the conſul Licinius with four thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe. Athenæus was left at Chalcis with two thouſand foot, to aſſiſt Marius Lucretius, who commanded a body of ten thouſand men at the ſiege of Haliartus. The town was taken and levelled with the ground, and great part of Bœotia reduced. The like ſucceſs did not attend Licinius, Eumenes, and Attalus, in Theſſaly, where they had two encounters with Perſes: in the firſt both parties claimed the victory; but, in the ſecond, the Romans, with their allies, were put to flight; and Caſſignatus, commander of the Gauls, with many other officers, killed on the ſpot. After this defeat the conſul retired to Lariffa, and from thence ſent Eumenes and Attalus home; the reſt of his army he kept, during the winter, in Theſſaly, in order to be ready to take the field early in the ſpring. In the mean time the Achæans, foreſeeing that, with the kingdom of Macedon, the liberties of Greece muſt inevitably fall, and, in that view, bearing a grudge to Eumenes, who had incenſed the Romans againſt Perſes, abrogated, by a public decree, all the honours they had conferred upon him. Attalus, who

*Various
ſucceſs of
this war.*

¹ Polyb. Legat. 67.

then

then wintered at Elatia, no sooner heard of this indignity, than he sent ambassadors to expostulate thereupon with the general council of the nation. After the ambassadors were heard, at the persuasion of Polybius the historian, a decree was made, whereby Eumenes was reinstated in all his ancient honours, and ambassadors were dispatched to Attalus with a copy of the decree. In that council it was likewise decreed, that auxiliaries should be sent to the Romans; and Polybius was appointed to command them^m.

Early in the spring Eumenes, sailing with twenty ships from Elea, joined, on the coast of the Cassadrenses, Marcus Figulus, the Roman admiral, and invested, both by sea and land, the city of Cassandrea, which, however, they could not reduce. He likewise made unsuccessful attempts on the two strong fortresses, Toron and Demetrius. He is said to have cooled in his affection to the Romans, and to have acted faintly on this occasion. What alienated his mind from his ancient allies is uncertain; but it is agreed, that from Demetrius he returned home, and could not, though earnestly intreated by the consul Marcus, be prevailed upon to leave behind him some troops of Gaulish horse, which would have proved very serviceable to the Romans.

Eumenes grows cold in his affection towards the Romans.

Perfes no sooner heard that Eumenes had left the Romans, than he sent Cryphonates to propose conditions of agreement between him and the king of Pergamus. Cryphonates represented to Eumenes, that there could be no sincere friendship between a king and a republic; that they had reduced Philip with the assistance of Attalus, Antiochus with the help of Philip and Eumenes, and now designed to destroy Perfes with the forces of Eumenes and Prusias. Eumenes answered, that he apprehended no greater danger from the Romans than from Perfes, if he should happen to get the better of them; but however, that he would stand neuter, provided Perfes paid him a thousand talents; and, for fifteen hundred talents more, would persuade the Romans to hearken to conditions of an honourable peace. Perfes promised the sum required, but refused to advance it at that time, though Eumenes offered to give hostages for the performance of what he promised. Perfes, finding that he could not prevail upon Eumenes but with ready money, offered to deposit the sum agreed on in a temple of Samothrace, whence it should be conveyed to him at the conclusion of the peace. But, as the island

Perfes confers with an ambassador sent to him by Perfes.

of Samothrace was subject to Perſes, Eumenes rejected this expedient. Beſides, he thought his good offices deſerved ſome acknowledgement, whether they were attended with ſucceſs or not; and therefore inſiſted that part of the ſum ſhould be paid before he took any ſtep in the affair. To this agreement Perſes, who miſtruſted Eumenes, would not conſent; and thus the conferences were broken off, but the ſubject of them was kept ſecret, Eumenes having ſent an expreſs to the Roman conſul, acquainting him, that their negotiations were concerning the redemption of captives^a.

The Romans grow jealous of him.

The ſenate encourages his brother Attalus to demand the kingdom for himſelf.

However, as the truth was ſoon after known by the Romans, they began to entertain no ſmall jealousy of Eumenes, and heaped all their favours on his brother Attalus, who had ſtaid with the conſul, and given undoubted proofs of his fidelity, during the whole time of the Macedonian war. After the overthrow of Perſes, and utter deſtruction of the kingdom of Macedon, Eumenes ſent his brother Attalus to congratulate the ſenate on the happy iſſue of that war, and at the ſame time to deſire their aſſiſtance againſt the Aſiatic Gauls, who began to be very troubleſome neighbours. Attalus was received at Rome, and entertained in a princely manner. Several of the ſenators, who went to viſit him before he had his audience, encouraged him to lay down the character of an ambaffador from his brother, and treat for himſelf; aſſuring him, that, as the minds of the Romans were alienated from Eumenes, his brother's kingdom would be given to him, if he requeſted it of the ſenate. Theſe promiſes at firſt awakened his ambition; for he approved, or ſeemed to approve, of the motion, and even promiſed to beg of the ſenate his brother's kingdom. But his honeſt nature was ſoon reclaimed by the wholeſome admonitions of Stratius the phyſician, a man of great truſt and authority with Eumenes, who had been ſent with him to Rome as a monitor, in caſe the Romans ſhould attempt his fidelity. Stratius repreſented to him, that at preſent he reigned no leſs than his brother; and, in a ſhort time, conſidering his brother's old age and infirmities, would have the kingdom entirely to himſelf, without being guilty of rebellion; that as their dominions could ſcarcely be defended againſt the power of the Gauls by their mutual endeavours, they could not reſiſt ſo warlike a nation, if their ſtrength were impaired and divided by civil diſſenſions.

^a Appian. Macedon. in Excerpt. Val. p. 502.

Theſe

These considerations had so good an effect upon Attalus, that, when he was admitted into the senate, he first congratulated the Romans on their victory over Perſes; then modeſtly rehearſed his ſervices during the Macedonian war; and, laſtly, acquainted them with the motive of his journey, intreating them to ſend ambaffadors to the Gauls, who, by their authority, might oblige them to lay down their arms, and forbear all hoſtilities againſt his brother Eumenes. He requested the ſenate, that the cities of Ænus and Maronea might be beſtowed on himſelf. As he omitted to ſue for his brother's kingdom, they ſuppoſed that he deſigned to aſk another day of audience for that affair alone; wherefore they not only granted him all his requests, but ſent him more rich and magnificent preſents, than they had ever made to any prince before. Nevertheleſs Attalus took no notice of their meaning, but left Rome, contented with what they had granted him already. His unexpected departure provoked the ſenate to ſuch a degree, that, while he was yet in Italy, they declared the cities of Ænus and Maronea free; thereby making their promiſe ineffectual, which otherwiſe they could not without ſhame revoke. As for the Gauls, who were ready to invade the kingdom of Pergamus, they diſpatched ambaffadors to them, with ſuch inſtructions, as rather encouraged than prevented their deſign.

The generous behaviour of Attalus.

Eumenes, being informed by his brother of what had paſſed at Rome, thought it neceſſary to go in perſon, and juſtify his proceedings before the ſenate; but his deſign being known at Rome, a law was enacted, that no king ſhould be permitted to enter that capital; for they did not think it expedient to treat him as an enemy, and to entertain him as a friend, was more than their diſpleaſure for his ingratitude, as they ſyled it, would permit. Upon the firſt notice of his landing at Brundifium, the ſenate diſpatched the quæſtor to him, with a copy of the edict, enjoining him to acquaint the king, that, if he had any thing to lay before the ſenate, he was commiſſioned to hear and propoſe it; but, if he had no affairs to tranſact with the ſenators, to command him, without delay, to depart Italy. Eumenes, underſtanding from the quæſtor the pleaſure of the ſenate, told him, that he had no buſineſs of conſequence to tranſact, and was not under any neceſſity of demanding their aſſiſtance. Without adding one

Eumenes reſolves to go to Rome to juſtify his proceedings;

but is prevented by the ſenate.

word more, he retired on board his ship, and sailed back to Pergamus. This treatment not only abated the courage of the king's friends, but animated the Gauls to invade his territories ². But Eumenes, raising a powerful army, not only drove the Gauls out of his own dominions, but invaded, at the same time, Galatia and Bithynia; laying waste those countries, plundering the cities, and possessing himself of many strong places. Prusias, king of Bithynia, sent ambassadors to Rome, to complain of these violent proceedings, and acquaint the senate, that Eumenes had entered into an alliance with Antiochus, king of Syria, and countenanced all those who shewed any aversion to the Romans ³. With the ambassadors of Prusias came also those of the Gauls, of the Selgenfes, and many other cities of Asia, to accuse Eumenes, as if he maintained a secret correspondence with Perſes, which was also confirmed by some letters which the Romans themselves had intercepted.

Sends his two brothers to plead his cause at Rome.

Legates sent from Rome to inquire into the designs of Eumenes.

Eumenes, fearing the senate would declare him an enemy, and join the Gauls and Prusias, charged his two brothers, Attalus and Athenæus, to clear him at Rome of the crimes objected to him by his enemies. They were both received with all possible marks of honour, but could not dissipate the jealousies which the senate had conceived against Eumenes; for, not long after their departure, C. Sulpitius Gallus and Marius Sergius were sent into Asia, in quality of legates, and enjoined to make a strict enquiry into the counsels and designs of Antiochus and Eumenes. Sulpitius Gallus, upon his entering Asia, caused proclamation to be made in all the cities of that province, whereby all those, who had any complaints against Eumenes, were ordered to repair to Sardis, where they should have justice. The legate arriving by the time appointed, caused a tribunal to be erected in a public place, on which, for ten days together, he received all the accusations and complaints against Eumenes that were laid before him, as if he had been sent on purpose to insult the king. Eumenes, who was aware of his design, but unwilling to engage in a war against so powerful an enemy, especially in his old age, again sent his brother Attalus to Rome, hoping that, by his mediation, he might be suffered to end his days in peace. Attalus did all that lay in his power to appease the wrath of the senators, and bring his brother again into favour. But

² Polyb. Legat. 97. Liv. lib. xlv.
Liv. ubi supra.

³ Polyb. Legat. 104.

all was to no purpose; they could by no means be prevailed upon to forget his behaviour during the Macedonic war, and seemed obstinately bent upon his destruction. Their designs, however, were prevented by the death of the king, which happened soon after the return of Attalus, to whom he bequeathed both his wife and his kingdom. He died in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, leaving one son, whom he had by Stratonice, the sister of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. But he being an infant, at the time of his father's death, was incapable of governing the kingdom; and therefore Eumenes chose to put his brother Attalus into the present possession of the crown, reserving the next succession to his son (E).

Eumenes dies..

Attalus was scarce seated on the throne, when Prusias, king of Bithynia, surnamed the Hunter, invaded, upon what provocation we know not, his dominions, and committed every where most dreadful ravages. He advanced to the very walls of Pergamus, overthrew Attalus in a pitched battle, and made himself master of the capital of his kingdom. He expected to have found Attalus in the city; but that prince having saved himself by a timely retreat, Prusias vented his rage upon the unhappy citizens, putting a great number of them to the sword, and setting fire to their houses. In this emergency, Attalus dispatched ambassadors to Italy, to lay before the Roman senate the condition to which the kingdom of Pergamus was reduced; but Nicomedes, the son of Prusias, who was then at Rome for his education, answered the complaints that were made against his father, and even recriminated upon Attalus, as if he had been the aggressor. However, two commissioners were sent into the East, to put an end to the disputes of the two kings on the spot; but Prusias, without paying them the least deference, continued ravaging the territories of Pergamus. Attalus, therefore, taking advantage of the return of one of the ambassadors, sent his brother Athenæus with him, to

Yr. of Fl.
2159.
Ante Chr.
159.

Attalus.

Reduced to great difficulties by Prusias, king of Bithynia.

* Polyb. ubi supra. Plutarch. in Apophthegm. Strab. lib. xiii. p. 624. ^a Diodor. Sicul. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 169, 170, 337. Suid. in voce Prusias.

(E) Suidas calls him the greatest and most powerful king of his time. His famous library at Pergamus contained two hundred thousand chosen books, all collected by himself. These Marc Antony afterwards bestowed upon Cleopatra, by whose order they were carried from Pergamus to Alexandria.

make

*Treachery
of Prusias.*

make new complaints to the senate. As he advanced nothing but what was confirmed by their own ambassador, the senators were convinced that Prusias was the aggressor, and therefore sent him forthwith orders to withdraw his forces from the territories of Attalus; but Prusias, under various pretences, pursued the war for the space of three years, and reduced the kingdom of Pergamus to a deplorable condition. At length he pretended to be ready to obey the decrees of the senate, and desired a conference with Attalus. At his request it was agreed, that the contending princes should meet on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, each attended by a guard of a thousand men, in order to end their differences in the presence of the Roman envoys. But Prusias, who had no other view in this conference than to seize Attalus, marched with his whole army to the frontiers, and concealing his troops behind the neighbouring hills, gave them orders to surround the Romans and Pergamenses, as soon as they should appear. Attalus, however, and the Romans, having timely notice of his design, saved themselves by flight, before the Bithynian forces could put the king's orders in execution. Prusias followed them to Pergamus, after he had plundered the baggage of the ambassadors; and then marched to Elæa, a maritime city of Æolis, hoping to take it by surprize; but as the place was well garrisoned, and stored with all sorts of provisions, he did not think it adviseable to make the attempt. He therefore sent back his land-forces to Bithynia, and embarking on board his fleet, set sail for Thyatira¹.

*The Ro-
mans send
commis-
sioners to
put an end
to the war.*

The senate, being, upon the return of their ambassadors, informed of these proceedings, were highly provoked against Prusias; but instead of declaring war against him, they contented themselves with sending ten commissioners, whose number at least might make some impression on the Bithynian. Among these were L. Anicius, C. Fannius, and Q. Fabius Maximus. Their instructions were to put an end to this war, to oblige Prusias to satisfy Attalus for the damages he had suffered by it, and to dissolve the alliance of the republic with the Bithynian, in case he did not acquiesce in the decree of the senate². In the mean time Attalus, having assembled a considerable army, (for both Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, and Mithridates king of Pontus, sent him underhand powerful supplies), took the field, and meeting the Roman am-

¹ Polyb. Legat. 127.

² Polyb. Legat. 123.

ambassadors at Quada, marched directly against Prusias, who was advancing towards the frontiers of Pergamus, at the head of a numerous army. The two kings, at the request of the ambassadors, came to a conference in a place equally distant from both camps. Prusias, by many shifts and evasions, endeavoured to amuse the ambassadors; but they told him, that he must either comply with the decree of the senate, or be declared an enemy to the republic. Accordingly, as he still persisted obstinate and untractable, they solemnly renounced the alliance and amity which had subsisted between him and Rome. Prusias endeavoured to gain them by promises and submissions; but they were inflexible, and after having exhorted Attalus to continue on the defensive, dispersed themselves in the several states of Asia, to assemble forces against the king of Bithynia. Rhodes, Cyzicum, and many other maritime cities, fitted out ships, and sent them to the assistance of Attalus; who having, out of these reinforcements, formed a fleet of eighty gallees, gave the command of it to his brother Athenæus, who ravaged the coasts of Bithynia, and carried off an immense booty. Prusias finding he could not avert the storm that threatened him, submitted to the decree of the senate, and accepted the terms which Rome sent him by three new ambassadors, Appius Claudius, Lucius Oppius, and Aulus Posthumius. The conditions were, that he should forthwith deliver up to Attalus twenty ships with decks; that he should pay five hundred talents within the space of twenty years; that both of them should be contented with what they had before the breaking out of the war; and lastly, that Prusias should pay the Methymneans, Egeans, Cumæi, and Heracleats, an hundred talents, by way of reparation for the damages he had done them. These conditions being agreed to, and signed by the contending parties, Attalus returned to Pergamus with all his sea and land-forces, and Prusias retired into Bithynia, after having evacuated all the cities and fortresses which he had taken during the war.

The two kings come to a conference.

Prusias accepts the terms of peace sent from Rome by three new ambassadors.

Attalus being thus, by the assistance of the Romans, delivered from so dangerous a war, sent his nephew, the son of Eumenes, named also Attalus, to thank the senate for their kind offices, and to renew the friendship and alliance which had formerly subsisted between his father and the people of Rome. Young Attalus was received by the senate with all possible marks of distinction, the ancient

Sends his nephew to Rome to thank the senate.

• Polyb. Legat. 136, 137. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 173.

treaties with his father were renewed, and he, loaded with many presents, was sent back to his uncle; all the cities of Greece, through which he was to pass, having been ordered to receive and treat him in a manner suitable to his condition ^x.

Prusias having discharged part of the sum which he was to pay to Attalus, hoped, by the interest of his son Nicomedes, who resided at Rome, and was in great favour with the senate, to prevail upon the senators to forgive the remainder. With this view he sent one Menas, a chief lord of his court, to Rome, in quality of ambassador; his instructions were, to make use of Nicomedes' interest to gain his point; and in case he did not succeed, to dispatch Nicomedes, of whose great interest at Rome he began to be jealous. For the more easy execution of this wicked design, he commanded two thousand men to embark with his ambassador; an extraordinary guard, but necessary to facilitate the escape of Menas after the assassination, and protect him after his return into Bithynia. Menas, on his arrival at Rome, employed Nicomedes to use his best offices with the senate; but Andronicus, the ambassador of the king of Pergamus, pleaded his master's cause so well, that the former decree of the senate was confirmed. What therefore remained was, to put the barbarous orders of Prusias in execution, and murder Nicomedes. But as the young prince was greatly beloved at Rome, it seemed dangerous to Menas, notwithstanding the numerous guard, which he concealed on board his ships, to make any attempt upon his life in sight of the senate. After he had been long in suspense, he resolved at last to communicate to the son his father's design, and to turn the plot against the author and contriver of it. Accordingly Menas discovered to him his private instructions; and, at his request, imparted the whole matter to Andronicus the Pergamian ambassador, who obtained leave of his master to transport Nicomedes into Asia on board his ship, that prince promising to take him under his protection, and support him against his father, who was no less intolerable to his neighbours than to his own subjects.

The two ambassadors sailed from the port of Ostia at the same time; and they arrived, as it had been agreed upon, at Berenice, a small city on the coast of Epirus. There they both landed their men, under pretence of refreshing them after the voyage, and met privately to con-

Prusias makes an attempt upon the life of his son Nicomedes.

^x Idem Legat. 140.

sult together with Nicomedes, about the measures that might seem most proper for the execution of their design. Next morning Nicomedes, as it had been concerted the night before, went ashore in a purple robe, with the royal diadem on his head, and a sceptre in his hand. Hereupon Andronicus, with a hundred men he had with him, saluted and proclaimed him king of Bithynia. Menas, pretending to be surpris'd at this, assembled in great haste his two thousand Bithynians, and, in an artful speech, exhorted them to side with that party which was most likely to prevail; he insinuated, at the same time, that Prusias was generally hated, while Nicomedes was beloved, not only by the Bithynians, but by the Romans, and the subjects of the king of Pergamus, who were ready to assist him to the utmost of their power. Having ended his speech, he observed in the countenances of his men an unanimous determination to adhere to the young prince; whereupon, seconding their inclination, he immediately joined the troops of Andronicus, and saluted Nicomedes king of Bithynia. After great shouts, and repeated acclamations, they all re-embarked, set sail, and landed in a port of the kingdom of Pergamus. Attalus received young Nicomedes with great joy, and immediately dispatched messengers to Prusias, requiring him to deliver up some provinces to his son, and fix certain revenues on him for his subsistence. To this demand the old king answered, that Nicomedes should soon have the kingdom of Pergamus assigned to him for his maintenance ^r.

Nicomedes proclaimed king of Bithynia.

But notwithstanding this haughty answer, he forthwith dispatched ambassadors to Rome, desiring the senate to send commissioners into Bithynia, and settle matters between him and Attalus, in an amicable manner. In the mean time Attalus, having encouraged Nicomedes to make war upon his father, by interpreting, in his favour, the answer of an oracle in Epirus, as if the god promised the young prince the kingdom of Bithynia ^z, took the field; and, entering with Nicomedes the dominions of Prusias, was every where received with joy, and acclamation. The king not daring to trust his Bithynians, had recourse to Diegydes, one of the petty sovereigns of Thrace, whose daughter he had married for his second wife. But all the succours that prince could spare him were only five hundred men. With these he shut him-

Attalus encourages Nicomedes to make war upon his father.

^r Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 174, 175. lib. ii.

^z Zozim. Histor.

self up in the city of Nice; but observing that the citizens were ready to revolt, and only waited for the arrival of Nicomedes and Attalus, he left that place, and took refuge in Nicomedia, which he thought strong enough to endure a long siege, not doubting but in the mean time ambassadors would arrive from Rome, who, by the interposition of their authority, and good offices, would accommodate all differences between him and his son. But in this hope he was disappointed; for though his ambassadors, on their arrival at Rome, desired an audience of the senate without delay, yet the prætor, in order to favour Attalus, deferred it under various pretences. At length he presented them to the conscript fathers; and being ordered to appoint three ambassadors to be sent into Bithynia, he made choice of such as were not qualified for that commission; for they were men of mean parts, and besides, made a very ridiculous appearance, one of them being strangely disfigured with scars, the other lame, and the third a mere idiot: whence the saying of Cato, that the Bithynian embassy had neither head, feet, nor understanding^a. It may be easily imagined, that men of this despicable figure and character had no great weight in the two courts. Attalus and Nicomedes feigned themselves ready to submit to the authority of the senate; but the Bithynians, secretly tampered with by them, openly declared, that they could no longer bear the tyranny of Prusias, and therefore entreated the ambassadors to return to Rome, and lay their complaints before the senate, not doubting but they should be able to settle Nicomedes on the throne before any new resolutions could be taken by the conscript fathers. The ambassadors were easily prevailed upon to leave Bithynia, and return for new instructions to Rome.

*Nicomedes,
with the
assistance of
Attalus,
drives his
father from
the throne.*

They were no sooner gone, than Attalus and Nicomedes, at the head of the Pergamian troops, advanced to Nicomedia, which readily opened its gates to them, and left the old king at his son's mercy. Prusias seeing himself thus deserted and betrayed by all, fled for refuge to the temple of Jupiter. But the sanctity of the place could not screen him from the violence of his son, who, as he had been brought up at Rome, was tainted with the depravity of manners that prevailed there; for he no sooner heard that his father had taken sanctuary in the

^a Plut in Cat. Major.

temple of Jupiter, than he sent thither assassins to take away his life ^b (F).

Soon after this event, Attalus joined the Romans against Andriſcus, who pretended to be the son of Perſes, king of Macedon, and heir to his dominions. This was the last enterprize Attalus engaged in; for Andriſcus being taken prisoner, and an end put to that war, he returned home with his sea and land-forces, and gave himself up to an idle and dissolute life, as Plutarch informs us, adding, that Philopœmen, one of his courtiers, governed both the king and kingdom at his pleasure; insomuch that nobody applied to Attalus, but to this prime minister, for favours or employments. We have observed above, that Eumenes had a son, who being a minor at the time of his father's death, the tuition of the young prince, with the crown, was left to Attalus the uncle. This guardian not only carefully educated his pupil, but at his death left the crown to him, passing by his own children: for he looked upon it as a mere depositum intrusted with him for his nephew, and therefore restored it to him in the next succession ^c (G).

Attalus gives himself up to an idle and dissolute life.

Death of Attalus.

Attalus,

^b Appian. in Mithridat. p. 174, 175.

^c Plut. *ibid.* & in lib.

Περὶ Φιλαδελφίας.

(F) Diodorus Siculus tells us (1), that the unnatural son killed him with his own hand; Strabo (2) charges Attalus with the death of Prusias; Dio Cassius and Zonaras say, that he was assassinated by his own subjects (3); but Livy (4) divides the guilt of this heinous murder between Nicomedes and Attalus. The Romans took no notice of what had passed in Bithynia, but treated Attalus with the same kindness they had formerly shewn him, and suffered Nicomedes to enjoy peaceably the fruit of his wickedness.

(G) He was surnamed Philadelphus, from the sincere af-

fection which he had for his brother, whereof we have related a very remarkable instance in the foregoing reign. He was a great encourager of learning, and took particular pleasure in the conversation of learned men, especially of Lycon, a native of Troas, and a philosopher of great note, whom he entertained at his court with a magnificence worthy of a king. He built two cities in Lydia, the one called Attalia, from his name, and the other from his surname Philadelphia. The author of the first book of the Maccabees, mentions him among the allies of the Roman people (5);

(1) Diodor. Sicul. in Photii Biblioth. cod. 244. lib. xiii. p. 624.

(2) Dio Cassius, lib. xlii.

(3) Strab-

lib. vi.

(4) Liv. Epitom. lib. i.

(5) 1 Maccab. xv.

Yr. of Fl.
210.
Ante Chr.
138.

Attalus III.

His cruelty.

*And wild
extrava-
gancies.*

His death.

Attalus, the son of Eumenes, was scarce seated on the throne, when he began to act like a madman. In the first place, he caused most of his relations, and the best friends of his family, to be inhumanly massacred, charging some of them with the death of his mother Stratonice, who died in an advanced age; and others, with the murder of his wife Berenice, though it was well known, that she died of an incurable distemper, and was generally lamented. Many, upon groundless suspicions, were cut off with their wives, children, and whole families. In these executions he made use of his mercenaries, whom he had hired for this purpose, out of the most cruel and savage of the barbarous nations. After he had thus filled the city of Pergamus, and the whole kingdom, with blood and slaughter, and cut off the best men in his kingdom, including those who had served his father and uncle with the greatest fidelity, he began to be seized with the horrors of remorse: his murdered relations were perpetually haunting him; he fell into a deep melancholy, confined himself to his palace, put on mean apparel, let his hair and beard grow, and sequestered himself from the rest of mankind. Afterwards he withdrew from the palace, and shut himself up in a garden, which he cultivated with his own hands, sowing it with all sorts of poisonous herbs. These he mixed with wholesome pulse; and, in his fits of insanity, sent packets of them to those whom his gloomy temper led him to suspect. In these, and such extravagancies, he spent the whole time of his reign, which, happily for his subjects, was short; for it ended after five years in his death: it happened in the following manner.

As he was without friends, without relations, and even without courtiers, no one daring to come near him, he employed his time in the occupation of a founder; and undertook to make a brazen monument for his mother. While he laboured in melting and working the brass, the heat of the sun and furnace threw him into a fever, of which he died, delivering his people from the most cruel and barbarous tyrant that ever swayed a sceptre ^d.

^d Justin. lib. xxxvi. cap. 4.

and Tully tells us, that he was Scipio Æmilianus, while he a constant friend to Rome, and lay at the siege of Numantia, sent magnificent presents to in Spain (2).

(6) Cic. in Orat. pro Dejotaro.

At his death he left a will, whereby he made the Romans heirs of all his effects; in virtue of this will, the republic seized on his kingdom, reckoning that among his effects, and reduced it to a province, which was known by the name of Asia Propria. Eudemus of Pergamus brought this will to Rome, and there delivered it to Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the people, together with the deceased king's crown, and purple robes * (H).

Makes the Roman people heirs of all his goods.

But Aristonicus, the next heir, did not tamely submit to the will which Attalus was said to have made. He was the son of Eumenes, and brother of Attalus, though by another mother, an Ephesian courtesan, the daughter of a musician. As the son of Eumenes, he laid claim to the crown; and, having assembled a considerable army, put himself in a condition to maintain his pretensions. With the assistance of a body of Thracians and Phocæans,

Aristonicus lays claim to the crown.

• Justin. lib. xxxvi. cap. 4. Plut. in. Tiber. Gracch.

(H) The words of Attalus's will were, "Populus Romanus bonorum meorum hæres esto: Let the people of Rome be the heirs of my goods:" these words the senate interpreted as comprehending his kingdom, which they reckoned among the king's goods. But some of the neighbouring princes, namely Mithridates, king of Pontus (1), looked upon this will as a mere forgery; others were of opinion, that the Romans, allowing it to be genuine, were, in virtue of the above mentioned words, entitled only to the deceased king's moveable goods, the kingdom itself belonging, by right of succession, to Aristonicus, the only surviving prince of the blood-royal. It is true, he was the natural son of Eumenes; but this, according to the custom which obtained among all the eastern princes,

did not by any means debar him from the crown, when there were no lawful children to succeed to it. Horace, among the Latin writers, seems to insinuate, as Acron observes in his notes on that poet, that the Romans were intruders, and not lawful heirs to king Attalus, in the following words (2):

— neque Attali
Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi.

Nor have I forg'd a royal name,
The throne of Attalus to claim.

It is not therefore true, that the kingdom of Pergamus belonged, in strict equity, to the Romans, that the republic had an indisputable right of dominion over the Pergamians, that Aristonicus had no manner of claim to the kingdom of Attalus: as certain modern writers confidently affirm (3).

(1) Sallust. lib. iv. Historiar. (2) Horat. lib. ii. Ode 12.
(3) Catrou and Rouille Hist. Rom. lib. li. ad Ann. Urb. 644.

whom he took into his service, he made himself master of some strong places, which opened him a way into the heart of the kingdom, where he was joined by great numbers of Pergamians, who, being accustomed to a monarchical, dreaded a republican government; and therefore, without regarding the birth of their new leader, preferred his authority to that of a foreign prætor. Having by these means got together, in a short time, a numerous and powerful army, he besieged the places which were for maintaining the late king's will, and took the cities of Samos and Colophon in Ionia, and Myndos in Caria. The other places surrendered upon terms; so that he became, without meeting with any considerable opposition, master of the whole kingdom ^f.

And makes himself master of the whole kingdom.

Craſſus ſent by the ſenate againſt him.

After a ſharp conteſt at Rome, it was determined in the comitia, that Craſſus might, though pontifex maximus, head the armies of the republic in Aſia; and he was accordingly appointed to diſpoſſeſs Ariſtonicus, of the kingdom of Pergamus, and reduce it to a Roman province. Craſſus immediately ſet out for Aſia; but as we find no mention made by hiſtorians of troops, fleets, or provisions ſent with the conſul, he, without all doubt, took it for granted, that the eaſtern kings and nations in alliance with Rome, would furniſh him with ſufficient forces on the ſpot to drive out the uſurper.

Is aſſiſted by the kings of Pontus, Cappadocia, &c.

On his arrival in Aſia, he found that neither Syria nor Egypt were in a condition to lend him any aſſiſtance, both thoſe kingdoms being at that time involved in great troubles. He therefore had recourſe to the kings of Pontus, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and Paphlagonia, who all furniſhed him with troops; ſo that he advanced at the head of a numerous army, or rather of four armies, towards the frontiers of the kingdom of Pergamus ^g. Ariſtonicus did not engage the conſul, but retiring as he advanced, ſuffered him to lay waſte the country, in hopes of finding an opportunity of falling upon him unawares. This ſoon offered; for Craſſus, who was a man of an avaricious temper, having acquired an immenſe booty, began to retire from the inland parts of the kingdom towards the coaſt, in order to ſhip it off for Italy; but as the ſeaſon was far advanced, and the roads were almoſt impaſſable, the army advanced very ſlowly; beſides, the

^f Liv. lib. lix. Vel. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 4. Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 646 Flor. lib. iii. cap. 20. ^g Strabo, ibid. Juſtin. lib. xxxvii. cap. 1. Eutrop. lib. iv.

great number of waggons, loaded with the riches of the whole kingdom, retarded their march still more, and frequently occasioned a great confusion in the army; which Aristonicus being informed of, lay in wait for him in a narrow passage between steep hills, and there fell upon him when he least expected such an attack. Crassus, though thus surpris'd, might have easily repuls'd the enemy, having under his command a very numerous and well-disciplined army; but being wholly intent on preserving the spoils, he unadvisedly thinned the ranks, to put a stronger guard on them; so that the allies, being attacked by Aristonicus's men with great vigour, and in a close body, were entirely routed. In the flight, the consul himself was taken prisoner, by a body of Thracians, between Ælea and Myrina; but, as they were carrying him in triumph to the camp of Aristonicus, he began to consider the reproach it would cast both on himself and his republic, if a consul and a pontifex maximus should become a slave to so despicable an enemy as Aristonicus; on that consideration, he would have laid violent hands on himself, had he not been disarmed; but as he had a rod in his hand to govern the horse on which he was mounted, he struck the soldier, who was nearest him, so violently with it, that he beat out one of his eyes. Thus provoked, the Thracian, in a transport of rage, drew his sword, and, without farther deliberation, run the consul through, and killed him on the spot. By this accident Aristonicus was deprived of the pleasure of having a Roman consul and a pontifex maximus in his power: however, the consul's head was carried to the enemy's camp, and there expos'd to public view; but his body was honourably buried at Myrina ^a.

Crassus defeated, taken prisoner,

and killed.

When news of this defeat arrived at Rome, the tribes promoted two persons to the consulate, who were very unequal in rank; namely, C. Claudius Pulcher, a man of an illustrious family; and M. Perpenna, a soldier of fortune. The latter was sent into Asia, to revenge the death of the consul, and put an end to the Pergamian war. He appeared unexpectedly in the kingdom of Pergamus, where he found Aristonicus wholly intent on enjoying the fruits of his victory. Feasts, revels, and entertainments, after the Asiatic fashion, engross'd all his thoughts

Perpenna sent into Asia in his room.

^a Liv. lib. lix. Vel. Paterc. lib. ii. Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 646. Val. Max. lib. iii. cap. 2. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 20. Just. lib. xxxvi. cap. 4. Jul. Obseq. de Prodig. Eutrop. lib. iv. Orof. lib. v. cap. 10.

*Aristonicus
defeated,
and taken.*

and time; but he was soon roused from his lethargy by the new consul, who having assembled, with incredible expedition, the troops of the allies, came unexpectedly upon him, and gained a complete victory. Aristonicus, after the defeat, fled to Stratonice (I), where he had no sooner shut himself up, than the conqueror was before the place, which he blocked up on all sides. Thus, without exposing his men to the dangers of an assault, he reduced the garrison to such straits, that they delivered both the city and their leader into his hands. The philosopher Blossius (K), who had assisted Aristonicus with his counsels during the whole course of the war, exhorted him to prefer a voluntary death to a shameful captivity; and encouraged him to it, by dispatching himself in his presence; but he not having courage enough to lay violent hands upon himself, even in the most calamitous circumstances, suffered himself to be carried to the consul, who kept him in chains to grace his triumph.

*Perpenna
dies.*

In the mean time, new consuls being created at Rome, viz. C. Sempronius Tuditanus, and Manius Aquilius; the latter was appointed to succeed Perpenna in Asia, and end that war, by reducing the kingdom of Pergamus to a Roman province. On his arrival, he sent an insolent message to Perpenna, commanding him to deliver up Aristonicus. This order Perpenna refused to comply with; and his refusal had like to have been attended with bad consequences; but his death, which happened soon after the arrival of Aquilius, decided the question. He had quite exhausted himself in pursuing Aristonicus; however, before his death, he took care to ship off for Rome

(I) The ancient geographers mention three cities in Asia by this name. That which is here spoken of stood in Caria, and was, according to Strabo (1), originally a Syro-Macedonian colony. It took its name, as Stephanus informs us, from Stratonice, the wife of Antiochus Soter. The emperor Adrian, who rebuilt it, called it from his own name Adrianopolis; but in the ancient Notitiæ, it retained its

old name. Strabo (2) mentions another city, bearing this name, in the neighbourhood of Mount Taurus; and Ptolemy a third, which he places in Mesopotamia.

(K) Blossius was a native of Cumæ, and a philosopher of great note. He warmly pressed Tiberius Gracchus, who had a great opinion of his integrity and understanding, not to drop his design of passing the famous agrarian law.

(1) Strabo, lib. xiv,

(2) Idem. *ibid.*

all the treasures of the deceased king, to the great disappointment of the consul Aquilius¹.

The Pergamians, notwithstanding the captivity of their leader Aristonicus, and the signal victory gained by the brave Perpenaa, still held out against the Romans; the fear of serving a new master, and receiving laws from a foreign republic, exciting the people every where to continue in arms; so that Aquilius was obliged to besiege almost all the cities of the kingdom of Pergamus, and reduce them one after the other. As most of these cities had no other water but what was brought from distant parts in aqueducts, the consul, provoked at their obstinate resistance, instead of demolishing their aqueducts, as was customary in war, poisoned the springs, and by that contrivance spread death and desolation in the places he besieged (L).

Aquilius having reduced the whole kingdom of Pergamus, the Roman senate appointed ten commissioners to settle it as a prætorian province, and put Aquilius at the head of the commission. By them this great state was divided into several districts, each of them depending on the metropolis, where the Roman prætor fixed his residence (M).

Yr. of Fl.
219.
Ante Chr.
129.

¹ Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 646. Val. Max. lib. iiii. cap. 4. Justin. lib. xxxvii. cap. 4. Eutrop. lib. iv. Oros. lib. v. cap. 10.

(L) All the ancients declare their detestation of this perfidious and inhuman way of waging war, condemning it as a most notorious infraction of the law of nature; but Rome, it seems, was not so much offended at it, since she suffered the cruel Aquilius, who practised it, to govern the kingdom of Pergamus, in quality of proconsul, for three years after his consulship was expired (1).

(M) The whole province comprehended Lydia, Caria, the Hellespont, and the two Phrygias. Some of these countries were bestowed on the four

kings who helped to conquer them. Lycæonia and Cilicia were given to the sons of Ariarathes, who was killed in this war. Phrygia Major, or the Greater Phrygia, was, according to Justin (2), conferred upon Mithridates Euergetes by the senate; according to Appian (3), sold to that prince by Aquilius for a considerable sum of money, which the king paid on the spot. However that be, it is certain, that, after the death of Mithridates, the senate took Phrygia from his son, during the time of his minority, and declared it a free and independent state.

(1) Flor. lib. ii. cap. 20. (2) Justin. lib. xxxviii. cap. 5.
(3) Appian. in Mithridat. p. 177 & 208. & de Bell. Civil. p. 362, 363.
Justin. ibid. Strabo, lib. xiii. p. 624, & lib. xiv. p. 646.

The kingdom of Pergamus reduced by Aquilius to a Roman province.

As for the unhappy Aristonicus, he was led in chains before the triumphal chariot of Aquilius, as appears from the letter which Mithridates the Great wrote to Arfaces, king of Parthia. "The Romans, (says he, in that letter^k), forging a will, whereby Attalus bequeathed to them his kingdom, led Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes, in triumph, for attempting to recover, by force of arms, his father's kingdom (N)."



CHAP. XXX.

The History of Thrace.

Name, situation, &c.

TH R A C E, a country frequently mentioned by the Greek and Latin historians, derives its name, according to some writers, from Thrax, the son of Mars; according to others, from the barrenness of the soil, or the barbarity of the inhabitants, the Greek original bearing either of these significations^l. It was bounded on the north by Mount Hæmus; on the south by the Ægean Sea; on the east by the Euxine, the Hellespont, and the Propontis; and on the west by Macédon, and the river Strymon^m. Some of the ancient geographers extend the bounds of Thrace far beyond the river Strymon and Mount Hæmus. Plinyⁿ carries its frontiers to the Ister or Danube; Appian joins it to Illyricum^o, and Herodotus^p calls it the largest country in the world, except India.

Cities.

Cities of note on the Ægean Sea were, Oesyma, Neapolis, Topiris or Toperus, all placed by Stephanus, Pliny, and Pomponius Mela, between the rivers Strymon and

^k Sallust. Historiar. lib. iv.

lib. iv. cap. 11.

lib. iii. cap. 11.

^p Herodot. lib. v. cap. 3.

^l Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 443.

^m Pomp. Mela, lib. xi. cap. 11.

ⁿ Plin, lib. iv. cap. 11.

^o Appian. in Syriac.

(N) Velleius Patereullus tells us likewise, that he was led in triumph by Manius Aquilius, and afterwards beheaded (4). Strabo says, that, after the tri-

umph, he was carried back to prison, and there strangled by an order from the senate (5); and with him agree Eutropius (6) and Orosius (7).

(4) Vel. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 4.

(6) Eutrop. lib. iv.

(5) Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 646.

(7) Oros. lib. v. cap. 10.

Nestus,

Nessus, or Nessus; Datus, on the eastern banks of that river; and near it Abdera, anciently one of the most famous cities of Thrace. Mela tells us, that Abdera was founded by the sister of Diomedes; but Stephanus makes Hercules the founder, and adds, that he gave it the name of Abdera, in memory of Abderus, one of his companions, who was devoured by the famous, or rather fabulous horses of Diomedes. In process of time, a colony of Clazomenians settled there; whence the city is by some writers called also Clazomenæ. The Clazomenians were expelled by the natives, who suffered the Teians to live peaceably in Abdera, and other places of Thrace, after they had been expelled their own country by Cyrus the Great; and hence Abdera is called by Strabo¹, and other writers, a colony of the Teians.

This city is now generally known by the name of Polystilo. Near Abdera, were the famous gold and silver-mines, spoken of by Plutarch², Thucydides, Ammianus Marcellinus, and most of the ancient historians and geographers. The place was called Scapefyle. Stephanus says it was a small town, and places it opposite the island of Thafus. Here Thucydides, as Plutarch informs us, wrote the History of the Peloponnesian War, his wife being a native of that place, as we read in Marcellinus³. On the same coast of the Ægean Sea were the cities of Dicæa, Tirida, Ismaros, Styma, Maronea, and Ænos. The two last places were conquered by Philip, the father of Perseus, and upon the defeat of the latter by the Romans, promised by that republic to Eumenes, king of Pergamus; but afterwards, for political reasons, declared by the senate free and independent⁴. On the Propontis were the cities of Macrontichos, Bisanthe, Ganos, Arzus, Perinthus called afterwards Heraclea, Selymbria, and Bithynia. On the Thracian Bosphorus, Byzantium, and the port of Daphne. On the Euxine Sea, Phinopolis, Phrygia, Philea, Aulæum, Apollonia, Anchialus and Mesembria. Byzantium, now known by the name of Constantinople, was founded, according to Eusebius⁵, about the thirtieth Olympiad, while Tullus Hostilius reigned at Rome (O).

Perinthus

¹ Strab. lib. xiv. p. 443.

² Plut in Cim.

³ Marcel. in

Vita Thucyd

⁴ Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 31.

Polyb. lib. v. cap. 34.

⁵ Euseb. in Chron.

(O) Diodorus Siculus asserts that the foundations of this city were laid in the time of the Argonauts, by one Byzas, who them

Perinthus was founded, according to Stephanus, by a companion of Orestes, bearing that name, and afterwards called Heracles, from Hercules, by whom it was conquered.

This city maintained its liberty against Philip, the son of Amyntas, after all the other cities of Thrace had submitted to his sway.

The inland cities of Thrace were, Jamphorina, the metropolis of the Mœdi; Pantalia, the capital of the Danthelitæ; Uscudama, the chief city of the Bessi; Philippopolis, built by Philip, the father of Alexander, near the Hebrus; Nicopolis, founded by Trajan on the banks of the Nestus; Mulolitus, standing between the Nestus and the Hebrus; Tempyrum, mentioned by Ovid * as situated on the banks of the Hebrus; Adrianopolis, built by Adrian, between the Hebrus and Mount Rhodope; and Plotinopolis, so called from the wife of Trajan.

*Mountains
and rivers.*

The most remarkable mountains of this country, are Hæmus, the highest in Thrace, parting it from Lower Myfia to the north; Rhodope, famous among the poets for the fate of Orpheus; Pangæus, separating Thrace

* Ovid. Trist. lib. i. eleg. 9.

then reigned in the neighbouring country, and from whose name the city was called Byzantium (8). This Byzas, if Eustathius is to be credited (9) arrived in Thrace a little before the Argonauts came into those seas, and settled there with a colony of Megarenses. Velleius Paterculus ascribes the glory of founding this great metropolis to the Milesians (1); and Ammianus Marcellinus to the inhabitants of Attica. Some ancient medals of Byzantium, which have reached our times, bear the name and head of Byzas, with the prow of a ship on the reverse, probably of that ship which brought him into Thrace. Justin was greatly mistaken as to the origin and

founder of this city, when he wrote, that Pausanias, king of Lacedæmon, built it; since it is certain, that Pausanias took it from the Persians, who had made themselves masters of it before the king of Lacedæmon had ever been in Asia (2). It underwent many revolutions, having been sometimes subject to the Persians, sometimes to the Lacedæmonians, and to the Athenians. It is not without reason that the situation of Byzantium was looked upon by the ancients as the most pleasant, and also the most convenient for trade, of any in the world; but we shall have occasion hereafter to speak of it more at length.

(8) Diodor. Sicul. lib. v.
Paterc. lib. ii.

(9) Eustath. in Dionys.
(2) Thucyd. lib. iii. Herodot. lib. iv.

(1) Vel.
from

from Macedon; and Orbelus, not far from the river Nestus. Hæmus and Rhodope are two long chains of mountains, running almost in a parallel line from the confines of Macedon to the Euxine sea. The rivers of note are these; the Hebrus, which springs from Mount Hæmus, and, watering the territories of Philippopolis, Adrianopolis, Plotinopolis, and Trajanopolis, discharges itself by two mouths into the *Ægean Sea*, opposite the island of Samothrace; the Strymon, which rises on Mount Pangæus, on the borders of Macedon, and falls into the same sea between Amphipolis and Cæsya; the Nestus, or Nestus, springing from Mount Rhodope, and disemboguing itself into the sea over-against the island of Thasus; the Melas, the Arzus, the Panyfus; the first emptying itself into the *Ægean Sea*, the second into the Propontis, and the third into the Euxine *.

The Thracian Chersonesus.

The Thracian Chersonesus is a peninsula, inclosed on the south by the *Ægean Sea*, on the west by the gulf of Melas, and on the east by the Hellespont, being joined on the north to the continent by a neck of land about thirty-seven furlongs broad. It contained the following cities, Cardia, Agora, Panormus, Alopeconnesus Elæus, Sestus, Madytos, Cissa, Callipolis, Lyfimachia, and Pactye. Cardia was situated on the Gulf of Melas, at the entrance into the peninsula, and so called, according to Pliny[†], from its being built in the form of a heart. Agora, Panormus, and Alopeconnesus, stood on the same gulf; the latter was so called from the great number of foxes which infested its territory. Pliny, misled by the name, which signifies in the original Greek, the Island of Foxes, took it to be an island; but all the other geographers speak of it as situated on the Chersonesus. Elæus stood on the coast of the Hellespont, opposite Cape Mastusia, now Capo Græco. Callipolis, now Gallipoli, is placed by Strabo and Pliny on the coast of the Propontis, near the northern mouth of the Hellespont. It gives its name to the famous streights which divide Europe from Asia. Of Sestus and Lyfimachia we have spoken in the histories of Persia and Syria. As for the other cities of the Chersonesus, they contain nothing worthy notice.

The inland parts of Thrace are very cold and barren, *Soil.* the snow lying on the mountains great part of the year; but the maritime provinces are productive of all sorts of grain and necessaries of life; also so pleasant, that Mela

* Vide Pomp. Melam. ibid. Plin. lib. iv. cap. 11. Strab. lib. vii. p. 220. † Plin. lib. iv. cap. 11, 12.

compares

*Manners,
religion,
&c.*

compares them to the most fruitful and agreeable countries of Asia^z.

The ancient Thracians were deemed a brave and war-like nation, but of a cruel and savage temper, strangers to humanity and good-nature. In point of religion they differed little from the Macedonians, their neighbours, adoring Jupiter, Hercules, Diana, Bacchus, Mars, and Hermes or Mercury, by whose name alone their kings used to swear, pretending to be his descendents^a. Herodotus gives us the following account of their customs and manners: when a child is born, his relations, sitting round him in a circle, deplore his condition, on account of the evils he must suffer in the course of his life, enumerating the various calamities incident to mankind; but when any one dies, they inter him with great rejoicing, repeating the miseries he has exchanged for happiness. Among the Crestonians, inhabiting the mountainous parts of Thrace, each man has many wives, who, at his death, contend warmly who shall be accounted to have been the most dear to the husband. In the end, she who is adjudged to have merited that honour, after having received great commendations, both from the men and women, is killed upon the grave by the nearest of her relations, and buried in the same tomb with her husband. The Thracians in general were wont to sell their children, and took no care of their daughters, suffering them to live with whom, and in what manner they pleased; nevertheless they kept a strict guard over their wives, and purchased them of their relations at a very great rate. To be marked on the forehead was honourable; and a man, without such marks, accounted ignoble. Idleness was esteemed an appendage of greatness, husbandry looked upon as unbecoming, and to subsist by war and rapine highly glorious. The funerals of eminent persons among them were celebrated in the following manner: they exposed the dead body to public view for three days; during which they performed their lamentations, and sacrificed to the infernal gods various sorts of animals. When the sacrifices were over, they either burnt the body or buried it in the ground; and, having thrown up a mound of earth on the grave, they indulged in feasting, and celebrated all manner of combats and sports round the place^b.

Thrace was anciently divided into numberless kingdoms independent of each other. Herodotus tells us, that if

^z Pomp. Mela. *ibid*.

^b *Idem ibid*.

^a Herodot. lib. v. cap. 3, 4, & seq.

the Thracians had been either under the government of one prince, or unanimous in their counsels, they would have been the most powerful nation in the world; but that they were not formidable, being divided into many different nations, and ever at variance among themselves^c. These different nations were, the Dolonci, Denfeletæ, Bessi, Bistones, Odomantes, Cicones, Edoni, Brygi, Thyni, Pieres, Odrysæ, Autononi, Crobyzi, Moedi, Sapæi, and Celetæ. The Dolonci were so called from Doloncus, one of their kings; who, according to Eustatius, first introduced polygamy among them^d. At the time of Darius's expedition into Greece, they were possessed of the Thracian Chersonesus, and governed by princes of the family of Miltiades.

Government and inhabitants.

Dolonci.

The Denfeletæ are mentioned by Tully^e, Pliny^f, Strabo^g, and Livy^h, who calls them Dentheliræ. All we know of them is, that they had at first a king of their own; that they were afterwards reduced by the Macedonians; that they assisted the Romans against Philip and Perseus, kings of Macedon, and continued faithful to Rome, till, being provoked by the oppressions and cruelties of Piso, they took up arms against him, committing great devastations in the neighbouring countries subject to the Romans. In the reign of Augustus they were still governed by their own princes; for we find one Sitas, mentioned by Dion Cassiusⁱ, as reigning over them, and making war upon the Bastarnæ, whom he entirely defeated with the troops sent to his assistance by Crassus, at that time prætor of Macedon.

Denfeletæ.

The Bessi inhabited Mount Hæmus, living in huts, and maintained themselves by plundering their neighbours. They were by far the most savage and inhuman of all the Thracians, as appears from St. Jerom, Paulinus of Nola, Eutropius, and Ovid, who make particular mention of their cruelty. Their chief city, Uscudama, is now known by the name of Adrianople. They lived under their own kings, the neighbouring princes not being inclined to disturb them, till the consulate of M. Licinius Lucullus, and C. Cassius Varus. Lucullus invaded their country; and, having gained a signal victory over them, took possession of their metropolis, and subjected the whole nation to the Roman laws^k. The Romans, notwithstanding they had

Bessi.

^c Herodot. lib. v. sub init. ^d Eustath. in Dionys. ^e Cic. Orat. in Pison. ^f Plin. lib. iv. cap. 11. ^g Strab. lib. vii.
 ^h Liv. lib. ix. Decad. 4. ⁱ Dio Cass. lib. li. ^k Eutrop. ibid.
 Oros. lib. iv. cap. 3. Hist. Miscel. lib. vi. Flor. in Epit. lib. xcvii.

reduced

reduced the Thracians by force of arms, suffered them to live under their own kings; for Piso, while he governed Macedon in quality of proconsul, having treacherously seized Rabocentus, whom Strabo calls prince of the Bessi, caused him to be publicly beheaded; which affront so exasperated the whole nation, that they shook off the Roman yoke; but were overthrown in a great battle by Octavius, the father of Augustus¹. During the civil wars of Rome they attempted once more to recover their liberty; but were again conquered by the famous M. Brutus, junior². In the reign of Augustus, one Vologeses, a native of the country, and priest of Bacchus, having, under pretence of religion, assembled a numerous body of people, made himself master of the whole country, and, entering the Chersonesus, committed most dreadful ravages; but was at last overcome by L. Piso, who obliged the savage inhabitants to lay down their arms, and submit to such conditions as he was pleased to impose. From this time the Bessi continued subject to the Romans, without making any farther attempts towards the recovery of their ancient liberty³.

Bistones.

The Bistones inhabited that part of Thrace which lies between Rhodope to the north, the river Hebrus to the east, the Nessus to the west, and the *Ægean* Sea to the south. The Bistones underwent the same fate as the other people of Thrace, having been first subdued by the Macedonians, and afterwards by the Romans.

Odомantes.

The Odомantes bordered on Macedon, being parted from that country by the river Strymon. In the time of the Peloponnesian war they were governed by Polles, the only king of the Odомantes we find mentioned in history, who, in that war, sided with the Athenians⁴.

Cicones.

The Cicones inhabited the country lying between the Hebrus and the Melas⁵. The city of Enos, famous on account of the tomb of Polydorus, was their capital. Homer speaks of three of their kings, Pirous, Imbrasus, and Rhigmus. Pirous, if that poet is to be credited, espoused the cause of the Trojans, and was killed by Thoas the *Ætolian*. Rhigmus, his son and successor, was killed in the same war by Achilles.

Edoni.

The Edoni, or Edones, possessed that country which lay between the Strymon and the famous city of Philippi; and are mentioned by Herodotus⁶, Thucydides, and

¹ Sueton. in Octav. ² Dio Cass. lib. xlvii. ³ Flor. lib. iv. cap. 12. ⁴ Thucyd. lib. v. ⁵ Homer *Iliad*. 8^o. ⁶ Herodot. lib. v. cap. 12. & lib. vii. cap. 110, 114. & lib. ix. cap. 74. Pliny.

Pliny. Thamyris, the celebrated musician, was a native of this country: he is said to have been the disciple of Linus, and contemporary with Hercules and Orpheus. The Edoni were governed by kings, like the other Thracian nations. The following princes are mentioned by the ancients. Dryas I. Lycurgus, Dryas II. and Pittacus. Dryas is mentioned by Apollodorus^r and Ovid; Lycurgus by Virgil^s, Apollodorus, Hyginus^t, and Diodorus Siculus^u; which last tells us, that he made war with Bacchus. Dryas II. was killed, according to Apollodorus and Hyginus, by his father Lycurgus. Pittacus lived in the time of the Peloponnesian war, and was murdered by the children of Goaxes, another petty prince of Thrace.

All we know of the Brygi is, that they were subdued by Mædonius, and served under Xerxes, when he invaded Greece. Of the Thyni we shall have occasion to speak in the history of the Bithynians. The Pieres first inhabited part of Macedon, where they consecrated to the Muses, from them called Pierides, the countries of Pieria, Libetrus, and Pimplia; as they did also Helicon in Bœotia, having sent some colonies into that country. Being driven out of Macedon by the Temenidæ, they settled under Mount Pangæus, near the banks of the Strymon. Those who had settled in Bœotia were likewise driven from thence; and on this occasion it was that they settled in Phocis, and consecrated Mount Parnassus to the Muses^w. The kings of the Pieres, mentioned by the ancients, are Atlas, Tharops, and Oeager. Linus and Orpheus, so much celebrated by the poets, were the sons of the latter^x.

The Odrysæ possessed great part of that country which lies between the mountains of Hæmus and Rhodope, and were the most powerful people of all Thrace. When this kingdom began is not known. However, it is certain, that the Odrysæ made no figure till the reign of Teres, who was contemporary with Perdiccas II. king of Macedon. He was the son of Sitalces, the first king of the Odrysæ, whom we find mentioned in history. Sitalces attended Xerxes in his expedition into Greece, and lost his life in that war^y. He was succeeded by Teres the first, according to Thucydides, who raised the kingdom of the Odrysæ above the other petty states of Thrace; whence

Brygi.

*Thyni.
Pieres.*

Odrysæ.

*Kings of
the Odrysæ.
Sitalces.*

Teres.

^r Apollodor. lib. iii. ^s Virg. Æneid. iii. ^t Hygin. Fab. 132. ^u Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii. cap. 5. ^w Thucyd. lib. ii. ^x Vide Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii. cap. 5. ^y Euseb. de Præp. Evang. lib. x. cap. 2. ^z Æschyl. Persus.

he is called by that writer the first king of the Odrysæ. He reduced great part of Thrace, and made himself formidable to the neighbouring princes; but was at last overthrown in a great battle by the Thyni. He died in the ninety-second year of his age, having spent most part of his life in waging war with the other kings of Thrace ^a.

Sitalces II. He was succeeded by his son Sitalces, who entered into an alliance with the Athenians against the Lacedæmonians, and even delivered up to the former the ambassadors who had been sent to his court from Sparta, in order to persuade him to abandon his allies. He received into his kingdom, and entertained with great magnificence, Scyllis king of the Scythians, who had been expelled, for attempting to introduce among his subjects the customs of the Greeks; but Oclamasus, the banished king's brother, who had been raised to the throne, threatening to invade Thrace with a numerous army, unless Sitalces delivered up the fugitive prince into his hands, he chose rather to betray his guest than engage in so dangerous a war. This prince afterwards made war upon the Pæonians, Macedonians, and Chalcedonians; in which he is said by Thucydides, to have had one hundred and fifty thousand men under his command ^a. In all these expeditions he was attended with good success, which struck such terror into the other princes of Thrace, that most of them voluntarily submitted to him; insomuch that, at his death, he was possessed of all those provinces which extend from the city of Abdera on the Ægean Sea, to the mouth of the Ister, which discharges itself into the Euxine ^b. Sitalces dying

Scuthes.

without children, left the kingdom to Scuthes, the son of his brother Spardocus, who, having married Stratonice, the daughter of Perdiccas II. king of Macedon, entered into an alliance with that prince; and, being assisted by him, made several new acquisitions, extending the confines of his dominions even beyond Mount Hæmus.

Amadocus.

Mesades.

Scuthes II.

Amadocus and Mesades, the sons of Scuthes, succeeded each other in the kingdom; but performed nothing worth mentioning. Scuthes II. who succeeded his father Mesades, subdued the Thyni; joined the Lacedæmonians against the Persians; and obtained a considerable victory over the Athenians, who had made a descent on the coasts of Thrace: but as he was obliged to impose heavy taxes on his subjects, to defray the expences of the many wars he was engaged in, the chief lords of his kingdom, en-

^a Xenoph. *Avæc.* lib. vii.

^b Thucyd. lib. ii.

Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 80. & vii. cap. 137. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii.

^c He-
tering

tering into a conspiracy against him, drove him from the throne; however, he was afterwards restored by Iphicrates, and left the kingdom to Cotys, the son of Amadocus. Cotys was a most voluptuous prince; but, at the same time, a man of courage and resolution. He maintained, during his whole reign, a war with the Athenians; and was at last assassinated by Python and Heraclidas, both natives of Ænos; who, after the murder, flying to Athens, were kindly received by the Athenians, made free of their city, and presented with crowns of gold, for having thus delivered them from so troublesome an enemy^c. Upon his death, his son Chersobleptes took possession of the kingdom, which the Athenians obliged him to divide with his two brothers Berisades and Amadocus. The Chersonesus he gave up to the Athenians, choosing rather to part with that peninsula, than engage in a war against so powerful an enemy. However, he could not avoid coming to a rupture with Philip the father of Alexander; by whom he was overcome, and dispossessed of great part of his dominions^d. He died after a reign of eleven years, leaving the kingdom to his son Scuthes, who was then an hostage at the court of Philip king of Macedon, who immediately sent him home to take possession of the throne; but he was scarce seated in it, when he fell upon the Macedonians who inhabited the countries which had been taken from his father, drove them quite out, and recovered all the provinces which had formerly belonged to the kingdom of the Odrysæ. These he held under Alexander the Great, whom he assisted against the Persians; but, upon that prince's death, he marched against Lyfimachus at the head of twenty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; protesting, that he would not submit to the division which the captains of Alexander had made. He engaged Lyfimachus twice: in the first battle, no considerable advantage was gained on either side; but, in the second, Scuthes was entirely routed, and his army cut in pieces^e. He died soon after this overthrow, and was succeeded by his brother Ariopharnes, who having, on his accession to the throne, espoused the cause of Eumelus against Satyrus king of Bosphorus, was by the latter overthrown, with the loss of almost his whole army.

Cotys.

Chersobleptes.

Scuthes III.

Ariopharnes.

^c Demosth. contra Aristocrat. Athen. lib. xii. cap. 14. ^d Polyen. lib. vii. Iphicrat. Orat. de Pace. ^e Æschyn. de Falsi Legat. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii. Curt. lib. xi.

- Scuthes IV.* Next to him reigned Scuthes IV. who, as we read in Livy, was attacked in the heart of his dominions by Philip the father of Perſes, and by that prince reduced to great ſtraits, having loſt Philipopolis, and ſeveral other fortrefſes ^f. Scuthes was ſucceeded by Cotys II. who joined Perſes againſt the Romans, aſſiſting him with a body of a thouſand choſen horſe; but Eumenes king of Pergamus having raiſed up againſt him a neighbouring prince named Atleſbis, and ſent a body of troops into his dominions, under the command of Corrabus, one of his generals, Cotys was obliged to leave Perſes, and haſten to the defence of his own kingdom. As he had ever been faithful to Perſes, and almoſt the only ally on whom he could depend, the king of Macedon followed him in perſon, put the Pergamians and Thracians, who infeſted his territories, to flight, retook the cities he had loſt, and reſtored tranquility to his dominions. Perſes, on his parting with Cotys to return to Macedon, diſtributed two hundred talents among the Thracians, who had ſerved under him the laſt campaign; but as this ſum amounted to no more than ſix months pay, Cotys, much offended that his men ſhould be thus defrauded of what was their due, reſuſed to aſſiſt him the enſuing year; and no ſooner heard he was defeated and taken by the Romans, than he ſent ambaffadors to Rome to congratulate the ſenate on the ſucceſs of their army, and excuſe his having formerly joined Perſes. The ambaffadors were received very kindly by the ſenate, and the Thracian hoſtages that had been taken, together with Perſes, reſtored to them without ranſom ^g. Cotys was ſucceeded by Diegyliſ; who having led a body of Thracians to the aſſiſtance of Pruſias, his ſon-in-law, was defeated and taken priſoner by Attalus ^h; and this is all we know of him. Sothymus, the ſon of Diegyliſ, reigned at the time of the Social War, or the war between Rome and her Italian allies. Theſe domeſtic diviſions he improved to his advantage, invading Greece, and laying waſte Macedon; whence he returned with an immenſe booty; but was at laſt overcome, and obliged to abandon the countries he had poſſeſſed himſelf of, by C. Sentius, prætor of Macedon ⁱ. Cotys III. the ſon of Sothymus, ſucceeding his father, entered into an
- Diegyliſ.*
- Sothymus.*
- Cotys III.*

^f Liv. Decad. 5. lib. ii. & Decad. 4. lib. ix. ^g Liv. Decad. 5. lib. ii. & v. Zonar. tom. ii. Eutrop. lib. iv. Oroſ. lib. iv. cap. 20. Hiſt. Miſcell. lib. iv. ^h Strabo, lib. xiii. p. 372. Val. Max. lib. ix. cap. 2. ⁱ Oroſ. lib. v. cap. 18. Hiſt. Miſcell. lib. v.

alliance with Rome, and prevailed upon Piso, proconsul of Macedon, by a present of three hundred talents, to put to death Rabocentus king of the Bessi, and give him part of his dominions. In the civil war of Rome, he sent five hundred horse to the assistance of Pompey. His son *Sasales*, after his death, followed the same party, and had great share in the signal victory which was gained over L. Cassius Longinus. He distinguished himself in the battle of Pharsalia; but, nevertheless, was pardoned by Cæsar. He died not long before the battle of Philippi, and left his kingdom, as he had no children, to the people of Rome; but M. Brutus seized it after Cæsar's death.

Though he had bequeathed his dominions to the Romans, yet M. Brutus bestowed them on his brother Cotys; who, dying soon after his accession, left them to his son Rhymetalces, who being, at his father's death, under age, was carefully educated, together with his brother Rhasciporis, by Rhymetalces their uncle by the mother. Both brothers served under Tiberius in the Pannonic war, and had a great share in the victories he gained over those barbarians.

Upon the death of Rhymetalces, Augustus divided the kingdom between Rhasciporis his brother, and Cotys his son. In this partition, the cities and countries bordering upon Greece fell to Cotys, and the mountainous and barren provinces to Rhasciporis; who thereupon, invading his nephew's dominions, seized the most fruitful parts of them for himself. Cotys, thus provoked, raised a powerful army; but while the two princes were ready to take the field, Tiberius, who had succeeded Augustus in the empire, dispatched messengers to the brothers, ordering them to lay down their arms, and refer the decision of their differences to the arbitration of the Roman people. Cotys forthwith dismissed his army; and, at the request of Rhasciporis, came to an interview with him; where he was treacherously seized, and loaded with chains. When news of these proceedings were brought to Rome, Tiberius laid injunctions on Rhasciporis to send Cotys to Rome, and to appear himself in person before the senate, to give an account of the transaction. In consequence of this order Rhasciporis caused Cotys to be murdered; giving out, that he had laid violent hands on himself. This fiction Tiberius feigned to believe; but, however, insisted upon the king's coming to Rome; which he re-

* Dio, lib. xli. & xlvii. Cæs. lib. iii. de Bell. Civil. Lucan lib. v.

fusing to do, Tiberius preferred to the government of Mœsia, which bordered on the country of the Odryſæ, Pomponius Flaccus. This governor having treacherouſly drawn Rhafciſporis into the Roman territories, cauſed him to be ſeized, and ſent to Rome, where he was accuſed by the wife of Cotys; and, being convicted of the crimes laid to his charge, condemned to exile, and ſent to Alexandria. He was afterwards put to death by an order from Tiberius, for attempting to eſcape from the place of his baniſhment¹.

Rhemetalces.

Upon the exile of Rhafciſporis, the kingdom was divided between Rhemetalces his ſon, who had oppoſed all his father's meaſures, and the ſons of Cotys. As theſe were minors, Trebellienus Rufus was appointed their guardian, and charged with the adminiſtration. The ſons of Cotys having, by what means is uncertain, diſobliged the emperor Caligula, were by him driven out of their kingdom; which was conferred upon Rhemetalces; who thus became ſole maſter of all the countries, that had ever belonged to the Odryſæ^m. From this time we find no mention made of the Odryſæ till the reign of Veſpaſian, who reduced their country to a Roman province.

The Autonomi.

The Autonomi, ſo called, becauſe every man among them was his own law-giver, inhabited the moſt rocky and barren places of Thrace, ſeparated from Mœſia by Mount Hæmusⁿ. They were not afraid even to engage Alexander; and, on that occaſion, behaved with extraordinary valour; but their army was cut in pieces, and their baggage taken, including their wives and children. After this overthrow they ſubmitted to the conqueror; who, to prevent them from revolting in his abſence, took along with him into Aſia all the chief men of their nation^o. They ſerved under Perſes againſt the Romans; but, however, were allowed to live according to their own laws, till the reign of Veſpaſian, who made their country part of the province of Thrace. The Crobyzi poſſeſſed that part of Thrace which lay between Mount Hæmus and the Euxine Sea. They had kings of their own; and, amongſt others, one Iſanthus, who was one of the moſt wealthy and comely princes of his age^p.

Crobyzi.

Mœdi.

The Mœdi inhabited that part of Thrace which bordered upon Macedon, and are mentioned by moſt of the

¹ Tacitus, Annal. lib. ii. Suet. in Tiber. Dio, lib. xlv. Vel. Patercul. lib. ultim.

^m Dio Caſſ. lib. lv. Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. iii. iv.

ⁿ Thucyd. lib. ii.

^o Arrian. lib.

j. Frontin. lib. ii. cap. 11.

^p Athen. lib. xii. cap. 17.

ancients, who all tell us, that they were a brave and gallant nation, strangers to all manner of effeminacy, and inured to the fatigues of war. However, they were reduced by Philip, the son of Amyntas: having shaken off the yoke while he was employed against the Byzantii, they were again subdued by his son Alexander, who possessed himself of their metropolis, called formerly Jampharina, but from him Alexandropolis*. Notwithstanding the great loss they sustained on this occasion, Alexander no sooner left Macédon, than they invaded that country again, and penetrated as far as Greece, committing every where most dreadful ravages. Thus they continued to harass the Macedonians, till that kingdom became a Roman province; when they were at last, after a long war, entirely reduced by the Romans, in the consulate of Cn. Octavius and C. Scribonius. They had, some years before, plundered the rich temple of Delphi; and, with part of the booty, bribed L. Scipio, who had been sent against them, to let them depart unmolested. To this sacrilegious connivance of the Roman general, Appian ascribes the civil wars, and the many calamities which not long after fell upon Rome.

The country of the Sapæi lay between the rivers Melas *Sapæi.* and Arzus; bordering on the gulf of Melas, on the Chersonesus, and the Propontis. The Sapæi were governed by their own kings. Those, whose names have reached us, were, Olorus, Timotheus, Rhascipolis, Rhascus, and Cotys: Olorus gave his daughter Hegesipole in marriage to Miklades, the second of this name (P).

Timotheus is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, as reigning in this part of Thrace; but neither he, nor other writers, give us any account of his actions. Rhascipolis and Rhascus reigned many years, or rather ages, after Olorus; that is, in the time of the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey; but we are unacquainted with the actions, and even the names, of the intermediate kings; the works of Callisthenes and Socrates, who wrote a particular and distinct account of the affairs of Thrace, as Plutarch informs us, having been long since lost. Rhaf-

* Plutarch. in Alexand.
lib. x. Appian. in Illyric.

† Liv. Decad. 3. lib. vi. Polyb.
• Plut. in Parall.

(P) From this Olorus was descended the father of Thucydides the historian, called also Olorus, as Plutarch informs

us; but at what time, or on what occasion, he settled at Athens, is uncertain.

cipolis and Rhascus, in the civil wars, sided with Pompey, and afterwards with Brutus; but being pardoned by Octavianus, assisted Antony with three thousand horse, till he disagreed with Octavianus, when they both declared for the latter. Cotys was the son of one of these two brothers, succeeded them in the kingdom, and enjoyed it till the latter end of the reign of Tiberius; when he was treacherously murdered by his own subjects, and his kingdom reduced to the form of a province ¹.

Celeta.

The Celetæ inhabited part of Mount Hæmus, and part of Mount Rhodope; and are called by Pliny ² the most savage of all the Thracians. Livy tells us, that they fell upon Cn. Manlius, as he was returning out of Asia into Europe, and took from him great part of the booty which he had got by plundering some rich cities of Gallo-Græcia ³. This is all we find recorded of them in history.

*Kings of
the Thra-
cian Cher-
soneusus.*

The Thracian Chersonesus had likewise its own kings; among whom mention is made of Polymnestor, Euforus, and Acamas. Polymnestor married Ilione, the daughter of king Priam; and, after the destruction of Troy, treacherously murdered Polydorus, who had been sent by his father Priam to be brought up at his court, as in a place of safety ⁴.

Euforus and Acamas are mentioned by Homer ⁵; and the latter is said to have led a body of Thracians to the relief of Troy; during the siege of which city he was killed by Ajax. His daughter Acète married Æneus, a Thessalian, by whom she had Cyzicus, who built the famous city bearing his name ⁶ (Q).

C H A P.

¹ Appian. lib. iv. de Bell. Civil. Dio, lib. xlvii. Lucan. lib. v. Cæf. de Bell. Civil. lib. iii. ² Plin. lib. iv. cap. 7. ³ Liv. Decad. 4. lib. viii. ⁴ Plut. in Parall. Virgil Æneid. lib. iii. ver. 45. & seq. Ovid. Metam. lib. xiii. ⁵ Homer. Iliad. 8 & 9. ⁶ Scholiast. Apollonii, p. 149.

(Q) Before we dismiss this subject, we cannot help observing, that the Greeks were chiefly indebted to the Thracians for the polite arts that flourished among them; for Orpheus, Linus, Musæus, Thamyris, and Eumolpus, all Thracians, were the first, as Euseb. informs us, who charmed the inhabitants of Greece with their eloquence

and melody, and persuaded them to exchange their fierceness for a sociable life, and peaceful manners; nay, great part of Greece was anciently peopled by Thracians. Teræus, a Thracian, governed at Daulis in Phocis, where the tragical story of Philomela and Progne was acted. From thence a body of Thracians passed over to Eubœa, and possessed them-

C H A P. XXXI.

The History of the Ancient Kingdom of Epirus.

EPIRUS, the ancient kingdom of the *Æacidæ*, was first called Epirus Dodonæa, that is, *the continent of the Dodonæans*, or the continent inhabited by the Dodonæans; and afterwards Epirus, or *the continent*, without any addition, that being the import of the Greek word *epeiros*. Of the limits of this kingdom we have spoken already in our history of Greece. It was anciently divided into three districts, or provinces; namely, Chaonia, Thesprotia, and Molossis; to which some authors add Cassopia, Cassiope, or Cæstrine, and Pindus. Chaonia, the most northern part of Epirus, was so called from its ancient inhabitants, the Chaones, descended, according to the scholiast of Aristophanes, from the Thracians; according to Aristotle, from the *Ænotrii*, one of the most ancient nations of Italy. Cities of note, in this part of Epirus, were, according to Ptolemy, Oricum, or Oricus, situated on the coast of the Ionian Sea, at the foot of the Ceraunian mountains. It was founded, according to Pliny ^a, by a colony from Colchis, had a famous harbour, and was, in the Roman times, a place of great note, but of no strength ^b. Cassiope, or Cassope, famous on account of the temple of Jupiter Cassius; whence, some are of opinion, it borrowed its name. Torrentius, and most of the modern writers, confound Cassiope in Epirus with another city in the island of Corcyra, bearing anciently the same name ^c. This city was the metropolis of the province Cassopia; or Cassiope, which contained, according to Strabo ^d and Pliny, three other small towns;

Name, situation, &c.

Cities of Chaonia.

^a Plin. lib. iii. cap. 23.

Bell. Civil. lib. iii. cap. 7, 8, 15.

lib. ii. Antiq. Græc. cap. 4.

^b Liv. lib. xxiv. cap. 40. Cæf. de

^c Vide Jac. Palmerium,

^d Strabo, lib. vii. p. 223.

themselves of that island. Of the same nation were the Aones, Tembices, and Hyanthians, who made themselves masters of Boeotia; and great part of Attica itself was inhabited by Thracians, under the command of the celebrated Eumolpus (2).

It is not therefore without the utmost ingratitude and injustice, that the Greeks style them Barbarians, since to them chiefly they were indebted, both for the peopling and polishing of their country.

(2) Strabo, lib. v. p. 392.

named

Of Thesprotia.

named Buchœtium, Elatria, and Pandosia. The inland towns of Chaonia were, Antigonis, founded by Antigonus; Phœnice, Hecatompædum, Omphalium, Elæus, and the strong town, or, as Pliny calls it, castle of Chimæra, much frequented on account of its hot baths.

The most remarkable cities in Thesprotia, which lay between the Ambracian Lake and the sea, were, Bathrotum, Ephyra, Nicopolis, built by Augustus after the Actiac victory, and called by Pliny ^e a free city, and a Roman colony; Mæandria, Cæstria, Charadra, and Ambracia. The latter city, which was one of the most considerable of Epirus, stood not far from the mouth of the river Arachthus, near the gulf to which it gave its name. It was in the Roman times a place of great strength, full of people, and about three miles in compass. In ancient times it was a free city; but afterwards reduced by the Æacidæ kings of Epirus, who chose it for the place of their residence ^f. In process of time, the Ætolians made themselves masters of it, and held it till they were subdued by the Romans ^g.

Of Molossis.

Molossis was an inland province, and, according to Scylax, only forty stadia, or furlongs, in compass ^h. It was called Molossis from Molossus, the son of Pyrrhus and Andromache, and contained the following cities, Dodona, Passaron, Tecmon, Phylace, and Horreum. Dodona is placed by some writers in Thesprotia ⁱ, and by others in Molossis ^k; but Strabo ^l reconciles these two opposite opinions, by telling us, that anciently it belonged to Thesprotia, and afterwards to Molossis; for it stood on the confines of these two provinces. This city was once famous for the temple and oracle of Jupiter Dodonæus, much spoken of by all the ancient writers (R). The other

^e Plin. lib. iv. cap. 1.^f Polyb. Legat. 28. Pomp. Mela,

lib. xi. cap. 1.

^g Florus, lib. xi. cap. 9. Liv. lib. xxxviii.

cap. 6.

^h Scylax, in Periplo.ⁱ Marcian. Capella, lib. vii.^k Pausan. in Attic. cap. 17.^l Strabo, lib. viii. p. 297.

(R) The city of Dodona is said to have been built by Deucalion, who, in that universal deluge, retreated to this place, which, by reason of its height, secured him from the waters. Hither resorted to him all those who had escaped from the inundation. With these he peopled his new built city,

calling it Dodona, according to some, from a sea-nymph of that name; according to others, from Dodon, the son, or Dodone, the daughter, of Jupiter and Europa. At the same time, Deucalion is said to have founded a temple, which he consecrated to Jupiter, who is from thence styled Dodonæus.

This

other cities of Molossia contained nothing worthy of observation. The kingdom of Epirus must have comprehended, in the Roman times, a great many cities, of which no mention is made by the ancient historians or geographers, if what Polybius, as quoted by Strabo^m, and after him Livyⁿ, tells us, be true, that Æmilius Paulus dismantled and plundered about seventy cities subject to the Epirots. Strabo counts the Athemanes, Æthices, Tymphæi, Orestæ, Paroræi, Atintanes and Perrhœ-

^m Strabo, lib. vii. p. 223.

ⁿ Liv. lib. xlv. cap. 34.

This was the first temple of Greece; for the Epirots were anciently reckoned among the Greeks. But the oracle seems to have been a considerable time before it; for Herodotus tells us, that it was the most ancient of all the oracles of Greece.

Near the temple was a sacred grove of oaks and beeches,

which was supposed to be inhabited by the Dryades, Fauni, and Satyri, who, we are told, were often seen dancing under the shades of the trees. Before sowing was invented, when men lived upon acorns, those of this wood were in great request, as appears from the following verses of Virgil:

“Liber, & alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus

“Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista (1).”

These oaks, or beeches, were said to be endued with a human voice, and prophetic spirit; for which reason they are called “speaking and prophesying oaks.” What gave occasion to this fiction was, that the prophets, when they gave answers, placed themselves in one of these trees, so that the oracle was thought to be uttered by the oak, which was only pronounced out of its hollow stock, or from among its hollow branches. Some are of opinion, that the oracles were delivered from the branches of the tree, because the prophetic pigeons are reported, by Herodotus, to have perched

upon a tree (2); and the scholiast upon Sophocles tells us, that above the oracle there were two pigeons. Others are inclined to believe, that the oracles were uttered from the hollow stock, because the prophets could best be concealed there (3). The brazen kettles of this place were no less famous than the speaking oak. Some writers affirm, that they were made use of in delivering the oracles: however that be, Demon in Suidas says, that they were so artificially placed about the temple, that, by striking one of them, the sound was communicated to all the rest.

(1) Virgil. Geogr. lib. i. ver. 7. cap. 52. 55. 57.

(3) Hesiod. Eoa.

(2) Vide Herodot. lib. ii.

bi, among the Epirotic nations; Pliny^o and Livy^p reckon the Athamanes, Tymphæi, and Perrhœbi, among the Ætolians.

*Mountains,
rivers, &c.*

In Chaonia were the Ceraunian or Acroceraunium mountains, now Monti della Chimera, parting the Ionian and Adriatic seas, so called from their being frequently struck with lightning. In Thesprotia were the Acherusian lake, and the river Acheron, much spoken of by the poets. The river had its springs, according to Pliny^q, in the above mentioned lake, and emptied itself into the Ambracian gulf; but, according to Ptolemy, Strabo, and Thucydides^r, it rose in the country of the Molossi, and, passing through the Acherusian lake, discharged itself into the Thesprotian bay. The rivers Aphas and Arachtus are mentioned by Livy^s, as rising in the same country. The celebrated Mount Pindus parted Epirus and Thesfaly; and was therefore, by some geographers, placed in Thesfaly, by others in Epirus. The inland parts of Epirus were very barren, and full of forests, but the coast was pretty fruitful. The horses of this country were in great request among the ancients, as were also the mastiffs of Molossis, from thence called by the Latins, Molossi^t. The Epirots were deemed a very warlike people; but continued in their savage condition long after their neighbours were civilized; whence the islanders used to threaten their offenders, as we read in Athenæus^u, with transportation to the continent, namely to Epirus.

*Manners
of the in-
habitants.*

*Inhabit-
ants.*

This country was first peopled by Dodanim, the son of Javin, and grandson of Japhet, or at least by some of his posterity, as Josephus informs us (S).

The various nations we find mentioned by the most ancient writers, as inhabiting Epirus before they became one people, and were blended under the common name of Epirots, are the Selli, Chaones, Molossi, Dolopes, Pa-

^o Plin. lib. iv. cap. 11. ^p Liv. lib. xxxviii. sub init. ^q Plin. ibid. ^r Thucyd. lib. ii. ^s Liv. lib. viii. cap. 24. ^t Vide Virg. Georg. lib. iii. ver. 405. & Servium ibid. ^u Athen. lib. ii. cap. 7.

(S) Eusebius says, that Dodanim first settled in the island of Rhodes; and that some of his descendents, being freightened there for want of room,

passed over to the continent, and fixed their abode in Epirus, where they built a city, calling it Dodona, from their progenitor Dodanim (4).

(4) Euseb. in Chron.

ravæi, Orestî, Dryopes, Hellopes, Ænianes, and Pelasgi (T).

The form of government, which prevailed in Epirus, was, without all doubt, monarchical, the whole country being divided into many small kingdoms, independent of each other. We find several kings mentioned by Homer, and other ancient writers, as reigning at the time of the Trojan war; namely, Aidoneus, Ærcus, Phidon, Echetus, and Harpalicus. The other Epirotic nations continued for a long time to be governed by princes of their own blood; but the Molossi fell very early under the power of Pyrrhus, a foreign prince, whose descendants were from him styled Pyrrhidæ, and from his family Æacidæ, as the progeny of Æacus. Some of these petty kingdoms, in process of time, exchanged the monarchical for a republican form of government; for Thucydides tells us, that in his time the Thesprotæ and Chaones were governed, not by kings, but by annual magistrates. But when, and on what occasion, this change happened, is what we find nowhere recorded. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the Paravæi and Orestî were still ruled by kings of their own nation; the former by Antiochus, and the latter by Oroedus. But the kingdom of the Molossi soon eclipsed all the others, the Molossian princes having subjected the whole country, and united the many small kingdoms, of which it consisted, into one, known to the ancients by the name of Epirus. This alone affords us matter for a history, there being nothing upon record relating to the others, but the names of some of their kings, and a few fabulous accounts of their actions; for which we refer our readers to Hyginus *, and Cyrillus †.

Form of government.

* Hygin. Fab. 193. 252.

† Cyril. lib. i. contra Julian.

(T) But, as to the origin of these different tribes, there is a great disagreement among authors, whose various opinions it would be too tedious to relate. We shall only observe, that the Selli were, by profane authors, thought to have been the first inhabitants of Epirus, and to have ministered in the temple of Dodona. Homer speaks of them as priests, "liv-

ing round the abode of the Pelasgian Jove, king of Dodona;" that is, round the temple of Jupiter Dodonæus; and insinuates, that they lay on the ground, and never washed their feet; whence Strabo concludes, that they were not originally Greeks, but sprung from some savage and unpolished nation (5).

(5) Strab. *ibid.*

We

Pyrrhus.

We shall begin the history of the kings of Epirus with Pyrrhus, the first of the *Æacidæ*, who reigned in that country, the times which preceded his reign being overcast with an impenetrable mist, and the kings, who are supposed to have ruled over the *Molossi* before his arrival, more spoken of by the poets than the historians. Pyrrhus was the son of Achilles, by Deidamia, the daughter of Lycomedes, king of the island of Scyros. Upon the death of his father, who was killed at the siege of Troy, he was prevailed upon by Diomedes and Ulysses to leave his grandfather's court, where he had been educated, and take upon him the command of the troops which his father had led against Troy. He distinguished himself at the siege of that city, if the poets are to be credited, by his brave and gallant behaviour; and, after it was taken, killed old king Priam with his own hand, threw Astyanax, the son of Hector and Andromache, headlong from a high tower, sacrificed Polyxena, the daughter of king Priam, on the tomb of his father, and carried Andromache with him into Epirus, where he settled, by the advice of the famous soothsayer Helenus, with the *Myrmidons*, who had served, during the Trojan war, under his father. He maintained himself in this new settlement with the assistance of the *Pelopidæ*, to whom he was nearly related, against the natives; who, finding they could not expel him, submitted, and acknowledged him for their king. But his reign was not long; for he had scarce settled the affairs of his new kingdom, when he was murdered by Orestes in the temple of Delphi, for marrying Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus, who had been betrothed to Orestes (U).

His body, by command of the oracle, was buried in the temple where he had been murdered; but no honours were paid him till the irruption of the Gauls, which hap-

(U) Some writers assert, that, under pretence of consulting the oracle of Delphi relating to his issue by Hermione, he attempted to plunder the temple, and was, in that attempt, killed by the priests. His death gave rise to the proverb, "Neoptolentle revenge," used by the ancients, when one suffered the same evils which he brought upon others; for Pyrrhus, surnamed Neoptolemus, had barbarously murdered king Priam at the altar of Jupiter Hecæus, and was himself murdered at the altar of Apollo Delphicus. The surname of Neoptolemus, or the *young warrior*, was given to him when he first went to the siege of Troy, he being then very young.

pened

pened many ages after, when he is said to have appeared among other dead heroes, and to have, with his ghastly looks, struck great terror into those sacrilegious Barbarians. From that time he was honoured with yearly sacrifices, and solemn sports exhibited at his tomb^r. The Pyrrhica, a kind of tournament, or dance in armour, was so called from him, he having first used it round the tomb of his father Achilles². Pyrrhus had two wives, Lanassa, the daughter of Cleodæus, one of the descendents of Hercules, and Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus and Helena. By the latter he had no children; but the former brought him three sons, Pyrrhus Alevas, and Ethneſtus, and five daughters. By Andromache, whom some consider as one of his lawful wives, others among his concubines, he had likewise three sons, Moloffus, Pielus, and Amphialus. Pyrrhus, his eldest son by Lanassa, died in his infancy. Alevas was educated by Peleus, his great-grandfather, king of Phthia, in Theſſaly, and by him appointed his heir and ſucceſſor in that kingdom³. Ethneſtus lived in Theſſaly with his brother, and gave his name to the tribe of Ethneſtæ, mentioned by Stephanus^b.

Moloffus lived, after the death of his father, under the tuition of Helenus, the son of king Priam, on whom Pyrrhus had beſtowed Andromache in marriage, and with her part of his kingdom; having always ſhewn great kindneſs, and particular friendſhip, for that prophet^c. Helenus educated him with all poſſible care, and, at his death, left him that part of the kingdom which he had received from Pyrrhus. As Moloffus died without children, he bequeathed the whole kingdom to his brother Pielus; for he had ſucceeded his father Pyrrhus as well as Helenus (X).

Amphialus, the third ſon of Pyrrhus, by Andromache, ſurnamed Pergamus, paſſed over into Aſia with his mo-

Moloffus.

Pielus.

^r Vide Serr. in ii. *Æneid.* & Conſtant. Manaff. lib. xiv. Plin. lib. vii. cap. 56. & Eraſmi Chiliad. voce Alevadæ.

^b Stephan. voce *Εθνεſτῆς*. Attic. Scholiaſt. Pindar.

² Præſcian.

³ Suidas

^c Pauſan. in

(X) Some authors write, that Moloffus was ſucceeded by his ſon; and that from him were deſcended the *Æacidæ*, or Pyrrhidæ of Epirus: but we have followed Pauſanias, who tells us, in expreſs terms,

(1) Pauſan. in *Βεωτικ.*

ther;

ther; and, having there killed in single combat Arias, king of Teuthrania, reigned in his stead, fixing the place of his residence at Pergamus, whence he was styled Amphialus Pergameus^d (Y).

Among the descendents of Amphialus, we find one Praces, mentioned by Pausanias, who is said to have founded a temple, in honour of Achilles, in Laconia, whither the young men resorted to offer sacrifices to that hero, before they entered the lists in the public combats. The five daughters which Pyrrhus had by Lanassa, as we have observed above, were married, according to Justin^e, to the neighbouring princes.

The descendents of Aleas reigned in Thessaly, and are said, by Herodotus^f, to have invited thither Xerxes, king of Persia, to whom they betrayed the country. When Alexander the Pherean attempted to make himself master of all Thessaly, they had recourse to Alexander, king of Macedon, who assisted him with a powerful army. They were at last deprived of all their dominions, and the cities they possessed declared free by Philip, the brother of Alexander, king of Macedon. As to the immediate descendents of Pielus, we are not furnished with any information, either with respect to their exploits or succession, there being little mention made of them by the ancients till the time of the Persian war, when Admetus reigned in Epirus, and was master of the greatest part of that country (Z).

Admetus.

Admetus reigned in Epirus when Xerxes invaded Greece, and refused to join either party. Upon the defeat of the Persians he courted the friendship of the Athenians, offering to enter into alliance with the republic; but his proposals were, at the instigation of Themistocles, rejected with scorn, because he had not assisted them against their common enemy. Notwithstanding the ill offices done him on this occasion by Themistocles, he afterwards received him, when banished from his own country, with marks of friendship and esteem; refused to

^d Hygin. Fab. 97.
lib. vii. cap. 61.

^e Justin. lib. xvii.

^f Herodot.

(Y) Pausanias will have the city of Pergamus to have been so called from him; but is herein contradicted by most of the ancients, who tell us, that this city was built long before his time by the Mysians.

(Z) Antonius Liberalis, indeed, names the following intermediate princes; to wit. Drius, Munichus, Aphidas, Genous, and Alcon; but upon what authority we know not.

deliver

deliver him up to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, though threatened with war; and supplied him with money and other necessaries, on his leaving Epirus, to pass over into Asia^e.

He was succeeded by Tharymbas, the only child he had by his wife Phthya; but this prince being very young at his father's death, was, by a decree of the people, put under the tuition of Sabylinthus, a man of great distinction in his country, and of an unblemished character. Sabylinthus attended him to Athens, where he applied himself with great earnestness to the study of polite literature; for he was reckoned one of the most learned princes of his age, and is said to have been the first who introduced and encouraged learning among the Epirots, his subjects. He likewise made many wise and wholesome laws, and is, on that account, reckoned by Plutarch amongst the ancient lawgivers (A).

Tharymbas.

Alcetas is the next king of Epirus we find mentioned in history: he was dethroned by his own subjects; on which occasion he fled to Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, by whom he was assisted with a body of Illyrians, who replaced him on the throne, after having overthrown his rebellious subjects. His dominions were soon after invaded by Jason of Phæræ; but having, by means of Timotheus, prevailed upon the Athenians to enter into an alliance with him, Jason, thinking it adviseable not to provoke so powerful a republic, withdrew his forces from Epirus, and suffered Alcetas to spend the remainder of his reign in peace^b.

Alcetas.

Alcetas was succeeded by his son Neoptolemus, who, finding that his brother Arybas began to raise disturbances,

Neoptolemus.

^e Thucyd. lib. iv. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi. Aristid. in Orat. pro quatuor Viris. Scholia^a. Pindar. ^b Pausan. in Bæotic. Diod. Sicul. lib. xvi.

(A) He is mentioned by Plutarch, Thucydides, Pausanias, and Justin, under the following names, Tharrytas, Tharyps, Tharypus, Arymbas, and Tharymbas. The Chaones, who had been formerly subject to the Molossian kings, were, in the reign of this prince, as we read in Thucydides (1), subject to no king, but govern-

ed by their own laws and magistrates; the Molossians and the Antitanians alone acknowledged Tharymbas for their king, the several other nations of Epirus having either their peculiar kings, or being free from all subjection, as is evident from the above mentioned writer (2).

(1) Thucyd. lib. ii.

(2) Thucyd. ibid.

Arybas.

and dreading the consequences of a civil war, took him for his associate in the kingdom. Upon the death of Neoptolemus (for we are entirely uninformed as to the particulars of his reign) Arybas remained sole master of the kingdom, which, contrary to the expectation of his subjects, he governed with great prudence, equity, and moderation. He was an encourager of learning, and shewed great favour to such as excelled in any branch of polite literature. To him Xenocrates, the Chalcedonian philosopher, dedicated four books¹, which he wrote on the art of reigning. He educated, with great care, his brother's children, Alexander, Neoptolemus, Arybas, Troas, Olympias, and Cadmia; and married his niece Olympias to Philip, king of Macedon, who had by her Alexander the Great. At his death, which happened after a reign of ten years, his nephew Alexander, whom Gellius calls Molossus, was raised to the sole possession of the throne, by the favour of Philip, his brother-in-law, who gave him in marriage Cleopatra, his daughter by Olympias; so that Alexander was also son-in-law to Philip.

*Alexander.**Passed over into Italy.*

Not long after the accession of Alexander to the crown of Epirus, Archedymas, king of Lacedæmon, being killed in fighting for the Tarentini against the Lucani and Brutii, the former invited Alexander into Italy to their assistance. The king of Epirus readily closed with the proposal; and, having made a descent at Pæstum, a maritime city near the mouth of the river Sibarus, reduced several cities of the Lucani and Brutii, and became formidable to all the eastern parts of Italy. The Romans being at that time employed in suppressing the revolt of the Latins, and avoiding to engage in a war with two powerful enemies at once, entered into an alliance with the Epirot, as did also the Metapontini and Pediculi, after he had gained a signal victory over the united forces of the Brutii and Lucani. The success which attended his arms in the two first campaigns, made him believe, that he should reap as great a harvest of glory in Sicily, Italy, and Africa, as his nephew was reaping in Persia, and the rest of Asia; but the unhappy prince lost his life, where he hoped to have enlarged his conquests.

This memorable event is thus related, and no doubt blended with many fables, by the Greek and Latin histo-

¹ Laertius, in Vit. Philosoph.

rians *. Before Alexander left Epirus, say they, he consulted the celebrated oracle of Dodona about the success that was to attend him during the remaining part of his life. The god returned him this answer; that the waters of Acheron would prove fatal to him; and at the same time admonished him to avoid the city of Pandosia, lest he should there finish his days. Acheron was a river of Epirus, and Pandosia a city of the same country: Alexander, therefore, not knowing that in the country of the Brutii were a river and a city bearing the same names, willingly complied with the invitation of the Tarentini, and left his own country, fearing it might prove fatal to him to make war in that of the Brutii. Persuaded that his life could be in no danger there, he exposed his person to the greatest perils, took several cities, namely, Heraclea, Cosentia, Sipontum, and Terina, and sent above three hundred hostages to Epirus, all chosen from the best families of the places he had conquered. Having overcome the Brutii and Lucani in a second battle, he divided his army into three bodies, posting them on three hills divided by deep valleys, and sending out numerous parties to ravage the neighbouring countries. One of these valleys was washed by the Acheron, on the banks of which stood the small city of Pandosia. While Alexander continued in this camp, the valleys were, by sudden rains, laid under water, which broke off the communication between the three bodies into which his army was divided. The enemy seized this favourable opportunity to attack the two posts, where the king was not, and which, by reason of the inundation, he could not assist. These two being defeated, and put to flight, the Brutii and Lucani, without loss of time, surrounded, with all their forces, the hill on which the king himself was encamped. His guard consisted of two hundred Lucani, who, being driven from their country, had fled to him for refuge. These wrote to the generals of their nation, promising to deliver up the king of Epirus, dead or alive, provided they would receive them into favour, and suffer them to return to their native country. The proposal was accepted, and the traitors only waited for a favourable opportunity to put their treachery in execution. As Alexander was a prince of great courage and resolution, he forced his way through the enemy's army, killed one of their generals

*The account
which the
ancients
give of his
death.*

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. Strabo, lib. vii. Pausan. in Boeot. Liv. lib. viii; cap. 24. Oros. lib. vi. Paul. Diac. Hist. Miscell.

with his own hand, and having, with a small number of attendants, made his escape, by gaining a neighbouring wood, he took his route from thence to the river, the name of which he knew not, with a design to break down the bridge after he had passed it. But finding the bridge carried away by the violence of the inundation, he threw himself into the river on horseback, when one of the Epirots, who attended him, seeing him in danger of being drowned, cried out, "Curfed Acheron, thou art justly called by a fatal name;" for the Greek word Acheron signifies a *torrent of grief*. At these words Alexander remembering the answer of the oracle, and fearing his fate approached, began to hesitate, being in suspense whether he should cross the river or not. While he was thus wavering, one of his attendants cried out to him, "Hasten, betrayed prince, hasten to the opposite bank; the Lucani, your guard, seek to destroy you." At these words the king turning about, and seeing the Lucani ready to fall upon him, drew his sword, and made what haste he could to reach the bank, which he had already gained, when one of the traitors, discharging a dart, killed him on the spot. His body fell into the river, and was carried to the enemy's camp, where it was used with all the indignity which rage and revenge could suggest. After they had barbarously defaced it, they cut it in two, sending one part to Cosentia, and setting up the other as a mark at which the soldiers discharged their arrows. At length a woman, whose husband and children had been taken by Alexander's troops, entreating the soldiers, with tears in her eyes, to give her the scattered remains of the unhappy prince, since she could easily purchase with them the redemption of her husband and children; that part of the body, which the soldiers possessed, was delivered to her, and conveyed by her means first to Metapontum, and from thence removed to Epirus, where they were consigned to Cleopatra and Olympias, the former the wife, the latter the sister of the deceased king. All the ancients speak of this prince as not inferior, either in courage or conduct, to his nephew Alexander the Great; but he had the misfortune to engage, on his first setting out, with nations inured to the toils of war, and no less brave than his own Epirots: whence he used to say, that the country, which he proposed to conquer, was inhabited by men, whereas the provinces his nephew Alexander went to subdue, were peopled by women only¹.

*His body
ill used by
his enemies.*

¹ Aul. Gell. lib. xvii. cap. 21.

Æacides.

Alexander was succeeded in the kingdom by *Æacides*, the son of *Arybbas* or *Arybas*, and grandson of *Alcetas*. This prince, espousing the cause of *Olympias* against *Cassander*, raised a powerful army, with a design to relieve her while besieged in the city of *Pydna*. But having on this occasion forced many of his subjects into the service, much against their will, they began to mutiny in the camp, especially after they found all the passes leading to *Pydna* seized on by *Atarchias*, *Cassander's* general. *Æacides*, being resolved at all events to attempt the relief of *Olympias*, disbanded all those who seemed unwilling to follow him in this expedition, and taking with him such only as shewed themselves ready to run the same risk with himself, he advanced towards *Pydna*; but he had scarce left *Epirus*, when those he had sent back revolted from him, and, drawing their fellow-citizens into the same revolt, declared, by a common decree of the state, that *Æacides* had forfeited the crown, banished him the kingdom, and entered into an alliance with *Cassander*. This, as *Diodorus Siculus* observes, was the first rebellion that had happened in *Epirus*, from the time that *Neoptolemus*, the son of *Achilles*, had reigned there, the kingdom having ever before descended by right of succession from father to son^m. *Cassander* immediately dispatched *Lyfiscus* into *Epirus*, to take upon him, in his name, the government of that kingdom, enjoining him to use the natives with all possible moderation. However, the *Epirots* were soon reconciled to their king, and, recalling him from banishment, replaced him on the throne of his ancestors; which he did not long enjoy, being killed the same year in a battle fought with *Philip*, the brother of *Cassander*ⁿ.

Alcetas II.

Upon his death, the crown was conferred upon *Alcetas* his brother, who had been banished by his father *Arybas*, on account of his violent temper. As this prince was an inveterate enemy to *Cassander*, *Lyfiscus*, *Cassander's* general in *Acarnania*, marched with an army into *Epirus*, hoping, as the affairs of that kingdom were not yet well settled, to depose him. *Alcetas*, hearing of the enemy's march, dispatched two of his sons, *Alexander* and *Teucer*, into all the provinces and cities of his dominions, to raise forces; and, in the mean time, marched out with the few troops he had, to make head against *Lyfiscus*, whom he found encamped at *Cassopia*. The army

^m *Diod. Sicul. lib. xix.*

ⁿ *Idem. ibid.*

*Defeats
Lyfiscus.*

*Is in his
turn de-
feated by
him.*

*He is mur-
dered.*

Pyrrhus.

*Narrowly
escapes fall-
ing into the
hands of
the rebelli-
ous Epirots.*

of Lyfiscus being far more numerous than the king's, they attacked him before he had time to fortify his camp; and obliged him, after he had been abandoned by most of his troops, to shut himself up in the city of Eurymenas, where he was closely besieged. In the mean time, his son Alexander arriving with powerful succours, a sharp engagement ensued, in which great numbers of Lyfiscus' troops were cut off, and amongst the others Micythus, a commander of great reputation, Lyfander, the Athenian, governor of Leucadia, and many other persons of distinction. A few days after this victory, Dinias arriving with supplies for Lyfiscus, a second battle was fought. Alexander and Teucer, with their father Alcetas, were forced to save themselves by flight, and abandon the city of Eurymenas to the enemy, who plundered and razed it to the ground. Cassander, upon the news of the defeat of his forces, not having received any intelligence of the victory they gained afterwards, hastened into Epirus to succour his general; but being informed, on his arrival, of the success that had attended him in the second engagement, instead of pursuing the war, he thought it adviseable to enter into a treaty with the Epirots; and having concluded a peace upon honourable terms, he withdrew his troops, and restored tranquillity to the kingdom of Epirus. Alcetas, being thus disengaged from war, began to exercise all sorts of cruelties over his subjects; which so provoked them, that in a general insurrection, they murdered him and his children.

Alcetas was succeeded by Pyrrhus, a prince of great fame in history. He was the son of Æacides, of whom we have spoken above, by Philippa, the daughter of Menon the Theffalian, one of the Heraclidæ; so that Pyrrhus was, by the father, descended from Achilles, and from Hercules by the mother°. When the Epirots revolted from his father, and drove him from the throne, it was with much difficulty that Pyrrhus, then an infant at the breast, escaped falling into the hands of the rebels. He was, after various adventures, conveyed by Androcles and Anelus, two Epirot lords, to the court of Glaucias, king of Illyricum, who, as some authors conjecture, had married his aunt Beroe, the daughter of Arybbas, and granddaughter of king Alcetas^p.

He enjoyed the kingdom in great peace and tranquillity till he was seventeen; when, thinking himself sufficiently

° Plut. in Pyrrh.
tom. ii. in Regno Epiri.

^p Vide Reiner. Reineccium, Hist. Jul.

settled on the throne, he left Epirus, in order to be present in Illyricum at the nuptials of one of the sons of Glaucias, with whom he had been educated. But he was no sooner gone, than the Molossians, taking advantage of his absence, revolted anew, drove all his friends out of the kingdom, seized on his treasures, and conferred the crown on Neoptolemus his great uncle. Pyrrhus being, by this unexpected revolt, divested of all his dominions, and destitute of sufficient succours to recover them, retired to Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, commonly known by the surname of Poliorcetes, who had married his sister Deidamia. From that great commander he learned the art of war, serving under him with the companions and fellow-soldiers of Alexander the Great. In the famous battle of Ipsus he distinguished himself, young as he was, in a very eminent manner, having fought with incredible bravery, and repulsed the enemy on that side where he was posted. Demetrius nevertheless lost the battle; but Pyrrhus very seasonably covered Greece, and saved for his brother-in-law the Greek cities, which that prince had confided to his care. Nor was this the only proof he gave of his affection for Demetrius; for a peace being at length concluded between him and Ptolemy, by the interposition of Seleucus, Pyrrhus consented to be one of the hostages, who were sent into Egypt, as security for the execution of the treaty.

*The Epirots
place Neop-
tolemus on
the throne.*

During his abode at the court of Egypt, he was generally admired for the sweetness of his temper, the regularity of his conduct, and his great dexterity and address in all sorts of manly exercises. His chief aim was to make his court to Berenice, who had the greatest ascendant over Ptolemy, and surpassed all the other women of the court in beauty, as well as prudence. And herein he was very successful; for he so ingratiated himself with her, by his noble and obliging behaviour, that she prevailed upon her husband to give him her daughter Antigone, in preference to several young princes, who demanded her in marriage. Antigone was the daughter of the favourite queen, by Philip, her first husband, a Macedonian lord of no great fame. After Pyrrhus had married her, Berenice, desirous to see her daughter become a queen, induced Ptolemy to supply her son-in-law with sufficient forces to recover his kingdom. With these he sailed into Epirus, and having defeated Neoptolemus, whom the Molossians

1 Arrian. lib. vii. Appian. in Syriac.

*Recovers
his king-
dom, with
the assist-
ance of
Ptolemy,
king of
Egypt.*

had placed on the throne, he recovered his paternal dominions. Neoptolemus had recourse to the neighbouring princes; but Pyrrhus, to avoid the evil consequences of a civil war, condescended to give him up part of his dominions. Neoptolemus at first seemed to be well satisfied with part of the kingdom; but having soon after, at the instigation of the enemies of Pyrrhus, attempted to poison that prince, he was by his order executed. Pyrrhus having now got possession of the whole kingdom of Epirus, continued no longer idle in his dominions; but marching into the neighbouring countries, performed those exploits we have described in the history of Macedon, and therefore shall not repeat in this place.

This warlike prince being obliged by Lyfimachus to abandon the kingdom of Macedon, which he had taken from his brother-in-law Demetrius, as we have related elsewhere, might have passed his days in tranquillity among his subjects, enjoying the sweets of peace, and governing his people by the rules of justice; but his restless temper, and unbounded ambition, made him seize with joy on the first opportunity that offered, of plunging himself into new troubles.

*Invited by
the Taren-
tines into
Italy.*

The inhabitants of Tarentum were then at war with the Romans, and not finding themselves in a condition to oppose so formidable an enemy with their own strength, they cast their eyes upon Pyrrhus. They dispatched ambassadors to acquaint him, that they wanted only a leader of experience and reputation; that Tarentum was not the only city whose forces would join him; that the Messapians, Lucanians, Samnites, Brutians, and many other rich and populous nations, weary either of bearing the Roman yoke, or of being in continual dread of it, were ready to assist him in exterminating that haughty and imperious republic; and that he might depend on being supplied at his arrival with three hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. The joy with which Pyrrhus received a proposal so agreeable to his disposition, may be easily imagined. His mind was occupied with the exploits of Alexander the Great; and his frequently conversing with the generals who had served under that conqueror, had strongly inclined him to attempt in the West, what Alexander had with so much glory performed in the East. He therefore willingly closed with the proposal of the Tarentine ambassadors, promising to pass over into Italy

*Resolves to
comply
with their
invitation.*

Plut. *ibid.* & Pausan. in Attic.

wit

with all possible expedition, and employ the whole strength of his kingdom in rescuing them from the oppression they groaned under. Before he began to make the necessary preparations, he is said to have consulted the oracle of Delphi on the subject of his intended expedition. The answer of the god was uttered in such terms, as might equally signify, either that he should conquer the Romans, or that the Romans should vanquish him; but the desire he had of engaging in this expedition, made him interpret the ambiguous answer in his own favour*.

The character of Cyneas, Pyrrhus's prime minister.

A Thessalian, named Cyneas, was at this time his prime minister and chief favourite. He was a man of most extraordinary parts, being an experienced officer, an able politician, and the most eloquent orator of his age: the art of oratory he had learned under Demosthenes; that of war, under the companions of Alexander the Great; and politics, by long experience, having been always employed by Pyrrhus in the most difficult negotiations. The art of persuasion, of which he was master, and the secret he had of insinuating himself into the affections of those he conversed with, enabled him to conquer all difficulties in the business he transacted for his master; insomuch that Pyrrhus himself used to say, that he had gained more cities by the eloquence and persuasive discourses of Cyneas, than he could ever have conquered by force of arms. He was a philosopher of the sect of Epicurus, which was not then come into disrepute through the ill use that corrupt men afterwards made of the principles they professed. At court he maintained the character of a man of virtue, and a lover of truth, who was not capable of deceiving by mean flatteries; yet had submission enough to execute, without murmuring, the orders that were given contrary to his advice.

Pyrrhus discloses his design to him.

Pyrrhus, who reposed an entire confidence in this great man, could not help communicating to him the projects he was forming: having therefore called him into his cabinet, after he had dismissed the Tarentine ambassadors; "The Tarentines, said he, invite me over into Italy, which opens to me a large field of glory. To subdue the Romans, is to conquer the West: and how easy is it to subdue them! Hetrumia finds them employment on one hand; and all the nations on this side the Tyber, quite to the sea-shore, are ready to take arms, under my command, against that ambitious and haughty republic. Tell

* Plut. *ibid.* & Cic. de *Divin.* lib. ii.

*Resolves on
a war
with the
Romans.*

me impartially, what you think of this expedition." Cyneas, without disapproving his design upon Italy, asked him, whither he designed to turn his arms, if the gods should be so gracious as to crown his attempts upon that country with the wished-for success. Pyrrhus, without hesitation, answered, that from Italy he designed to pass over into Sicily, where he should find all things in confusion, on account of the death of king Agathocles, who had kept the Sicilians in awe. "And how many fruitful provinces, said he, shall I find there, either ready to receive me after the conquest of Italy, or not in a condition to oppose my victorious troops!" "When Sicily shall have submitted, where do you intend to make war next?" replied Cyneas. "From Sicily, answered Pyrrhus, I shall sail over into Africa. The Carthaginians are not invincible: Agathocles surprised them with a few ships, and was very near making himself king of Carthage. And when I shall have taken that city, who will be able to make head against me? Macedon, which I formerly conquered, and every province of Greece, shall be part of my future conquests." "After all these victories, said Cyneas, how shall we employ ourselves, and dispose of our time?" "I will then, subjoined Pyrrhus, take some rest after all my fatigues, and enjoy the pleasures of life with you." At these words, that great philosopher interrupting him, "What prevents you, said he, from enjoying that happiness now, which you propose to seek through so many toils and labours, with the hazard of never being able to find it? Why should you purchase, at so dear a rate, the gratifications which you may now enjoy without the least trouble?" These words made some impression upon the king; and covering his ambitious views with the appearance of virtue, "It is hereditary in my family, said he, to assist the miserable: we ought not to make war for ourselves only, but to relieve the oppressed." Being thus unalterably fixed in his design of subjecting all Italy, the better to conceal it, he caused a very artful clause to be inserted in his treaty with the Tarentines; importing, that when he had once relieved Tarentum, he should not be detained in Italy, but be allowed to return to Epirus. He likewise required, that some of the ambassadors should continue in his dominions, under pretence of assisting him in making the necessary preparations for war; but, in reality, that they might be as so many hostages to secure the fidelity of the Tarentines¹.

¹ Plut. *ibid.* Dio, in Excerpt. Zonar. lib. viii.

Having

Having taken these prudent precautions, he immediately dispatched Cyneas with part of his fleet, and a detachment of three thousand foot, to Tarentum; where that artful minister soon changed the face of affairs, the chief men of the city being, notwithstanding the embassy they had sent to Pyrrhus, inclined to come to an agreement with the Romans; nay, they had even chosen for their magistrate Agis, who was a sincere friend to the Romans, and acted in concert with L. Æmilius Barbula, the Roman general, hoping, by his means, to reconcile his countrymen to Rome, and make them lay aside their design of receiving the king of Epirus. But Cyneas, by his eloquence, and insinuating behaviour, prevailed upon the Tarentines to depose Agis, and place one of the ambassadors, who had been sent into Epirus, in his room. Then he persuaded them to deliver up their citadel to Milo, an Epirot, who had arrived a few days before with fresh succours, and the agreeable news, that Pyrrhus would soon be there in person at the head of a numerous army: The Tarentines, impatient to see the king of Epirus among them, upon this advice, dispatched their gallies, a great number of transports, with all sorts of provisions, and a large sum of money, to Epirus, in order to convoy Pyrrhus, with his troops and elephants, safe to Tarentum. The convoy no sooner arrived than the king embarked, Cyneas and Milo having paved they way for him so well, that his authority was already as well established in Tarentum as in Epirus. Before the arrival of the Tarentine fleet, he had settled the government of his dominions during his absence. He left Ptolemy, his son by Antigone the daughter of Berenice, who was then fifteen years old, regent of Epirus, under the tuition of Ptolemy Ceraunus king of Macedon. He took his two younger sons Alexander and Helenus (Y) with him into

Italy,

(Y) After the death of Antigone, the daughter of Berenice, Pyrrhus married several wives. The first was the daughter of Antoleon king of the Præonians. The second by name Bercenna, was the daughter of Bardullis king of the Illyrians. The third was Lassa, the daughter of Agathocles king of Syracuse. The latter brought him the island of

Coreyra, which her father had seized, for her portion. By her he had Alexander; and Helenus, the youngest of all his children, by Bercenna. Plutarch tells us, that all the children of Pyrrhus derived a warlike genius from their father, which was greatly improved by their education; and adds, that one of them having asked him, to which of

Yr. of Fl.
2068.
Ante Chr.
280.

*Pyrrhus
embarks
for Italy.*

his

*His fleet
dispersed
by a storm;*

*and himself
in danger
of being lost.*

Italy, to amuse and entertain him in this long expedition. Before his departure, he had likewise borrowed ships, men, and money, of the kings his friends; so that his army consisted of twenty-two thousand foot, three thousand horse, five hundred slingers, and fifty elephants*. Among these troops were about seven thousand of those brave Macedonians who had conquered Asia under Alexander the Great. His fleet was composed of the ships of Epirus, the galleys of Tarentum, and those with which he had been supplied by Antigonus Gonatus. With these he immediately set sail about the end of the winter, the eager desire he had of getting footing in Italy, not suffering him to wait for a more favourable season. But his impatience had like to have cost him dear; for he had scarce got out to sea, when a violent storm from the north drove him out of his course, and dispersed his fleet. The ship, on board of which the king was, being large and high-built, gained, by the care of the pilot and mariners, the coast of Italy, the first, after a voyage of infinite fatigue and danger. The few ships that followed the king, struck against the rocks on the Messapian shore, and were dashed to pieces. While Pyrrhus was preparing to go ashore, the inhabitants having flocked from all quarters to see him, a fresh accident was very near destroying the deliverer of Italy, as they styled him, and disappointing the expectation of the Tarentines. A land-wind rising all on a sudden with great violence, drove Pyrrhus out to sea again. This new danger was greater than any he had met with in his passage, the mariners expecting that his ship, being beat by the violence of the waves, would founder at each shock it sustained. In this extremity the intrepid Pyrrhus did not hesitate a moment; but as the shore was not far off, threw himself into the sea, and was immediately followed by his guards, and those friends he had on board, to take care of his person, and save him at the danger of their own lives; but as the night was extremely dark, and the sea ran very high, he struggled with the waves till

* Justin. lib. xvii. cap. 2.

his children he designed to leave the kingdom of Epirus, the king answered, "To him who has the sharpest sword." Lassa, who was once his favourite wife, grew at last jealous of him, thinking he preferred his other wives to her; and, retiring to Corcyra, there married Demetrius (1).

(1) Plut. in Pyrrho.

day-break, when the wind abating, he reached the land, with the assistance of the Messapians, who stood on the shore. The fatigue he had sustained during great part of the night, weakened him to such a degree, that he could not stand, without being supported. But what gave him the greatest uneasiness, was the apprehension of his army being lost; for he had with him only two thousand men, a few horses, and two elephants, animals which had never before been seen in Italy. With these he crossed Messapia, and marched directly to Tarentum.

Cyneas no sooner heard what had happened to Pyrrhus, than he advanced to meet him at the head of a strong detachment, and conducted him safe to Tarentum, where he was received with loud acclamations. The Tarentines, who were entirely devoted to their pleasures, expected that he should take all the fatigues of the war on himself, and expose his Epirots only to danger. And indeed Pyrrhus for some days dissimulated his design, and suffered the Tarentines to indulge, without restraint, in their usual diversions. But his ships, which had been dispersed all over the Ionian Sea, arriving one after another, and with them the troops which he had put on board in Epirus, he began to reform the disorders that prevailed in the city. The theatre was the place, to which the idle Tarentines resorted daily in great numbers, and where the incendiaries influenced the people to sedition with their harangues: he therefore caused it to be shut up, as he did likewise the public gardens, porticos, and places of exercise, where the inhabitants used to entertain themselves with news, and speak with great freedom of their governors, censuring their conduct, and settling the administration according to their different humours. As they were a very voluptuous and indolent people, they spent whole days and nights in feasts, masquerades, and plays. These therefore Pyrrhus absolutely prohibited, as no less dangerous than the assemblies of prating politicians. They were utter strangers to military exercises; but Pyrrhus having caused an exact register to be made of all the young men who were fit for war, selected the strongest, and incorporated them among his own troops, saying, that he would take it upon himself to give them courage. He exercised them daily for several hours, and behaved with an inexorable severity, inflicting exemplary punishments on such as did not attend, or failed in their duty. By these wise mea-

*Arrives at
Tarentum.*

*Reforms
the man-
ners of the
Tarentines.*

fures he prevented seditions among the citizens, and inured their youth to military discipline; and because many, who had not been accustomed to such severity and rigour, withdrew from their native country, Pyrrhus, by a public proclamation, declared all those guilty of death, who should attempt to abandon their country, or absent themselves from the common musters *.

The Tarentines displeased at his conduct.

The Tarentines, being now sensible that Pyrrhus was determined to be their master, began loudly to complain of his conduct; but he, being informed of whatever passed among them, by his spies, who insinuated themselves into all companies, privately dispatched the most factious, and sent those, whom he suspected, under various pretences, to his son's court in Epirus (Z).

* Plut. *ibid.* Frontin. *Stratag.*

(Z) Among the latter was Aristarchus, a famous orator, whose eloquence gave Pyrrhus no small jealousy; for orators had in those days a great influence over the multitude, especially in the Greek cities, where popular government obtained. As Aristarchus had almost an absolute authority in the city, Pyrrhus made it his chief business to lessen his reputation among his fellow-citizens; pretending a strict friendship for the orator; and giving out, that in many things, which were displeasing to the Tarentines, he had acted according to his advice. But Aristarchus, in his private discourses, undeceived them, letting it be known, that he entertained the same thoughts of Pyrrhus as the multitude. The king, therefore, thinking it necessary to remove so dangerous an enemy, sent him to his son on an embassy, which, he said, was of the utmost importance. Aristarchus suspected the artifice; but pretending to be altogether unac-

quainted with it, accepted the deputation; and choosing a vessel, the commander of which was entirely at his devotion, set sail, as Pyrrhus imagined, for Epirus. But he had no sooner lost sight of the land, than he ordered the pilot to return to Italy, and put in at some port, from whence he might go safely by land to Rome. The pilot obeyed; and Aristarchus, on his arrival in that metropolis, acquainted the senate with the state of Tarentum, and the designs of Pyrrhus. Fabricius was immediately dispatched to visit the Roman colonies, and the allies of the republic, to fortify some places, and exhort the cities to continue steady in their alliance with Rome. These precautions were indeed necessary, the allies of the republic being, in many places, inclined to desert her, and ready to join a king famous for his exploits, who promised them a happy deliverance from all manner of subjection (2).

(2) Plut. *ibid.* Dio, in Excerpt. Urfin. Polyb. lib. i. cap. 7.

In

In the mean time P. Valerius Lævinus, the Roman consul, entering the country of the Lucanians, who were in alliance with the Tarentines, committed great ravages; and having taken and fortified one of their castles, waited in that neighbourhood for Pyrrhus. The king, though he had not yet received any succours from the Samnites, Messapians, and other allies of the Tarentines, thought it highly dishonourable to continue shut up in a city, while the Romans were ravaging the country of his friends. He therefore took the field with the troops brought from Epirus, some recruits of Tarentum, and a small number of Italians. But, before he began hostilities, he wrote the following letter to Lævinus: "Pyrrhus to Lævinus, health. I am informed that you command an army, which is to make war upon the Tarentines. Disband it forthwith, and lay your pretensions before me. After I have heard both parties, I will give judgment, and know how to make my sentence be obeyed." Lævinus answered the king with all the haughtiness of a Roman: "Know, Pyrrhus, that we neither admit you as a judge, nor fear you as an enemy. Does it become you to judge, who have injured us, by landing in Italy without the consent of our republic? We will have no arbitrator but Mars, the author of our race, and protector of our arms." The king, upon the receipt of this letter, immediately marched towards those parts where Lævinus was waiting to give him battle. The Romans were encamped on the hither side of the river Siris, and Pyrrhus, appearing on the opposite bank, made it his first business to reconnoitre the enemy's camp in person, and see what appearance they made. With this view he crossed the river, attended by Megacles, one of his officers, and chief favourites. Having observed the consul's entrenchments, the manner in which he had posted his advanced guards, and the good order of his camp, he was greatly surpris'd; and, addressing Megacles, "These people (said he), are not such barbarians as we take them to be: let us examine before we condemn them." On his return he changed his resolution of attacking them, and shutting himself up in his entrenchments, waited for the arrival of the confederate troops. In the mean time he posted strong guards along the river, to prevent the enemy passing it, and continually sent out scouts to discover the designs, and watch the motions, of the consul. Some of these being taken by the advanced guards of the Romans, the consul himself led them through his camp, and having shewed them his army,

*Writes a
haughty
letter to the
consul Læ-
vinus.*

*The consul's
answer.*

*Attacked
by the Ro-
mans.*

army, sent them back to the king, with a message, that he had many other troops to shew them in due time ^r.

Lævinus being determined to draw the enemy to a battle before Pyrrhus received the reinforcements he expected, having harangued his troops, marched to the banks of the Siris, and drawing up his infantry in battalia, ordered the cavalry to file off, and march round, in order to find a passage at some place not defended by the enemy. Accordingly they passed the river without being observed, and falling upon the guards which Pyrrhus had posted on the banks opposite to the consular army, gave the infantry an opportunity of crossing the river on bridges, which Lævinus had prepared for that purpose. But before they passed, Pyrrhus, hastening from his camp, which was at some distance from the river, hoped to cut the Roman army in pieces while they were disordered with the difficulties of passing. The cavalry covering the infantry, and standing between them and the Epirots, gave time to form themselves on the banks of the river. On the other hand, Pyrrhus drew up his men as fast as they came from the camp, and performed such acts of valour, that the Romans thought him worthy of the great reputation he had acquired.

*Pyrrhus is
in great
danger in
the begin-
ning of the
battle;*

As the cavalry alone had hitherto engaged, Pyrrhus, who confided most in his infantry, hastened back to the camp, in order to bring them to the charge; but took two precautions before he began the attack; the first was, to ride through the ranks, and shew himself to the whole army; for his horse having been killed under him in the first onset, a report had been spread that he was slain; the second was to change his habit and helmet with Megacles; for having been known in the engagement of the horse by the richness of his attire and armour, many of the Romans had aimed at him in particular; so that he was with the utmost difficulty saved, after his horse was killed. Thus disguised he led his phalanx against the Roman legions, and attacked them with incredible fury. Lævinus sustained the shock with great resolution; so that the victory was for many hours warmly disputed. The Romans gave several times way to the Epirots, and the Epirots to the Romans; but both parties rallied, and were brought back to the charge by their commanders. Megacles, in the attire and helmet of Pyrrhus, was in all places, and well supported the character he had assumed.

^r Plat. *ibid.* Justin. lib. xviii. cap. 2. Pausan. in *Bœotic.*

But

But his disguise at last proved fatal to him ; for a Roman knight, named Dexter, taking him for the king, found an opportunity of discharging a blow, which struck him dead on the spot, stripped him of his helmet and armour, and carried them in triumph to the consul, who, by shewing to the Epirots the spoils of their king, so terrified them, that they began to give ground. But Pyrrhus appearing bare-headed in the first files of his phalanx, and riding through all the lines, undeceived his soldiers, and inspired them with new courage.

The advantage seemed to be equal when Lævinus ordered his cavalry to advance ; which Pyrrhus observing, drew up twenty elephants in the front of his army, with towers on their backs full of bowmen. The very sight of those dreadful animals chilled the bravery of the Romans. However, they still advanced, till their horses, not being able to bear the smell, and frightened at the strange noise they made, grew unruly, and either threw their riders, or carried them off full speed in spite of their utmost efforts. In the mean time the archers, discharging showers of darts from the towers, wounded several of the Romans in that confusion, while others were trod to death by the elephants. Notwithstanding the disorder of the cavalry, the legionaries still kept their ranks, and could not be broken, till Pyrrhus attacked them in person, at the head of the Thessalian horse. The onset was so furious that they were forced to yield, and retire in disorder. The king of Epirus restrained the ardour of his troops, and would not suffer them to pursue the enemy : an elephant, which had been wounded by a Roman soldier, named Minuccius, having caused great disorder in his army ; this accident favoured the retreat of the Romans, and gave them time to repass the river, and take refuge in Apulia *. Dionysius Halicarnassensis makes the loss of the Romans, in this first battle, amount to fifteen thousand men ; but Hieronymus, quoted by the same historian, reduces it to seven thousand : according to the former, Pyrrhus lost thirteen thousand, but four thousand only according to the latter. The Epirot remained master of the field, and had the pleasure to see the Romans fly before him ; but the victory cost him dear, a great number of his best officers and soldiers having been slain in the battle ; whence he was heard to say after the action, that he was both conqueror.

*but at last
defeats the
Romans.*

*His victory
costs him
dear.*

* Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. Plut. ibid. Eutrep. lib. ii. Oros. lib. iv. cap 2.

and conquered; and that if he gained such another victory he should be obliged to return to Epirus alone (A).

His first care, after the action, was to bury the dead, with which the plain was covered; and herein he made no distinction between the Romans and his own Epirots. In viewing the bodies of the former, he observed, that none of them had received any dishonourable wounds; that they had all fallen in the posts assigned them, still held their swords in their hands, and expressed, even after death, a certain martial air and fierceness in their faces: and on this occasion it was that he uttered those famous words; "O that Pyrrhus had Romans for his soldiers, or the Romans Pyrrhus for their leader! Together, we should subdue the whole world^a."

*Makes him-
self master
of the
greatest
part of
Campania.*

The king of Epirus understood the art of war too well not to reap all advantage which the victory could afford. He broke into the countries in alliance with the Romans like a torrent, plundered the lands of the republic, and made incursions even into the neighbourhood of Rome. Many cities opened their gates to him, and, in a short time, he made himself master of the greatest part of Campania. In that fruitful province he was joined by the Samnites, Lucanians, and Messapians, whom he had so long expected. After having complained of their delay, he gave them a share of the spoils he had taken from the enemy; and having thus gained their affections, he marched, without loss of time, to lay siege to Capua: but Lævinus, having already received a reinforcement of two legions, threw some troops into the city; a circumstance which obliged Pyrrhus to drop his design, and, leaving Capua, to march strait to Naples. Lævinus followed him, harassing his troops on their march; and, at length, by

^a Flor. lib. viii.

(A) He was so far from being elated with the advantage he had got, that when he hung up the spoils he had taken from the enemy, in the temple of Jupiter at Tarentum, he caused this memorable inscription to be engraved upon them; the words which, as they have been transmitted to us in verse, are,

Qui invicti ante fuere viri, pater optime Olympi,
Hos & ego in pugna vici, victusque sum ab iisdem (1).

A race unconquer'd I, great Jove, o'erthrew:
Yet, in the dubious fight, was conquer'd too.

(1) Plut. *ibid.* Orosc. lib. iv. cap. 1.

keeping

keeping his army in that neighbourhood, forced him to resign all thoughts of making himself master of that important city. The king then took his route towards Rome by the Latin way, surprised Fregellæ, and, marching through the country of the Hernici, sat down before Prænestæ. There, from the top of a hill, he had the pleasure of seeing Rome; and is said to have advanced so near the walls, that he drove a cloud of dust into the city. But he was soon forced to retire by the other consul, T. Cornelianus, who, having reduced Hetruria, was just returned with his victorious army to Rome. The king of Epirus, therefore, having no hopes of bringing the Hetrurians into his interest, and seeing the two consular armies ready to fall upon him, raised the siege of Prænestæ, and hastened back into Campania, where, to his great surprize, he found Lævipus, with a more numerous army than that which he had defeated on the banks of the Siris. The consul went to meet him, with a design to try the fate of another battle, which Pyrrhus being unwilling to decline, drew up his army; then, with a view to strike terror into the Roman legions, he ordered his men to beat their bucklers with their lances, and the leaders of the elephants to force these animals to raise a hideous noise. But the noise was returned with such an universal shout by the Romans, that Pyrrhus, thinking so much alacrity on the part of the vanquished too sure a prognostic of victory, pretended that the auguries were not favourable, retired to Tarentum, and put an end to the campaign^b.

Takes Fregellæ.

Raises the siege of Prænestæ, and returns to Campania.

While Pyrrhus continued quiet at Tarentum, he had time to reflect on the valour and conduct of the Romans; from which he concluded, that the war must end in his ruin and disgrace, if not terminated by an advantageous peace. He was therefore overjoyed when he heard that the senate had determined to send an honourable embassy to him, not doubting but their errand was to propose terms of peace. He pleased himself with the imagination of seeing those haughty republicans at his feet, in a suppliant manner, and saying to them, with the air of a conqueror, "I grant you peace." In full expectation of this triumph, he sent Lycon, the Molossian, to wait for them, with a guard, on the frontiers of Tarentum. As they approached the city he went out in person to meet them, received them with all possible marks of honour, and ap-

The Romans send an embassy to him to desire an exchange of prisoners.

^b Plut. & Flor. *ibid.* Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 4.

pointed them stately lodgings, commanding them to be plentifully supplied, at the public expence, with all necessaries. The ambassadors were three men of distinguished merit; Cornelius Dolabella, famous for the signal victory he had gained over the Senones, the virtuous Fabricius, and Æmilius Papus, who had been his colleague in the consulate two years before. When they were admitted to an audience, the only thing they demanded was a surrender of the prisoners, either by way of exchange, or at such a ransom as should be agreed on; for Pyrrhus, in the late battle, had made eighteen hundred prisoners, most of them Roman knights, and men of distinction in the republic. They had fought with great bravery, till their horses, frightened by the braying of the king's elephants, had either thrown, or obliged them to dismount; by which unforeseen accident they had fallen into the enemy's hands. The senate, therefore, pitying the condition of those brave men, had determined, contrary to their custom, to redeem them by a negotiation. Pyrrhus was much surprised and disappointed, when he found that they had no other proposals to make; but concealing his thoughts, he answered, that he would consider of their proposal, and let them know his resolution.

*Cyneas sent
to Rome to
treat of a
peace.*

Accordingly he assembled his council; but his chief favourites were divided in their opinions. Milo, who commanded in the citadel of Tarentum, was for coming to no composition with the Romans; but Cyneas, who knew his master's inclination, proposed not only sending back the prisoners without ransom, but dispatching an embassy to Rome, to treat with the senate of a lasting peace. His advice was approved, and he himself appointed to go on that embassy. After these resolutions the king acquainted the ambassadors, that he intended to release the prisoners without ransom, since he had already riches enough, and desired nothing of their republic but her friendship. Afterwards he had several private conferences with Fabricius, whose virtue he tried to corrupt with offers of riches and grandeur; but finding him proof against all temptations, he resolved to try whether his intrepidity and courage were equal to his virtue. With this view he caused an elephant to be placed behind a curtain in the hall, where he received the Roman ambassador. As Fabricius had never seen one of those beasts, the king, taking a turn or two in the hall with him, brought him within

the elephant's reach, and then caused the curtain to be drawn all on a sudden, and that monstrous animal to make his usual noise, and even lay his trunk on Fabricius's head. But the intrepid Roman, without betraying the least fear or concern, "Does the great king (said he, with surprising calmness), who could not stagger me with his offers, think to frighten me with the braying of a beast?" Pyrrhus, astonished at his immoveable constancy, invited him to dinner; and on this occasion it was that, the conversation turning upon the Epicurean philosophy, Fabricius made that celebrated exclamation; "O that Pyrrhus, both for Rome's sake and his own, had placed his happiness in the boasted indolence of Epicurus ⁴!"

*Pyrrhus's
conference
with Fa-
bricius.*

Every thing Pyrrhus heard or saw of the Romans increased his earnest desire of peace. He sent for the three ambassadors, released two hundred of the prisoners without ransom, and suffered the rest, on their parole, to return to Rome to celebrate the Saturnalia, or Feasts of Saturn, in their own families. Having by this obliging behaviour gained the good-will of the Roman ambassadors, he sent the famous Cyneas to Rome, almost at the same time that they left Tarentum. The instructions he gave this faithful minister were to bring the Romans to grant these three articles: 1. That the Tarentines should be included in the treaty made with the king of Epirus. 2. That all the Greek cities in Italy should be suffered to enjoy their laws and liberties. 3. That the republic should restore to the Samnites, Lucanians, and Brutians, all the places she had taken from them respectively. Upon these conditions Pyrrhus declared himself ready to forbear all farther hostilities, and conclude a lasting peace. With these instructions Cyneas set out for Rome; where, partly by his eloquence, partly by rich presents to the senators and their wives, he soon gained a number of voices. When he was admitted into the senate, he made an harangue worthy of a disciple of the great Demosthenes; after which he read the conditions Pyrrhus proposed, and, with great eloquence, endeavoured to shew the reasonableness and moderation of his master's demands, asking leave for Pyrrhus to come to Rome to conclude and sign the treaty. The senators were generally inclined to agree to Pyrrhus's terms; but nevertheless, as several members were absent, the determination of the affair was postponed

*Cyneas's
negotia-
tions at
Rome.*

⁴ Dion. Halicar. *ibid.*

The Romans refuse to enter into a treaty with Pyrrhus, till he has left Italy.

to the next day, when Appius Claudius, the greatest orator, and most learned civilian in Rome, old and blind as he was, caused himself to be carried to the senate, where he had not appeared for many years. He there, partly by his eloquence, partly by his authority, so prepossessed the minds of the senators against the king of Epirus, and the conditions he offered, that, when he had done speaking, the conscript fathers unanimously passed a decree, the substance of which was, that the war with Pyrrhus should be continued; that his ambassador should be sent back that very day; that the king of Epirus should not be permitted to come to Rome; and that they should acquaint his ambassador, that Rome would not enter into any treaty of peace with his master till he had left Italy^e.

Cyneas, surprised at these resolutions, left Rome the same day, and returned to Tarentum, to acquaint the king with the senate's answer. Pyrrhus, on hearing it, admired the constancy and intrepidity of a conquered people, who spoke the language of conquerors; having asked Cyneas his opinion of the senate, he replied, that the senate seemed to him an assembly of kings, whose appearance filled the spectators with awe and reverence. This answer much increased the esteem Pyrrhus had for the Romans; he would have willingly concluded a peace with them upon honourable terms; but as the conditions they offered were not consistent with the reputation of his arms, he began to make preparations for the next campaign. On the other hand, the Romans having raised to the consulate P. Sulpicius Saverrio, and P. Decius Mus, dispatched them both into Apulia, where they found Pyrrhus encamped near a little town called Asculum. There the consuls, joining their armies, fortified themselves at the foot of the Apennines, having between them and the enemy a large deep stream, which divided the plain. Both armies continued some time on the opposite banks, before either ventured to pass over to attack the other. The Epirots being informed, that the father and grandfather of the consul Decius had, by devoting themselves to the *Dii Manes*, gained victories when every thing threatened the total defeat of their troops, believed that the Decii transmitted, from father to son, some unaccountable art of necromancy, whereby they secured the victory to their party, whenever they lost their lives in the battle. This vain apprehension having filled the

^e *Plut. ibid.* Ennius apud Cic. in Cat. Maj.

Epirots with terror, Pyrrhus, in order to destroy so dangerous a prepossession, sent a messenger to Decius, acquainting him, that if he attempted to devote himself, he should find the Epirots upon their guard, resolved not to put him to death, but to take him alive; and that the most cruel punishments should be inflicted upon him as an impostor after the battle. To this message the consuls returned the following answer: "Pyrrhus is not so formidable an enemy, as to reduce us to expedients which we make use of only in the greatest and inevitable dangers. To shew how little we fear him, we offer him his choice, either to pass the river unmolested, or to suffer us to do so: we shall then try in the open field, and upon equal terms, which of us shall have need of employing extraordinary methods to gain the victory."

His message to Decius, the Roman consul.

The king could not, in point of honour, decline the challenge; and therefore chose to continue where he was; and let the Romans cross the stream, which they did accordingly, and drew up on the plain. Pyrrhus placed his men in order of battle on the same plain; and all the ancients do him the justice to say, that no commander ever understood better the art of drawing up an army; and directing its motions. In the right wing he placed his Epirots and the Samnites; in his left the Lucanians, Brutians, and Salentines; and his phalanx in the centre. The centre of the Roman army consisted of four legions, which opposed the enemy's phalanx; on their wings were posted the light-armed auxiliaries, and the Roman horse. The consuls, in order to guard their troops against the fury of the elephants, had prepared chariots, armed with long points of iron in the shape of forks, and filled with soldiers carrying firebrands, which they were directed to throw at the elephants, in order to frighten them, and set their wooden towers on fire. These chariots were posted over-against the king's elephants, and ordered not to stir till the beasts advanced. The Roman generals also directed a body of Apulians to attack Pyrrhus's camp in the heat of the engagement, in order to force it, or at least draw off part of the enemy's troops for its defence. At length the attack began, both parties being pretty equal in number; for each army consisted of about forty thousand men. The phalanx sustained, for a long time, the furious onset of the legions with incredible bravery; but at length being forced to give way, Pyrrhus commanded his elephants to advance, yet not on the side where the Romans had posted their chariots;

Both armies prepare for a general engagement.

The battle of Asculum.

they marched round, and, falling upon the Roman horse, soon put them into confusion. Then the phalanx, returning with fresh courage to the charge, obliged the Roman legions, in their turn, to give ground. On this occasion Decius was killed, so that one consul only was left to command the two Roman armies. But while all things seemed to favour Pyrrhus, the body of Apulians falling unexpectedly on the camp of the Epirots, obliged the king to dispatch a strong detachment to defend his intrenchments. Upon the departure of these troops, some of the Epirots, imagining that the camp was taken, began to lose courage, and retire; those who were next to them followed their example; and, in a short time, the whole army gave way. Pyrrhus having attempted several times in vain to rally his forces, returned to the

*The Epirots
give way.*

*Pyrrhus is
dangerously
wounded.*

charge with a small number of his friends, and the most courageous of his officers. With these he sustained the fury of the victorious legions, and covered the retreat of his own men. But being, after a most gallant behaviour, dangerously wounded, he retired at last with his small band in good order, leaving the Romans masters of the field. As the sun was near setting, the Romans being extremely fatigued, and a great number of them wounded, the consul Sulpicius, not thinking it adviseable to pursue the enemy, founded a retreat, repassed the stream, and brought his troops back to the camp (B). Sulpicius appeared in the field of battle the next day, with a design to bring the Epirots to a second engagement; but finding they had withdrawn in the night to Tarentum, he likewise retired, and put his troops into winter-quarters in Apulia.

Both armies continued quiet in their quarters during winter; but early in the spring took the field. The Romans were commanded by two men of great fame, C. Fabricius, and Q. Æmilius Papus; who no sooner arrived in Apulia, than they led their troops into the territory of

{ Plut. Dion. Hal. Flor. Justin. ibid.

(B) Historians vary in their account of this action, known by the name of the battle of Asculum; Plutarch pretends, that Pyrrhus obtained a complete victory; whereas Eutropius affirms, that he was entirely defeated, and fled to

Tarentum. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, the victory was doubtful, and claimed on both sides, and that Pyrrhus being congratulated upon his success, replied, "Such another victory would undo me."

Tarentum.

Tarentum. Pyrrhus, who had received considerable reinforcements from Epirus, met them near the frontiers, and encamped at a small distance from the Roman army. While the consuls were waiting here for a favourable opportunity to give battle, a messenger from Nicias, the king's physician, delivered a letter to Fabricius; wherein the traitor offered to take off his master by poison, provided the consul would promise him a reward proportionable to the greatness of the service. The virtuous Roman, filled with horror at the proposal of such a crime, immediately communicated the affair to his colleague; who readily joined with him in writing a letter to Pyrrhus; wherein they cautioned him, without discovering the criminal, to take care of himself, and be upon his guard against the treacherous designs of those about him. Pyrrhus, from a deep sense of gratitude for so great a benefit, released immediately, without ransom, all the prisoners he had taken. But the Romans, disdaining to accept either a favour from an enemy, or a recompence for not committing the blackest treachery, declared, that they would not receive them but by way of exchange; and accordingly sent to Pyrrhus an equal number of Samnite and Tarentine prisoners.

The king's physician offers to poison his master.

As the king of Epirus grew every day more weary of a war, which he feared would end in his disgrace, he sent Cyneas a second time to Rome, to try whether he could prevail upon the conscript fathers to listen to an accommodation, upon such terms as were consistent with his honour. But the ambassador found the senators steady in their former resolution, and determined not to enter into a treaty with his master till he had left Italy, and withdrawn from thence all his forces. This reserve gave the king great uneasiness; for he had already lost the greater part of his veteran troops, and best officers, and was sensible that he should lose the rest, if he ventured another engagement. While he revolved these melancholy thoughts in his mind, ambassadors arrived at his camp from the Syracusians, Agrigentines, and Leontines, imploring his assistance to expel the Carthaginians, and put an end to the troubles which threatened their respective states with utter destruction. Pyrrhus, who wanted only some honourable pretence to leave Italy, embraced this; and appointing Milo governor of Tarentum, with a strong garrison, to keep the inhabitants in awe during his absence, sailed for Sicily with thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, on board a fleet of two hundred

Cyneas sent a second time to Rome.

Pyrrhus sets sail for Sicily.

hundred ships. We have, in the history of Sicily, related at length the great success that attended him at first in that country; but the face of his affairs soon changed there likewise. The Sicilians, disgusted at the resolution he had taken of passing into Africa, and at the enormous exactions and extortions of his ministers and courtiers, had submitted partly to the Carthaginians, and partly to the Mamertines. When Carthage heard of this change, new troops were raised all over Africa, and a numerous army sent into Sicily, to recover the cities which Pyrrhus had taken.

*Returns to
Italy.*

As the Sicilians daily deserted from him in crowds, he was not in a condition, with his Epirots alone, to oppose so powerful an enemy; therefore, when deputies came to him from the Tarentines, Samnites, Brutians, and Lucanians, representing the losses they had sustained since his departure, and remonstrating, that, without his assistance, they must fall a sacrifice to the Romans, he abandoned the island, and returned to Italy. His fleet was attacked by that of Carthage, and his army, after their landing, by the Mamertines, as we have related in the history of Syracuse. But Pyrrhus having, by his bravery, escaped all danger, marched along the sea-shore, in order to reach Tarentum that way. As he passed through the country of the Locrians, who had not long before massacred the troops he had left there, he not only exercised all sorts of cruelty on the inhabitants; but plundered the temple of Proserpine, to supply the wants of his army. The immense riches which he found were, by his order, embarked for Tarentum by sea; but the ships that carried them being dashed against the rocks by a tempest, this proud prince being convinced, says Livy², that the gods were not imaginary beings, caused all the treasure, which the sea had thrown upon the shore, to be carefully replaced in the temple; and, to appease the wrath of the angry goddess, he put all those to death who had advised him to plunder her temple.

*Arrives at
Tarentum.*

Pyrrhus at length arrived at Tarentum; but of the army he had carried into Sicily, he brought back into Italy only three thousand horse, and not quite twenty thousand foot; a small body indeed to cope with two consular armies. He therefore reinforced them with the best troops he could raise in the countries of the Samnites, Lucanians, and Brutians; and hearing that the two new consuls, Curius Dentatus, and Cornelius Lentulus had

divided their forces, the one invading Lucania, and the other Samnium; he likewise divided a chosen detachment of his army into two bodies, marching with his Epirots against Dentatus, in hopes of surprising him in his camp near Beneventum. But the consul, having notice of his approach, marched out of his entrenchments, with a strong detachment of legionaries, to meet him; repulsed his van-guard, put many of the Epirots to the sword, and took some of their elephants. Curius, encouraged by this success, marched into the Taurasian fields, and drew up his army in a plain, which was wide enough for his troops, but too narrow for the Epirot phalanx to act with its full effect. But the king's eagerness to try his strength and skill with so renowned a commander, stimulated him to engage at that great disadvantage. Upon the first signal the action began, and one of the king's wings giving way, victory seemed to incline to the Romans. But that wing where the king fought in person, repulsed the enemy, and drove them to their intrenchments. This advantage was in great part owing to the elephants; a circumstance which Curius perceiving, commanded a corps de reserve, which he had posted near the camp, to advance, and attack those animals with burning torches, which frightened and annoyed them to such a degree, that they wheeled about, broke into the phalanx, and put that body into the utmost disorder. The Romans taking advantage of this confusion, charged with such fury, that the enemy were entirely broken and defeated ^b (C).

*Attacks
Curius
Dentatus,
near Bene-
ventum.*

Pyrrhus retired to Tarentum, attended only by a small body of horse, leaving the Romans in full possession of his camp; which they so much admired, that they made it

*He retires
to Taren-
tum;*

^b Plut. in Pyrrh. Pausan. lib. i. p. 22. Justin. lib. xxiii. cap. 3. Liv. lib. xxix. cap. 28. Dion. Hal. in Excerpt. p. 542.

(C) Orosius (1) and Eutropius (2) tell us, that Pyrrhus's army consisted of eighty thousand foot, and six thousand horse, including his Epirots and allies; whereas the consular army was scarce twenty thousand men strong. Those who exaggerate the king's loss say, that the number of the slain on his side amounted to thirty thousand men; but

others reduce it to twenty thousand. All writers agree, that Curius took twelve hundred prisoners, and eight elephants. This victory, which was the most decisive Rome had ever gained, brought all Italy under subjection, and paved the way for those conquests which afterwards made the Romans masters of the known world.

(1) Oros. lib. iv.

(2) Eutrop. lib. ii.

a model which they followed ever after. And now the king of Epirus resolved to leave Italy as soon as possible; he, however, concealed his design, and endeavoured to keep up the drooping spirits of his allies, by giving them hopes of speedy succours from Greece. Accordingly he dispatched ambassadors into Ætolia, Illyricum, and Macedon, demanding supplies of men and money. But the answers from those courts not proving favourable, he forged such as might please those whom he was willing to deceive. When he could conceal his departure no longer, he pretended to be enraged at the dilatoriness of his friends in sending him succours; and acquainted the Tarentines, that he must go in person and bring them over. However, he left behind him a strong garrison in the citadel of Tarentum, under the command of the same Milo who had kept it for him during his stay in Sicily. In order to restrain this governor within the bounds of his duty, he is said to have made him a very strange present, namely, a chair covered with the skin of Nicias, the treacherous physician, who had offered Fabricius to poison his master¹. After all these disguises and precautions, Pyrrhus at last set sail for Epirus, and arrived safe at Acroceranium with eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse, having spent, to no purpose, six years in Italy and Sicily².

*and from
thence into
his own do-
minions.*

On his return, he found his treasures exhausted, and his people discouraged. To retrieve therefore his reputation, and make his troops some amends for the hardships they had suffered in Italy, he resolved to invade Macedon, where Antigonus Gonatus, who had refused to send him succours, then reigned. Being reinforced with some companies of Gauls, he ravaged the country, took many cities, and overthrew Antigonus in a pitched battle. Notwithstanding that prince had a great many Gauls in his pay, Pyrrhus drove him from place to place, and at length made himself master of the whole kingdom of Macedon (D).

*Makes
himself
master of
all Macedon.*

¹ Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 7. ² Plut. ibid. Justin. lib. xxv. cap. 3. Pausan. in Attic. p. 11.

(D) After the victory which he gained over Antigonus, he hung up the spoils of the Gauls in the temple of Pallas of Itonia, a small city between Phææ and Larissa, with the following inscription: "Pyrrhus, king of

the Molossians, consecrates to the Itonian Minerva these bucklers of the fierce Gauls, after having defeated the whole army of Antigonus. The descendents of Æacus are still the same, brave and resolute (2)."

(2) Plut. ibid. & Pausan. in Attic. p. 11, 12.

Antigonus,

Antigonus, after his defeat, had retired to Thessalonica, with the remains of his shattered army, intending to wait there for a favourable opportunity of recovering his kingdom. But Ptolemy, the son of Pyrrhus, a prince who almost equalled his father in bravery, though at that time but twenty-two years of age, pursued the unhappy Antigonus to his retreat, put to the sword the few troops he had with him, made himself master of Thessalonica, and reduced the king of Macedon to such difficulties, that he had no place to retire to in his misfortunes but the forests¹.

Antigonus reduced to great difficulties by Ptolemy, the son of Pyrrhus.

It was natural for Pyrrhus, after these conquests, which had both enriched and increased his army, to return to the assistance of the Tarentines, and his allies in Italy. But his inconstancy, or rather the fear he was in of the Romans, induced him to take another course. New enemies, and new hopes, drew him into Peloponnesus, whether he took with him his two sons, Ptolemy and Helenus, instead of leaving at least one of them in Macedon, to keep that country in awe, and watch the motions of Antigonus. He had been invited thither by Cleonymus, king of Sparta, who, being driven from his capital by Areus, his ambitious nephew, and the intrigues of his wife Chelidonis, had recourse to Pyrrhus, whose victories had made him famous all over Greece. The king, who was ever passing from one enterprize to another, readily complied with the request of Cleonymus. With twenty-five thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twelve elephants, he entered Peloponnesus; not so much with a design to re-establish Cleonymus, as to make himself master of all Greece. But the obstinate resistance he met with at Lacedæmon, obliged him to drop this enterprize, as we have related at length in the history of the Lacedæmonians. He had scarce resolved with himself to retire from before Lacedæmon, when a new project hastened his departure, in order to try his fortune in another quarter.

His expedition into Peloponnesus.

Aristippus and Aristias, two of the principal citizens of Argos, having excited a great sedition in that city, the former, to strengthen his party, had drawn Antigonus into his interest; and the latter resolved to call Pyrrhus to his assistance. The king was overjoyed at the arrival of an express from Aristias, inviting him to engage in a new war; and despising Antigonus, who had already re-

His expedition against the city of Argos.

¹ Justin, lib. xxv. cap. 3. Diod. Sic. lib. xxii. in Excerpt. Valesii, p. 266.

*His son
Ptolemy
killed.*

*Pyrrhus
revenges
his death.*

covered great part of Macedon, he drew off from Lacedæmon, and hastened to Argos. But Areus, having timely notice of his departure, concealed his troops in the most difficult passes. Having suffered the advanced guard of the Epirot army, commanded by Pyrrhus, to march by, he fell unexpectedly on the rear, and cut off a great number of the Gauls and Molossians, of whom it was composed. Pyrrhus detached his son Ptolemy to their relief; but the young prince, suffering himself to be hurried on by the impetuosity of courage, was killed in the engagement with Orasus, a Cretan. The king being informed of his son's death, suddenly faced about, and falling upon the Lacedæmonian cavalry, who, under the command of Evalcus, an officer of great reputation, had imprudently advanced into the plain; made a great havock of those troops. He was always dreadful in battles; but on this occasion, when grief, and the desire of revenge, inflamed his natural ardor, he even surpassed himself. He singled out Evalcus in the throng, and breaking through the troops that surrounded him, killed him on the spot at the first blow. The death of so brave a man disheartened the Lacedæmonians, who now began to give ground. On the other hand the Epirots, being animated by the example of their king, pursued the advantage with such vigour, that the enemy were put into the utmost confusion, and at length obliged to save themselves by a disorderly flight, after having lost the greatest part of their cavalry. When the dead body of his son was brought to him, he expressed the deepest concern; but at the same time seemed to blame him on account of his too great boldness, saying, "I am not at all surpris'd that my son has lost his life; I did not expect he would have lived so long."

*Challenges
Antigonus
to single
combat.*

Pyrrhus, having thus revenged the death of Ptolemy with streams of Lacedæmonian blood, pursued his march to Argos, and arriving before that city, encamped in an advantageous situation, at a small distance from Antigonus, who had anticipated his march. Next morning he sent a herald to Antigonus, challenging him to single combat; but that prince returned him the following answer: "If Pyrrhus is tired of his life, he may find ways enough to put an end to it." The inhabitants of Argos seeing two foreign kings ready to engage at their gates, and not doubting but the conqueror would seize on their city, and from a free people reduce them to a state of slavery, sent ambassadors to both princes, entreating them

to withdraw their forces, and suffer the citizens to compose their differences by themselves. Antigonus readily consented to this proposal, and, to convince them that he had no design upon their city, delivered up his son to them as a hostage. Pyrrhus likewise promised to retire; but, as he offered no security for the performance of his promise, the Argians began to suspect him of insincerity; and indeed not without reason, for the factious Aristias had agreed to open one of the gates to him that night, and put him in possession of the city. The traitor observed his promise, opening the gate, and conveying a body of Pyrrhus's Gauls into the market-place, which was in the centre of the city, without being discovered by any of Aristippus's party. Pyrrhus, however, not thinking that body sufficient to make head against the citizens, ordered his elephants to advance, with a design to draw them up likewise in the market-place. But it happened, that the gate, which was delivered up to Pyrrhus, was not high enough for the elephants to pass with their towers on their backs; so that it was necessary to take them off, and replace them, after they had entered the city. The Argians hearing the noise, ran to arms, and finding the enemy posted in the centre of the city, fled to the fortrefs, and from thence sent messengers to Antigonus, pressing him to advance without loss of time to their assistance. He immediately marched up to the walls, and ordered his son Alcioneus to enter the city at the head of his best troops. In this critical juncture, Aræus, king of Lacedæmon, arrived likewise at Argos with a thousand Lacedæmonians, and the same number of Cretans; and joining the Macedonians, charged the Gauls with the utmost fury, and threw them into disorder. Pyrrhus hastened to their relief with a body of Molossians; but the darkness and confusion were so great, that he could neither be heard nor obeyed.

The fight lasted all night, and at break of day the streets appeared covered with dead bodies, and streaming with blood, the Macedonians, Argians, Cretans, Epirots, Gauls, and Lacedæmonians, having fought in the dark, without distinguishing their friends from their foes. Pyrrhus was not a little surpris'd to see the city filled with the enemy's troops; and imagining all was lost, thought of nothing but a timely retreat. As he was under some apprehension, with respect to the gates of the city, which were too narrow, he sent orders to his son Helenus, whom he had left without, with the main body of the army, to

*Attempts to
to make
himself
master of
Argos.*

*Enters
Argos.*

*Attempts to
retire;*

make

*but is sur-
rounded on
on all sides,*

and killed.

make a large breach in the wall, and be ready to cover his retreat, in case he should be overpowered by the enemy. But the person he sent to his son misunderstanding his orders, delivered a quite contrary message; in consequence of which, Helenus, instead of making a breach in the wall, drew out the flower of his troops, and attempted to get in at the gate, in order to assist his father. But the passage being stopped up by an elephant of an enormous size, and the Argians crowding about the gate to prevent Helenus from entering it, a sharp engagement ensued, in which great numbers were killed on both sides. At length Helenus, fearing his father might be in danger, forced his passage through the thickest of the enemy's ranks. But he had scarce got in, when he met his father, surrounded by the enemy on all sides, and fighting his way through them, in order to retire by the same gate out of the city, which he could no longer hold, most of his men being either killed or wounded. The troops which Helenus led, were so thronged under the gate, that they wounded one another with their arms, and so obstructed the passage, that it was impossible for Pyrrhus to pass. He often cried aloud to them to retire, and clear the way; but his voice not being heard in that noise and confusion, they still continued to advance, pressing upon one another, and putting the few troops that were with the king in great disorder. Then Pyrrhus pulling off his diadem, to prevent his being known, faced about, and charged the enemy with the utmost fury. While he was thus fighting in the croud, and making a great slaughter of the enemy, a common foldier of Argos attacked and wounded him with his javelin. The king, inflamed at the sight of his own blood, slew at the aggressor with a rage not to be expressed, and was ready to make him pay dear for his boldness; but the mother of the Argian, who, with other women, beheld the combat from the top of a house, being alarmed at the imminent danger of her son, threw down a tile upon Pyrrhus, which, falling upon his head, gave him such a blow, that he staggered for some time, and then fell senseless to the ground. One Zopyrus, a Macedonian, observing his fall, and knowing who he was, dragged him into a porch: there, with a trembling hand, he cut off the head of Pyrrhus, and carried it to Alcioneus, who rode full speed with it to his father Antigonus, and threw it down at his feet. But that prince, reflecting on the instability of human affairs, and vicissitude of fortune, severely rebuked his son for thus insulting the remains of so great a man.

Taking

Taking up the head, he covered it with his own garment, and caused it to be honourably interred ^m.

Such was the end of Pyrrhus, a prince to whom the title of a great captain is justly due, since he was so highly esteemed by the Romans, and by a person worthy to be credited, with relation to the merit of a warrior, and the best qualified to form a right judgement in that particular; for Livy tells us ⁿ, that Hannibal, when asked by Scipio, who, in his opinion, were the greatest generals in the world, named Alexander in the first place, Pyrrhus in the second, and himself in the third. All the ancients tell us, that no general understood the art of war better than the king of Epirus; who learnt them by principles and rules, as well as by experience, and is said to have written several volumes on encampments, and the different methods of drawing up an army (E).

His character.

Pyrrhus had, besides his military talents, many other commendable qualities, a great deal of good nature, much compassion for the unhappy, and no less gratitude for those who had laid him under obligations. When Æropus, one of his chief favourites, who had done him considerable service, died, he wept; and was heard to say, "It is not his death that most afflicts me; he has paid the

^m Plut. ibid. Val. Max. lib. v. cap. i. Pausan. in Attic. p. 12. Justin. lib. xxv. cap. 5. ⁿ Liv. lib. xxxv. cap. 24.

(E) These books are mentioned by Tully (1); and Donatus tells us, that Pyrrhus invented a sort of game, like that of chess, to represent the different ways of making attacks, and drawing up armies in battalia (2). Livy gives us the same account as Pyrrhus, or rather makes Hannibal say as much of him: "He was, (says that great general); the first, who perfectly understood

how to encamp, choose his ground, and post his men to advantage (3). He is generally represented by the ancient historians as a prince of an uncommon understanding, and of great sagacity and penetration.

It is therefore surprising, that Tully should take him to be included in the famous verses of Ennius, wherein that poet says,

Semper fuit stolidum genus Æacidarum,
Bellipotentēs magis quam sapientipotentēs (4).

A stupid race th' Æacidæ appear,
Less fam'd for wisdom than for feats of war.

(1) Cic. lib. ix. Epist. 25.
nuch. Terent.

(3) Liv. ibid.

(2) Donat. in Comment. Eu-

(4) Cic. de Divin. lib. ii.

debt he owes to nature. My concern is, that I so long delayed making him a suitable return for his services, and by that delay am deprived of the pleasure of shewing my gratitude °." His only faults were ambition and inconstancy; the former did not so much proceed from an avaricious desire of enriching himself, and possessing vast dominions, as from a love of glory; he had proposed Alexander the Great to himself for a model, and in all his enterprizes had no other view than to equal and even surpass that conqueror. His inconstancy indeed was very remarkable. He had scarce tried one enemy, when he was for engaging another; so that his whole life was a continued series of new projects succeeding each other. When he had conquered a country, he neglected all proper measures for preserving it, how dear soever the conquest might have cost him. Hence Antigonus used to compare him, as Plutarch informs us, to a lucky gamester, who did not know how to make a good use of his fortune, but lavishly spent whatever he got by gaming.

*All the Epi-
rots in Ar-
gos surren-
der at dis-
cretion.*

The Epirots in Argos no sooner heard of the death of their king, than they threw down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. But Antigonus treated them with great humanity, and generously sent back to Epirus, Helenus, the king's son, who was also taken prisoner, delivering to him the body of his unfortunate father, inclosed in a golden urn †.

*Alexander
II.*

Pyrrhus was succeeded in the kingdom of Epirus by his son Alexander, who, soon after his accession to the throne, made himself master of Macedon, but was forced both from Macedon and Epirus by Demetrius. Alexander being thus in his turn expelled his dominions, fled to the Acarnanians; and, having raised among them fresh forces, returned into Epirus, where he was joined by such numbers of his own subjects, that Demetrius thought it advisable to quit that kingdom, and withdraw into Macedon †. He afterwards engaged in a war with the Illyrians, and having gained over them a complete victory, passed the remainder of his reign in peace and tranquility, without molesting his neighbours, or being molested by them †.

Alexander left by his sister Olympias, whom he had married, a son and a daughter. His daughter, by name Phthia, espoused Demetrius II. king of Macedon. His

° Plut. in Pyrr.

† Val. Max. lib. v. cap. 1.

‡ Plut.

lib. xxvi. cap. 3. Pausan. in Attic.

† Frontin. Stratag.

Val. Max. lib. v. cap. 1.

son, named Ptolemy, succeeded him in the kingdom under the tuition of his mother Olympias, he being very young at his father's death. He was a prince of great expectation, but died when he was scarce out of his minority, as he was leading his army against the Ætolians, who had seized that part of Acarnania which belonged to the crown of Epirus*. He left one son, named Pyrrhus, who, after a short reign under the guardianship of his grandmother Olympias, was treacherously murdered by the Ambracians, leaving behind him one daughter, called by Justin, Laudamia; by Pausanias, Athenæus, and Polyænus, Deidamia. This princess succeeded her father; when the Epirots, disdaining to live under the government of a woman, suborned Nestor, one of her guards to murder her; but the assassin failing in the attempt, the unhappy Deidamia fled for refuge to the temple of Diana, where she was barbarously assassinated by Milo, who being sentenced to death for the murder of his own mother Philotera, redeemed himself from the punishment due to his wickedness by murdering his sovereign. He did not, however, long enjoy the fruit of his crime; for being seized with madness, he laid violent hands on himself twelve days after the death of Deidamia. As for the Epirots, they were severely punished by heaven, first with a dreadful famine, and afterwards with domestic troubles, foreign wars, and many other calamities, which reduced their country to the last extremity. This is the account we read in Polyænus: but Pausanias tells us, that Deidamia, after a short and peaceable reign, died quietly in her bed, leaving the Epirots, as she had no issue, free to chuse what sort of government they liked best†. However that be, it is certain, that in this princess ended the family of the Pyrrhidæ, or the descendants of Pyrrhus Neoptolemus; and that upon her death the Epirots formed themselves into a republic, which was governed by annual magistrates, or prætors, chosen in the general assembly of the whole nation. Of this republic we have already given a distinct account in our history of Greece, from the time it was first formed till it was reduced by the Romans to a province. We shall only observe, that the Macedonians on one side, and the Illyrians on the other, taking advantage of the intestine divisions, which generally attend a popular government, seized on several provinces belonging to the Epirots, and annexed them to

Ptolemy.

*Pyrrhus
III.*

Deidamia,

is murdered.

* Justin. lib. xxviii. cap. 3.

† Pausan. in Messeniæ.

The History of Bithynia.

their respective crowns; and hence it is, that though the kingdom of Epirus made a considerable figure, the republic scarce made any. Aristotle, as Stephanus informs us, wrote a particular book on the polity of the Epirots; whence we may infer, that they were governed by excellent laws; but that work has not reached our times. Plutarch tells us, that the Epirots enjoyed the best sort of liberty, under their kings; for, according to him, a general assembly of the people was yearly convened at Passaron, a city in the province of Molossis, where the king bound himself by a solemn oath to govern agreeably to the laws, and the people to obey and support him as long as he should make the laws the rule of his government.



C H A P. XXXII.

The History of Bithynia.

Names, situation, &c.

THIS country, anciently known by the names of Myſia, Mygdonia, Bebrycia, Mariandynia, and Bithynia, was bounded on the west by the Bosporus Thracicus, and part of the Propontis; on the south by the river Rhyndacus and Mount Olympus; on the north by the Euxine Sea; and on the east by the river Parthenius*. Ptolemy extends the confines of Bithynia, on this side, to Citorum on the coast, and to Juliopolis in the inland country, comprehending, under the name of Bithynia, some provinces belonging, according to other geographers, to Galatia and Paphlagonia.

Cities on the Propontis.

The chief cities of Bithynia on the coast were, Myrlea, on the Propontis, not far from the mouth of the Rhyndacus: this city was so called from Myrlus of Colophon, its founder, as Stephanus informs us, or, as others will have it, from Myrlea, a celebrated Amazon, who either founded or adorned it. It was demolished by Philip of Macedon, the father of Perſes, and rebuilt by Prusias, king of Bithynia, who, from his wife, called it Apamea†. It was afterwards honoured with the title of a Roman colony. Dascylos, at a small distance from the Rhyndacus. Cius, built by the Milesians, on a river of the same name, destroyed by Philip, the father of Perſes, and rebuilt by

* Plin. lib. v. cap. 32.

† Strab. lib. xii. p. 389.

Prusias,

Prusias, whose name it bore ever after*. Nicomedia, the metropolis of Bithynia, so called from Nicomedes, the son of Zipoetes, its founder†. Strabo seems to doubt by which of the Bithynian kings it was founded‡. All the ancients speak of it as a place of great note (F).

In this city the Roman emperors resided, when the affairs of the empire called them into the East. Constantine the Great chose Nicomedia § for the place of his abode after he retired from Rome, and there remained till the buildings he had begun at Byzantium were finished. This city, once so famous, is now but a small village, known to the Turks by the name of Schemith. Pronectus, a colony of the Phœnicians, as Stephanus informs us. Drepanum, or Derpane, mentioned by Livy, Florus, and most of the Latin historians. All these cities stood on the Propontis, now the sea of Marmora.

On the Bosphorus, which parts Europe from Asia, and joins the Propontis with the Euxine Sea, stood the famous city of Chalcedon, or Calcedon, anciently known by the names of Procerastis and Colbusa. Pliny^b, Strabo^c, and Tacitus^d, call it the City of the Blind, alluding to the answer which the Pythian Apollo gave to the founders of Byzantium, who, consulting the oracle relative to a place where to build a city, were directed to choose that spot

Cities on
the Bospho-
rus.

* Plin. *ibid.* Pomp. Mela, lib. i. cap. 9. † Tzetzes, *Chil.* 3. *Histor.* 113. ver. 950. ‡ Strab. lib. xiii. p. 388. § Nicephor. lib. vii. sub fin. ^b Plin. *ibid.* ^c Strab. lib. vii. p. 221. ^d Tacit. *Annal.* lib. xii. cap. 63.

(F) Pliny calls it a famous and beautiful city (1); Ammianus Marcellinus, the mother of all the cities of Bithynia (2); Pausanias, the greatest and first city of Bithynia (3); Libanius compares it to Rome, Byzantium, Alexandria, and Antioch, at that time the four greatest cities of the world; and says, that though it was perhaps inferior to them in extent, it equalled them all in beauty. This author lived in the time of the emperor Julian the Apostate. Pausanias, Marcellinus (4) and Trebellius Pollio (5), tell us, this city was formerly called Astacus. Stephanus will have its ancient name to have been Olbia. But Nicomedia, Astacus, and Olbia, are spoken of by Ptolemy as three neighbouring but distinct cities. Strabo writes, that Nicomedes destroyed Astacus, and transferred its inhabitants to Nicomedia (6).

(1) Plin. lib. v. cap. ultim. (2) Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xvii. cap. 13. (3) Pausan. *Eliac.* i. cap. 12. (4) Pausan. & Ammian. Marcellin. *ibid.* (5) Trebell. Poll. in Gallienus, cap. 4. (6) Strab. *ibid.*

which lay opposite "to the habitation of the blind;" that is, as was then understood, to Chalcedon, the Chalcedonians well deserving that epithet for having built their city in a barren and sandy soil, without seeing that advantageous and pleasant spot on the opposite shore, which the Byzantines afterwards chose.

Chalcedon, in the Christian times, became famous on account of the council which was held there against Eutyches. The emperor Valens caused the walls of this city to be levelled with the ground for siding with Procopius, and the materials to be conveyed to Constantinople, where they were employed in building the famous Valentinian aqueduct.

Chalcedon is at present a poor place, known to the Greeks by its ancient name, and to the Turks by that of Cadiaci, or the Judges town *.

*Cities on
the Euxine Sea.
Heraclea.*

On the Euxine Sea stood the city of Heraclea, once a republic of no small note. It is commonly called Pontica, or Heraclea on the Pontus, to distinguish it from several other cities of the same name. Pausanias^f and the scholiast of Apollonius^g tell us, that it was founded and peopled by a colony of the Megarenises and Tanagraei of Bœotia.

*This city
powerful
by sea.*

This city, in process of time, acquired such wealth and power, especially by sea, that it was not inferior to any of the Greek states in Asia. Xenophon tells us, that in his time the Heracleans had a numerous fleet, and they supplied him with a squadron to convoy his men after their retreat into Greece. There are scarce any wars mentioned by the ancients as carried on by sea in those parts, in which the Heracleans were not concerned, their friendship being courted by all the princes of Asia on account of their maritime power. The Heracleans seem to have maintained a good understanding with the kings of Persia; and on that account refused to pay their quota, when the Athenians imposed a tribute on the Greek cities of Asia Minor, for equipping and supporting a fleet to be employed in the defence of the common liberty.

*Form of
government.*

As to their form of government, it was^h originally democratical; but democracy soon gave way to aristocracy: for many of the nobles being sent out to lead colonies into distant countries, the people, in whom the supreme power was lodged, began to oppress those who remained; whereupon they ran to arms in their own defence, and,

* Tournesfort. Voyage au Levant, vol. ii.

g Scholiast. Apollon. p. 190.

f Pausan. lib. v.
h Aristot. lib. v. Polit. cap. 5.

having

having overcome their adversaries, took the whole power into their own hands. New disturbances arising among the nobles, because the most wealthy engrossed the whole management of affairs to themselves, it was agreed, that the supreme power should be lodged in the senate, and that the senate should consist of six hundred members, all chosen from the nobility. This new regulation incensed the common people to such a degree, that they unanimously rose against the nobles, and obliged them to implore the assistance first of Timotheus, the Athenian, and afterwards of Epaminondas, the Theban. These generals, refusing to interfere with their domestic quarrels, they were forced to recall Clearchus, a senator, whom they had banished; but as his banishment had neither improved his morals, nor inspired him with better principles, he made the troubles, in which he found the city involved, subservient to his wicked design of subjecting it, and usurping the sovereign power. With this view he openly declared for the people; and having by their means humbled the nobles, he caused himself to be invested with the whole power, which had been divided among them.

*Tyrants of
Heraclea.*

Clearchus.

Thus rendered absolute, he exercised all sorts of cruelty upon such as gave him any umbrage: most of the senators were either assassinated, or deprived of their estates and banished their native country¹. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that he proposed to himself Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, for his model in the art of government². The banished senators having applied to the neighbouring cities for assistance against him, he compelled their wives and daughters to marry his slaves, and of these composed an army. Having vanquished the troops they led against him, and taken many prisoners, he put them all to death, after he had made them suffer the most exquisite torments which his cruel temper, and an eager desire of revenge, could invent.

*His cru-
elty.*

After he had exercised a most cruel tyranny over his fellow-citizens for the space of twelve years, he was at last put to death by Chion and Leonides, two young citizens, and disciples of Plato¹.

*Is murder-
ed.*

The conspirators delivered their country from the tyrant, but the tyranny still subsisted. Clearchus having left two sons, Timotheus and Dionysius, their uncle Satyrus seized on the sovereign power, as their guardian

Satyrus.

¹ Justin. *ibid.* Plut. de Fortun. Alexand. lib. xv.

² Diodor. Sicul. lib. ii.

and protector, and equalled his brother Clearchus in the tyranny of his government; for he not only put to death the conspirators, their children, and all those who were related to them, but likewise such of the citizens as he imagined capable of following their example. However, he educated his nephews with great care, and resigned the power to Timotheus as soon as he was of age, having conducted the administration seven years^m.

Timotheus. Timotheus governed with great equity and moderation; whence he had the surnames of Euergetes and Soter, that is, the *Beneficent*, the *Saviour* of his country. He ruled fifteen years, and was succeeded by his brother Dionysius,

Dionysius. who, taking advantage of the retreat of the Persians after the battle fought on the banks of the Granicus, reduced some of the neighbouring provinces, and considerably increased the power of the Heracleansⁿ. After the death of Alexander he married Amastris, the widow of Craterus, and daughter of Oxyathres, the brother of Darius. Upon this marriage he assumed the title of king, and maintained it with great dignity, being a prince of a mild temper, and always ready to sacrifice his own ease and private interest to the welfare of his subjects.

He died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign; and is highly commended by all the ancients on account of his justice, moderation, goodness, and other princely qualities. He left two sons by his wife Amastris, Clearchus and Oxatres, whom Diodorus Siculus calls Zathras. Upon his death Amastris married Lyfimachus, one of Alexander's captains, who, by that match, got possession of Heraclea, which she governed as guardian to her children; for they were both very young when their father died. Lyfimachus afterwards divorced Amastris to marry Arsinoe, the daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt; but nevertheless kept possession of the city, and educated the two young princes with great care. They both attended him in his expedition against the Getæ, after which he suffered them to return home, and resigned the government of Heraclea to Clearchus, the eldest, allowing him to take the title of king. With this title he governed Heraclea, according to Diodorus Siculus, seventeen years, and was at last put to death by Lyfimachus, with his brother Oxatres, for assassinating their mother Amastris^o; for they

Clearchus
II.

^m Justin. lib. xvi. Memnon. Excerpt. cap. xvii.

Sicul. & Memnon. ibid.

ⁿ Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi. Trog. in Prolog. lib. xvi. Memnon. Excerpt. cap. 19.

both conspired against her, and caused her to be smothered, while she was going by sea from Heraclea to Amastria, a city which she had built, and called by her own name. Upon their death, Lyfimachus restored the Heracleans to the full enjoyment of their ancient liberties.

But they did not long continue in that happy condition: Arsinoe, who had a great ascendant over her husband Lyfimachus, prevailed upon him to deprive them of the liberty which he had not long before granted them, and appoint one Heraclitus Cimæus governor of the place, a man entirely at her devotion. After the famous battle of Coroupedion, in which Lyfimachus was killed by one Malacon, a native of Heraclea, the Heracleans conspired to shake off the yoke, under which they had groaned for the space of seventy-five years, determined either to recover their former liberty, or perish in the attempt. With this resolution, the chief citizens went in a body to wait on Heraclitus, intreating him to retire, and suffer them to live according to their own laws. They offered him all possible security for his person and effects, besides a large sum of money to defray the charges of his journey. At this proposal, Heraclitus commanded the officers who attended him to put immediately to death some of the leading men, whom he named: but the officers, to his great surprize, instead of obeying his orders, seized him, and carried him to the public prison; for the Heracleans had gained them over to their party, by making them free of Heraclea, and promising to pay them the arrears which were due from Heraclitus. Having thus secured the tyrant, they demolished the citadel which Lyfimachus had built; raised one of their own citizens, named Phocrites, to the chief magistracy; and dispatched an embassy to Seleucus, king of Syria, to acquaint him with what they had done, and implore his protection^p. Seleucus had been greatly prejudiced against the Heracleans by Aphrodisius, who, being sent by him to visit the cities of Asia, had laid many things to their charge, and represented them as disaffected to his person. He was therefore so far from promising them his protection, that he threatened their ambassadors, and let drop some expressions, which gave just ground to suspect that he had some design upon their city. The Heracleans, therefore, entered into an offensive and defensive league with Mithridates, king of Pontus; the Byzantines and Chalcedonians recalled all

*Heraclitus
Cimæus.*

The Heracleans regain their ancient liberty.

^p Justin. lib. xvii. cap. 3.

their exiles, and put themselves in a posture of defence. But the death of Seleucus soon delivered them from their apprehensions ⁹.

*Enter into
an alli-
ance with
Rome.*

From this time the Heracleans enjoyed their liberties undisturbed for many years. When the Romans became formidable in Asia, they made an alliance with them; the articles of which were engraved on tables of brass, and lodged at Rome, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and at Heraclea, in a temple of the same god. Notwithstanding this alliance, the Heracleans suffered greatly by the wars which they engaged in, for the defence of their liberties, against the Bithynians and Galatians. However, they held out against the utmost efforts of their enemies, and obliged them to withdraw their forces with disgrace. In the war which the Romans waged with Mithridates the Great, they resolved at first to observe a strict neutrality, and refused to admit that prince's fleet into their harbour; but, on the approach of his general Archelaus, they changed their measures, and sided with him, after having murdered all the Romans who resided among them. Their treachery cost them dear; for Cotta having, after a two years siege, taken their city, pillaged and reduced it to ashes, as we have related in the history of Pontus. Cotta, on his return to Rome, was severely reprimanded by the senate, for suffering so great and wealthy a city to be destroyed. All the captives were sent home without ransom, the inhabitants restored to the possession of their lands, and allowed the use of their harbour, with the freedom of commerce.

*Heraclea
destroyed
by Cotta.*

Britagoras, one of the chief citizens, spared no pains to repeople it; but could not obtain for his fellow-citizens the restitution of their liberty, and ancient privileges. Strabo tells us, that a numerous colony was sent from Rome to repeople it. Some of the new-comers settled in the city, and some in the country; but the former were all massacred by Adioterix, the son of Demeneceus, king of the Galatians ¹⁰. But his cruelty did not long pass unpunished; for Octavianus having taken him prisoner, after the famous battle of Actium, he was carried in chains to Rome to grace the triumph, and afterwards both him and his son were put to death. From this period Heraclea continued subject to the Roman emperors, till the downfall of the empire, being, with its territory, made part of the province of Pontus. Near this city was

*Made af-
terwards
a Roman
colony.*

⁹ Memnon, *ibid.* cap. 11, 12.

¹⁰ Strab. lib. xii.

the famous cave, through which Hercules is feigned to have descended to the infernal regions, and brought up from thence the fabulous Cerberus. This cave was still to be seen in Xenophon's time; but is now closed up, though once two furlongs deep * (G).

The inland cities of Bithynia, which it may be proper to take notice of, were, Prusa, at the foot of Mount Olympus; built, according to Strabo †, by Prusias, king of Bithynia, who waged war with Croesus and Cyrus, and not by Hannibal, as Pliny pretends ‡ (H).

Inland cities of Bithynia.

Libyssa, famous for the death of Hannibal, and the tomb of that great commander, which was still extant in Pliny's time.

Nicæa, or Nice, which stood on the lake Ascanius, now the lake of Iznich. This city was built, according to Strabo, who calls it the metropolis of Bithynia †, by Antigonus, the son of Philip of Macedon, and from him called at first Antigonía. Afterwards it was repaired and adorned by Lyfimachus, who gave it the name of his wife Nicæa, the daughter of Antipater. Stephanus tells us,

* Xenoph. Exped. Cyri Minor. lib. vi. p. 220. Eustath. ad Dionys. ver. 791. † Strab. lib. xii. p. 388. ‡ Plin. lib. v. cap. ultim. § Strab. lib. xii. p. 389.

(G) The ancient history of Heraclea was written by Pifander, Timagenes, Panyasis, Domitius, Callistus, Cynæthon, Nymphis, and Memnon; for to these Athenæus, Suidas, Stephanus, and the scholiast of Apollonius, refer us, for a more full account of what they briefly relate of the Heracleans. But the works of these authors have been long since lost, nothing now remaining but an extract of Memnon, preserved by Photius in his Bibliothéque; and from him we have in great part copied what we have said here of Heraclea. This city is at present a very inconsiderable place, known to the Greeks by the name of Penderachi, and to the Turks by that of Eregri.

(H) This city must have been founded long before the times of Croesus and Cyrus, if the tradition be true, which the inhabitants have transmitted to us, on several medals, that Ajax stabbed himself here with his sword. It is surprising that Livy, who has so well described the neighbourhood of Mount Olympus, where the Gauls were defeated by Manlius, should not mention this place. Prusa was the place where the Othoman princes resided, before they extended their conquests into Europe; and is still one of the most beautiful and populous cities of Asia. We must not, with some geographers, confound the city of Prusa with that of Prusias, of which we have spoken above.

that

Rivers.

that Nicæa was originally a colony of the Bottiaei, a people of Thrace, and called in the earliest times Anchore (I).

The chief rivers of Bithynia were, the Pissis, Colpas, Sangarius, or Sagaria, Hipias, Rhebas, and the Lycus, all discharging themselves into the Euxine Sea, between Chalcedon and Heraclea. Livy was certainly mistaken when he wrote, that the Sangarius, the chief river of Bithynia, falls into the Propontis. It springs from Mount Dindymus, in Phrygia, at a small distance from a town, which Strabo calls Sangia; waters Phrygia and Bithynia; and, receiving in its course the Thymbrus and the Galus, falls into the Euxine Sea, over-against the small island of Thynias. Some geographers place the river Parthenius in Bithynia; but these extend the bounds of this country a great way into Paphlagonia. As Bithynia lies between the 41st and 43d degrees of north latitude, and is watered by a great many rivers, it once abounded with all the necessaries of life. The ancients compare some of the inland provinces to the fruitful and delicious vales of Tempe itself; but at present it lies in great part neglected and unmanured.

Inhabitants.

Bithynia was anciently inhabited by various nations, differing in their manners, customs, and language; namely, the Bebryces, the Mariandyni, the Caucones, the Doliones, and the Cimerii.

These different nations were anciently governed by kings of their own, Bithynia being, in the earliest times, divided into as many kingdoms as nations or tribes. Plutarch, Polyænus, and Stephanus, mention Mandron and Byfnus, as reigning over the Bebryces; and Hyginus speaks of one Lycus, king of the Mariandyni. But all we know of these small kingdoms, and the princes who ruled over them, is, that in process of time they were reduced by the more powerful kings of the Bithynians.

Strabo* speaks of one Prusias reigning in Bithynia in the time of Croesus, the last king of Lydia, by whom he was conquered. From this period, the Bithynians continued subject first to the Lydians, and afterwards to the Persians, till the reign of Alexander the Great; for we

* Strab. lib. xii. p. 374.

(I) The first general council held here, by the appointment of Constantine the Great, against Arius, gave new lustre to this city; for it was ever

after honoured with the title and privileges of a metropolis, as appears from the acts of the council at Chalcedon.

find them mentioned by Herodotus, among the many nations that attended Xerxes in his expedition into Greece. While they were subject to the Persians, they were still governed, it seems, by their own princes; for Memnon and Strabo tell us, Dædalus, or Dydalus, Boteras, and Bas, ruled in Bithynia with sovereign power in the time of the Persian monarchy. Some writers place in the reign of Dædalus the invasion of the Byzantines, Chalcedonians, and Thracians, who, entering Bithynia, committed most dreadful ravages; and, having taken several towns, made a great many captives, whom they inhumanly murdered, when they found themselves obliged to leave the country. Boteras was, according to Memnon, the son of Dædalus, and died in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was succeeded by his son Bas, who, having overcome Calantus, one of Alexander the Great's generals, peaceably enjoyed the kingdom of Bithynia fifty years, and died in the seventy-first of his age*.

*Kings of
Bithynia.
Dædalus.
Boteras,
and Bas.*

Bas was succeeded by Zipetes, who waged war first with the Heracleans, and afterwards with the Chalcedonians. Over the former he gained no considerable advantage; but reduced the latter to great difficulties, besieged their metropolis, and having drawn them to a battle, killed eight thousand of them on the spot. He was prevented from pursuing the victory, which would have soon put him in possession of Chalcedon, by Patrocles, one of Antiochus Soter's generals, who, entering Bithynia, ravaged the country with fire and sword. Zipetes marched against him, and, having concealed his men in ambush, fell upon him unexpectedly, and cut him off with his whole army. Zipetes was so affected by this victory, that he died in a transport of joy, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and forty-eighth of his reign. He left four sons, of which the eldest, called Nicomedes, took possession of the throne, and caused two of his brothers to be put to death. But the youngest Zibœas†, having saved himself by a timely flight, seized on the coast of Bithynia, which was then known by the names of Thracia Thyniacia and Thracia Asiatica, and there maintained a long war with his brother; who, being informed that Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, was making great preparations to attack him at the same time, because he had declared for Antigonus Gonatus, called in the Gauls to his assistance;

*Yr. of Fl.
2067.
Ante Chr.
281.*

Zipetes.

Nicomedes.

* *Diod. Sic. lib. xii.
Liv. lib. xxxviii.*

† *Memnon. Excerpt. cap. 8. & 10.*

and on this occasion it was, that this people first passed into Asia.

Nicomedes having, with their assistance, repulsed Antiochus, overcome his brother, and acquired the possession of all his father's dominions, bestowed upon them that part of Asia Minor, which was called from them Gallo-Græcia, and Gallatia. As for Zipocetes, he died in banishment, his army being routed by the Gauls, and the cities, which he possessed on the coast, obliged to submit to the conqueror (K).

Nicomedes, having no enemies to contend with after the defeat of his brother, and the advantages gained over the king of Syria, applied himself to the enlarging and adorning of the city of Aftacus, which he called after his own name, Nicomedia (L).

Nicomedes had two wives, Ditizele and Etazeta: the former brought him two sons; Zela and Prusias, and one daughter, named Lyfandra; by the latter he had one son, named Tibites, to whom, at the instigation of his mother Etazeta, he left the kingdom. But Zela, who, at the time of his father's death, was in Armenia, whither he had been banished by the intrigues of his stepmother, having hired an army of Galatians, returned into Bithynia, drove out Tibites, and peaceably enjoyed the crown till his death. He was taken in a snare, which he had laid for the Galatians; for, suspecting their fidelity, he invited their leading men to a banquet, with a design to

*Tibites.
Zela.*

(K) Livy (1) and Justin (2) tell us, that the Gauls, having laid waste the dominions of Zipocetes, kept the spoils for themselves, but divided the country with Nicomedes, calling their portion Gallo-Græcia; and here-in they agree with Demetrius Byzantius, who informs us, that Gallo-Græcia was not given by Nicomedes to the Gauls, but held by them against his will, after they had driven out his brother Zipocetes (3). Demetrius Byzantius wrote thir-

teen books on the migration of the Gauls out of Europe into Asia; but none of them have reached our times.

(L) This is what we read in Pausanias (4), Trebellius Pollio (5), Ammianus Marcellinus (6), and Eusebius (7). But Memnon says, that he built Nicomedia opposite the city of Aftacus; so that Nicomedia and Aftacus were, according to this writer (8), two distinct cities.

(1) Liv. lib. xxxviii. (2) Justin. lib. xxv. cap. 2. (3) Laert. in Vita Demet. Phal. (4) Pausan. in Eliac. lib. ii. p. 159. (5) Trebell. Poll. in Gallienis. (6) Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxiii. (7) Euseb. in Chron. (8) Memnon. ibid. cap. 21.

cut them all off; but they, upon private intelligence of what was preparing against them, killed the treacherous prince at the beginning of the banquet^b.

He was succeeded by his son Prusias, surnamed Cholos, *Prusias*, or the *Lame*, and also Cunegos, or the *Hunter*. This prince, in the beginning of his reign, entered into an alliance with the Rhodians against the Byzantines, whom he reduced to great difficulties, as we have related in the history of Rhodes. He afterwards engaged in a war with the Galatians, whom Attalus I. king of Pergamus had invited into Asia, defeated them in a pitched battle, took several of their fortresses, and put all that fell into his hands to the sword, without distinction of sex or age. When the war broke out between Antiochus the Great and the Romans, he was solicited by the former to join him against those powerful republicans; but Scipio, by a letter, and Livius, admiral of the Roman fleet, by the promises he made, in the name of the republic, fixed him in the interest of Rome, as the reader may find in the history of Syria. Notwithstanding his engagements with the Romans, he invaded the territories of Eumenes, their constant friend and ally, at the instigation of Hannibal, who had taken refuge in his dominions. The advantages he gained over Eumenes in this war, were chiefly owing to Hannibal, who not only prevailed upon Ortygon, one of the kings of the Galatians, and Philip, king of Macedonia, to send him powerful supplies, but took upon him the command of his forces, and in several encounters put the king of Pergamus to flight^c. This conduct awakened the jealousy of the Romans, who sent T. Flaminius, Scipio Africanus, and Scipio Nasica, into Asia, to adjust the differences between the two kings, and to persuade Prusias to deliver Hannibal into their hands^d. Flaminius, after having proposed a plan of accommodation between Prusias and Eumenes, acquainted the former, that Rome would never consider him as a sincere friend, unless he delivered up Hannibal, who made no other use of his liberty and talents than to draw kings and nations into the same dangerous enterprizes which had proved his own ruin. Prusias refused to comply with the request of the ambassadors, pleading the laws of hospitality, and the age of Hannibal. He also insisted on the reputation of that great general, whom he could not deliver up, without drawing upon

^b Memnon. *ibid.* Athen. lib. ii. cap. 18. Plin. lib. viii. cap. 4.

^c Justin. lib. xxxii. cap. 4. Æmil. Probus in Hannib.

^d Polyb.

Legat. xlvii. Liv. lib. xxxvi.

himself

Prusias delivers up Hannibal to the Romans.

himself the indignation of all ages. But Flaminius threatening to treat him as an enemy, if he persisted in favouring and protecting the Carthaginian, the king thought it advisable to sacrifice his guest to the revenge of the republic, and his own interest. Hannibal disappointed the designs of his enemies, in a manner worthy of his great character*, as we have related in the History of Pergamus.

Goes to Rome.

Prusias having, by thus abandoning his guest and ally to the revenge of the Romans, gained their protection, in order to engage them still more in his favour, assisted them with men and money in their war with Perses, king of Macedon; and, upon the reduction of that country, was not content, like the other princes of the East, with sending an embassy to Rome to congratulate the senate on the success of their arms, but went thither in person, and dishonoured the royal dignity by his mean and servile flatteries. The senate no sooner heard of his arrival in Italy, than they sent Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the son of Scipio Asiaticus, as far as Capua to meet him, with orders to defray his charges, and conduct him to the Capitol. Before he entered the city, he caused his head to be shaved, and took the the pileus, or cap, which slaves wore after they had obtained their freedom. In that odd dress he advanced towards the forum, stopped at the tribunal, where the prætors used to administer justice, and there declared with a loud voice, that he had crossed the seas, on purpose to return thanks to the Roman gods, and congratulate the republic on her late victories.

His mean behaviour at Rome.

His arrival being notified to the senate, they sent deputies to receive and introduce him to their assembly. These Prusias received with such mean flatteries and submissions as were well suited to the attire he had assumed; "I have taken the habit and appearance of one of your freed-men, (said he), and am, indeed, no better than a Roman slave set at liberty by your favour." The deputies were for introducing him to the senate immediately; but he requested that his audience might be put off for two days, being desirous to see the city and temples, and visit his friends. On the third day he was introduced, and on that occasion betrayed a baseness of mind, unworthy of the rank and title he bore. When he entered the senate, he kissed the threshold, saluted the senators with the titles of Visible Deities, Saviours, Deliverers, and pro-

* Æmil. Prob. in Hannib. Liv. lib. xxxix. cap. 4. Plut. in Flam. Appian. in Syriac. p. 97.

nounced

nounced an harangue suitable to that prelude; in the close of which, he related what he had done for the republic in the course of the war, and desired the protection of the senate, both for himself and his son. After this harangue, he presented to the conscript fathers a petition, which contained two articles; whereof the first was, that he might be allowed to offer up sacrifices in the Capitol, and at Præneste, by way of thanksgiving to Jupiter and Fortune, for the success which had attended the arms of the republic in the late war. The second article was, that the senate would grant him a small territory, which had formerly belonged to Antiochus the Great, but was then held by the Galatians, who had seized it without the consent of the republic. The senate returned Prusias the following answer: "We give the king of Bithynia leave to offer sacrifices at Rome and Præneste, and order that the expences of the victims, and all other things for the sacrifices, be defrayed by the public, in the same manner as if our own magistrates were to offer up sacrifices. As to the territory which the king desires, we shall send commissioners to judge of the affair on the spot, after both parties shall have been heard." Then the senate presented him with some silver vessels, and made over to him two hundred and twenty-five small ships, which had been taken from Gentius, king of Illyricum. Prusias, after these unkingly compliances, left Rome, embarked at Brundisium, and set sail with a squadron of twenty galleys to take possession of the fleet, which he had received as a present from the republic. Some years after, that war broke out between him and Eumenes II. which we have described in the history of Pergamus, where we have also related in what manner, and on what provocation he was first driven from the throne, and afterwards assassinated by his own son Nicomedes. Polybius tells us, that he was a monster rather than a man; that he had not one single virtue to atone for the many vices which rendered him insupportable to his subjects, and contemptible to foreigners. He was a stranger to all principles of honour or honesty, of a most cruel and savage temper, timorous, cowardly, and so addicted to pleasures of all sorts, that he seemed another Sardanapalus. His most important business was to dress himself, says our historian, to conceal the deformity of his ill-shaped and disfigured body. He was not ashamed to appear publicly in the attire of a wo-

*His death
and character.*

† Polyb. Legat. 97. Liv. lib. xlv. cap. 44.

man, and shew his subjects, in that garb, a figure equally hideous and ridiculous ^z (M).

He had two wives, Apame, the daughter of Dieglis, one of the kings of Thrace, who brought him two sons, Nicomedes and Prusias; the latter was surnamed Monodous, or the *Single-toothed*, because, instead of distinct teeth, he had one continued semicircular bone in each jaw. Prusias married, to his second wife, the daughter of Philip, king of Macedon, and had children by her also.

Nicomedes
II.

Nicomedes II. succeeded his father, and proved a no less cruel tyrant; for he had scarce ascended the throne, when he sacrificed all his brothers to his jealousy and ambition ^b. He assumed the name of Epiphanes, or *the Illustrious*, though he performed nothing worthy of this title, nor even of notice, during the whole time of his long reign. According to the accounts given us by Strabo, Justin, and Memnon, he began to reign in the 607th year of Rome, and was still on the throne in the 649th. All we know of him, besides what we have related in the history of Pergamus, is, that he built a city, calling it by his mother's name, Apame, or Apamea. Strabo tells us ⁱ that he was killed, but by whom, or in what manner, we find no-where recorded. Some writers conjecture, that as he had murdered his father, so he was treated in the same manner by his son Nicomedes, who, on that account, was, by antiphrasis, surnamed Philopator.

Nicomedes
III.

He was succeeded by his son Nicomedes III. who, entering into an alliance with Mithridates the Great, invaded Paphlagonia: having seized on that country, he attempted to make himself master likewise of Cappadocia, at that time subject to Mithridates, who thereupon marching into Bithynia at the head of an army, drove Nicomedes from the throne, and raised his brother Socrates to it in his room. The dethroned prince had recourse to the Romans, who expelled the usurper, and

^z Polyb. in Excerpt. Valesii.

^b Appian. in Syriac. p. 147.

ⁱ Strab. lib. xii.

(M) Livy, in his account of the audience which the senate gave him, takes no notice of his submissions to the senators: perhaps he thought they reflected no less dishonour on the senate, who suffered them, than on the king, who acted so mean

a part. But Polybius, after having given us a specimen of the speech the slavish king made on that occasion, breaks it off abruptly, saying, that he was ashamed to repeat the expressions he made use of before that venerable assembly (1).

(1) Polyb. Legat. 97.

restored him to his hereditary dominions. For this favour they pressed him, and at length prevailed upon him, contrary to his own inclination, and the opinion of his friends, to make inroads into the territories of Mithridates, with whom Rome wanted a subject of dispute. The king of Pontus bore, for some time, the devastations committed by Nicomedes, with great patience, that he might not seem to be the aggressor; but at last he routed his army on the banks of the Amnion, drove him a second time from his dominions, and obliged him to seek for shelter in Paphlagonia, where he led a private life till the time of Sylla, who replaced him on the throne^k. He was succeeded by his son, Nicomedes IV. who performed nothing which the many writers who flourished in his time have thought worth transmitting to posterity (N).

*Nicomedes
IV.*

As he died without issue male, he left his kingdom, by his last will, to the Romans, who reduced it to the form of a province^l. Sallust, disagreeing with the ancients, tells us, that Nicomedes left a son, named Musa, or Myfa; and introduces Mithridates as complaining of the Romans to Arsaces, king of Parthia, for seizing on the kingdom of Bithynia, and excluding the son of a prince, who had, on all occasions, shewn himself a steady friend to their republic^m. But this Musa was the daughter, and not the son of Nicomedes, as we are told in express terms by Suetonius, Velleius Patereulus, and Appian. All we know of her is, that upon the death of her father she claimed the kingdom of Bithynia for her son, as the next male heir to the crown; but without success, no motives of justice being of such weight with the ambitious Romans, as to make them part with a kingdom.

^k Appian. in Mithridatic. lib. ii. cap. 4. & 39.

^l Liv. lib. xciii. Vellei. Paterecul. lib. i. Bell. Civil. p. 420. & Mithridat. p. 176, 218.

^m Sallust. Histor. lib. iv.

(N) His too great familiarity with Julius Cæsar, while that young Roman was making his first campaign in Asia, under the prætor Thermus, gave occasion to several lam-

poons, and severe satires, some of which were sung by the soldiery at Cæsar's triumph over the Gauls, according to the liberty allowed them on such occasions: the verses were,

Cæsar Gallias subegit, Nicomedes Cæsarem.
Ecce, Cæsar nunc triumphat, qui subegit Gallias;
Nicomedes non triumphat, qui subegit Cæsarem (1).

(1) Vide Sueton. in Cæsar. Dion. lib. xliii. Catul. &c.

C H A P. XXXIII.

The History of the Kingdoms of Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Bosporus, Media, Bactria, Edessa, Emesa, Adiabene, Characene, Elymais, Comagene, and Chalcidene.

S E C T. I.

*The Kingdom of Colchis.**Colchis.**Cities.*

COLCHIS, now Mingrelia, was bounded on the east by Iberia, on the west by the Euxine Sea, on the south by Armenia and part of Pontus, and on the north by Mount Caucasus, dividing it from Sarmatia Asiatica. Cities of note in this country were, Pityus, called by Strabo the Great City^a, and by Pliny^o, a place of great wealth. It stood on the frontiers of the Bosporani, and was, on that account, in the time of the Romans, well fortified and garrisoned^p. Dioscurias, or Dioscorias, on the Euxine Sea, built either by Castor and Pollux, two of the Argonauts, as Mela will have it^q, or by Amphitus and Cercius, their charioteers, as we read in Ammianus Marcellinus^r and Isidorus^s. It was named Dioscurias from Castor and Pollux, whom the Greeks called Dioscuroi. This name was, according to Arrian^t and Ptolemy^u, in process of time, changed into Sebastopolis; but Pliny will have Dioscurias and Sebastopolis to be two different cities. Be that as it will, Dioscurias was anciently a place of great trade, and resorted to by merchants from most parts of the world. This city is at present known by the name of Savatopoli. Aea, on the Phasis, about fifteen miles from the Euxine Sea, called by Pliny and Apollonius^w a famous city. Some writers take this to be the same with the city of Æopolis, mentioned by Ptolemy. Phasis, so called from the river on which it stood. Here the Argonauts landed. Cyta, at the mouth of the river Cyaneus, the birth-place of the famous Me-

^a Strab. lib. xii. p. 378.^o Plin. lib. vi. cap. 5.^p Pro-

cop. lib. iv. Bell. Goth. cap. 4. & Zosim. lib. i. cap. 38.

^q Mela,

lib. i. cap. 19.

^r Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxii. cap. 15.^s Isi-

dor. Orig. lib. xv. cap. 1.

^t Arrian. in Pont. Periplo.^u Ptol.

in Colch. lib. v. cap. 10.

^w Apollon. lib. xi. ver. 424, & 1096.

dea,

dea, called from thence, by the poets, Cytæis^x. The cities of Saracæ, Zadris, Surium, Madia, and Zaliffa, are mentioned by Pliny, Strabo, and Ptolemy; but contain nothing worthy of notice. Colchis was watered by a great many rivers, as the Corax, the Hippius, the Cya- *Rivers.* neus, the Charistus, the Phafus, the Abfarus, the Ciffa, and the Ophis, all emptying themselves into the Euxine sea. The Phafis does not spring from the mountains of Armenia, near the sources of the Euphrates, the Araxes, and the Tigris, as Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny, Dionysius, and after them Hadrian, Reland, Calmet, and Sanfon, have wrongly informed us, but rises on Mount Caucasus; and flows, not from south to north, but from north to south, as appears from the map of Colchis, or Mingrelia, in Thevenot's collection, and the account which sir John Chardin gives us of that country. This river forms, in its course, a small island, called also Phafis; whence the pheasants, if Iſidorus is to be credited^y, were first brought into Europe, and thence called by the Greeks phasianoi. The other rivers of Colchis are scarce worthy notice.

The Colchians were, according to Herodotus^z, origi- *Inhabit-* nally Egyptians. Sesostris having left part of the army with which he invaded Scythia, in Colchis, to people that country and guard the passes. Apollonius^a, Diodorus Siculus^b, Strabo^c, Eustathius^d, and Marcellinus^e, agree with Herodotus. In process of time many other nations settled in Colchis, as the Heniochi, the Ampreutæ, the Lazi, the Ligures, the Marfi, the Istri, the Moschi, and the Manralæ. The whole kingdom of Colchis was, in ancient times, very pleasant and fruitful, abounded with all necessaries of life, and was enriched with many mines of gold; which gave occasion to the fable of the golden fleece, and the Argonautic expedition, so much celebrated by the ancients. *ants.*

The Colchians were governed by their own kings in the *Govern-* earliest ages; for Pliny tells us, that Sesostris, king of *ment and* Egypt, was overcome, and put to flight, by the king of *kings.* Colchis^f. But of their kings we know very little. The names of those we find mentioned in history are, Helius, Æetes, Æetes II. Salauces, Eufubopes, Olthaches, and Aristarchus. Helius is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, *Helius.*

^x Propert. lib. i. eleg. 1. Val. Flac. lib. vi. ver. 693, &c. ^y Iſidor. Origin. lib. iii.

^z Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 104. lib. iii. 97. lib. iv. 40.

^a Apollon. lib. iv. ^b Diodor. Sicul. lib. i.

^c Strabo, lib. i. & xvi. ^d Eustath. in Dionys.

^e Marcellin. lib. iii. ^f Plin. lib. xxxiii. cap. 3.

Æetes.

Pausanias, Strabo, and Cicero, as reigning before the Argonautic expedition; but what they relate of him is altogether fabulous. He was succeeded by his son *Æetes*, whom he had, according to some, by Ephyre, according to others, by Antiope, or Perfa. *Æetes* received Phryxus, flying with his sister Helle from their stepmother Ino, in a ship, on whose head was a golden, or rather a gilt ram. In his reign happened the famous expedition of the Argonauts. Upon the death of *Æetes*, Colchis, as Strabo informs us^a, was divided into several petty kingdoms; but on what occasion we know not; for we find no farther mention of the affairs of Colchis, or the princes who reigned there, till the time of Xenophon, who tells us, that the son of *Æetes*, the second of that name, reigned in Colchis while he was making war in Asia^b. Salauces and Eufubopes are mentioned by Pliny^c, and said to have discovered rich mines of gold in the country of the Savani; but that writer leaves us quite in the dark as to the time in which they reigned. Colchis was afterwards subdued by Mithridates the Great, but revolted from him while his forces were employed against the Romans. The king of Pontus had no sooner concluded a peace with Sylla, than he marched against the Colchians, who offered to submit, upon condition that he would appoint his son to reign over them, with the title of king of Colchis. This proposal provoked Mithridates to such a degree, that he caused the son, whom they had demanded, to be arrested, and loaded with chains of gold, sacrificing him, soon after, to his jealousy and ambition. The Colchians obstinately refusing to submit upon any terms, Mithridates assembled together all his troops in order to reduce them by force; but as he passed through the country of the Achæans, that people attacked him with so much vigour, and defended the passes with such resolution, that he was forced to return into Pontus, after having lost great part of his army by the enemy's ambuscades, and by the excessive cold of the country^d.

Colchis, while subject to Mithridates, was governed by prefects, whom he sent thither. One of these was Moaphernes, great uncle to Strabo the geographer^e. Memnon tells us, that Mithridates complied with the request of the Colchians, and appointed his son Mithridates to reign over them; but soon after caused him to be put to

^a Strabo, *ibid.*
xxxiii. cap. 3.

Xenoph. *Asiæ*. lib. v.
^b Appian. in Mithridat.

^c Plin. lib.
^d Strabo, lib. xi.
death.

death. Be that as it will, it is certain that the Colchians sided with Mithridates against Pompey; and were, during that war, governed by a king of their own, called Olthaces, who was overcome, taken prisoner, and led in triumph by Pompey^m. Olthaces was succeeded by Aristarchus; but all we know of him is, that Pompey conferred upon him the kingdom of Colchis, for his eminent services during the Mithridatic warⁿ. Pharnaces II. king of Pontus, seized on the kingdom of Colchis, and recovered great part of Pontus, while Cæsar was entertained by Cleopatra in Egypt; but was soon obliged to abandon his conquests, and retire into the country of the Bosporani, where he was killed by Asander, as we have related in the history of Pontus. From this time we find no mention made of the Colchians till the reign of the emperor Trajan, to whom they submitted of their own accord^o. Perhaps they were governed by their own king; for Strabo makes the river Phasis the northern boundary of the Roman empire. Under the emperors, Colchis was subject to the prætors who governed Bithynia and Pontus; but never made part of any province.

Olthaces.

Aristarchus.

S E C T. II.

Of the Kingdom of Iberia.

IBERIA, now Georgia, was bounded on the west by Colchis and part of Pontus, on the north by Mount Caucasus, on the east by Albania, and on the south by Armenia. It contained the following cities, Nubium, Varica, Sura, Artanissa, Mestleta, Zalissa, Armaetica, and Phryxum, called afterwards Ideessa. These cities are mentioned by Strabo^p, Pliny^q, and Ptolemy. The only rivers of note in Iberia are, the Cyrus, of which we shall have occasion to speak in the description of Albania; and the Aragus, which springs from the mountains separating Iberia and Colchis, and falls into the Cyrus. Pliny mentions another river, which he calls the Iberus, and from which some writers derive the name of Iberia. Of Mount Caucasus, which separates Iberia from Sarmatia Asiatica, we have spoken elsewhere; and in the history

Iberia.

Rivers.

^m Appian. *ibid.* Flor. lib. iii. cap. 5. ⁿ Eutrop. lib. vi.
^o Sex. Ruf. in Epitomè Jornand. de Regnor. Success. ^o Euseb.
in Chron. Sex. Ruf. in Epit. Eutrop. lib. vi. ^p Strabo, lib. xi.
^q Plin. lib. vi. cap. 10.
p. 344. & lib. i. p. 31.

Inhabitants.

of Pontus and Armenia described the Paryadrian and Meschian mountains. This country was anciently inhabited by the following nations or tribes enumerated by Pliny; the Moschi, the Armenochalybes, the Sacassani, the Macrones, the Sylvi, the Diduri, and the Sodii. Iberia was first peopled, according to Josephus^r, by Tubal, the brother of Gomer and Magog. His opinion is confirmed by the Septuagint; for Meshech and Tubal are by those interpreters rendered Moschi and Iberians^s. Strabo^t, and after him Eustathius^u, derive the Iberians in Asia from the Iberians in Celtiberia, or Spain; others, as Appian informs us, derive the latter from the former. As these two nations lay at a great distance from one another, and greatly differed in their manners, customs, and language, some were of opinion, as we read in the same Appian^w, that they were no ways related to each other. Tacitus supposes both the Iberians, and the Albanians their neighbours, to have come originally from Theffaly with Jason^x; but whatever their origin was, they were a very brave and warlike nation, and maintained their independency, if Plutarch is to be credited^y, against the utmost efforts of the Medes, Persians, and Macedonians. Strabo gives us the following account of their customs and polity^z.

Their customs and polity.

“The Iberians, says he, are divided into four ranks or classes; the first consists of the nobility, the second of priests, the third of soldiers and husbandmen, and the fourth of the common people. Out of the first class they choose their king, and, upon his death, raise always to that dignity the eldest of his relations. The next in age to him of the royal family administers justice, and commands the army. The common people are employed in the lowest offices, and treated no better than slaves. The priests, besides their peculiar function, hear causes, and decide such controversies as arise between the natives and foreigners. The Iberians who inhabit the champaign country are very industrious, and well skilled in agriculture; but those who live on the mountains are a wild and savage race, and in their manners bear a great resemblance to the Scythians and Sarmatians; whereas the former imitate both the dress and customs of the Medes and Armenians.”

^r Joseph. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 7.^s In Ezech. chap. xxvii.

xxxii. xxxviii. xxxix.

^t Strabo, lib. i.^u Eustath. in

Dionys.

^w Appian. in Mithridat.^x Tacitus, lib. v.^y Plut. in Pomp.^z Strabo, lib. xi.

The monarchical form of government prevailed among them, as is plain from this passage; but we find no mention of their kings till the reign of Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus, when they were governed by Artoces, who sided with that prince first against Lucullus, and afterwards against Pompey. After the defeat of Mithridates by Pompey, Artoces sent ambassadors to the Roman camp, enjoining them to conclude a peace with Mithridates upon honourable terms; and, in the mean time, drew together an army of seventy thousand chosen men, with a design to attack the Romans unawares, in case they did not grant him the conditions he required; but Pompey, being informed of the measures he was taking, advanced by long marches into Iberia, took Hieropolis, a city or fort, which was situated on the summit of a mountain; penetrated into the centre of the kingdom, and obliged Artoces to shelter himself in the most remote parts of his dominions. From thence he sent ambassadors to Pompey, and by their means obtained a peace upon reasonable terms; but, notwithstanding this agreement, Artoces still kept his troops together, designing to attack the Romans as they passed the river Pelorus. This design Pompey suspected, and therefore came up with him before he reached the river, and drew him to an engagement, in which the Iberians behaved with great gallantry, but were obliged to submit to the superior valour of the Romans, who killed nine thousand upon the spot, and took above ten thousand prisoners. Great numbers were drowned as they attempted to save themselves by swimming over the Pelorus. Many fled to the forests, and, climbing up to the tops of the tallest trees, defended themselves from thence with their arrows; but the Romans, setting fire to the forest, obliged them to surrender at discretion*. After this defeat, Artoces, suing for peace, sent from beyond the Pelorus rich presents to Pompey, including his bed, his table, and his throne, all of massy gold, which the Roman general accepted, and delivered to the quæstor of his army; but would not listen to any terms of accommodation, till the king had delivered to him his sons as hostages; and then he concluded a peace upon terms no way dishonourable to the Iberian nation^b.

Artoces was succeeded by his son Pharnabazus, who being overcome by Canidius, Marc Antony's lieutenant,

Government and kings.

The Iberians defeated with great slaughter by Pompey;

with whom they conclude a peace.

Pharnabazus.

* Plut. in Lucul. & Pomp. Dio, lib. xxxvi. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 5. Zonar. tom. ii. ^b Eutrop. lib. vi. Oros. lib. vi. cap. 4.

joined

Mithridates, &c.

joined the Romans against Zoberes, king of Albania^c. The other kings of Iberia, mentioned by the ancients, are, Mithridates, Pharasmenes, Mithridates II. Rhadamistus, and Pharasmenes II. But as these were also lords of Armenia, we have spoken of them in the history of that kingdom. Pharasmenes II. reigned in the time of the emperor Adrian, repaired to Rome with his wife and children, to clear himself before the emperor of several things laid to his charge by Vologeses II. king of Parthia; and was there not only allowed to offer sacrifices in the Capitol, but honoured with an equestrian statue, erected in the temple of Bellona^d. From this period, to the division of the empire, there is a profound silence among authors with respect to the affairs of Iberia. They continued, in all likelihood, to be governed by their own kings, who were tributaries to Rome; for we do not find Iberia counted by any writer, or mentioned in the ancient Notitias, among the provinces of the empire; and besides, we know, that long after the division of the empire, they were subject to their own princes; for Procopius tells us, that after they had embraced the Christian religion, Gyrgenes, their king, being threatened with a war by Cavades, king of Persia, in case he did not conform to the religion of the Persians, implored the assistance of the emperor Justin, which kindled a war between the two empires. Zenobarzes, another of their kings, repaired to Constantinople, in the time of the emperor Justinian, to be baptized; with his queen, his children, and several noblemen of his court (O).

S E C T. III.

*Of the Kingdom of Albania.**Albani.*

ALBANIA was bounded on the west by Iberia, on the east by the Caspian sea, on the north by Mount Caucasus, and on the south by Armenia^e. It contained anciently a great many cities, but none of any note.

^c Plut. in Anton. Appian. in Parthic.
in Fragm.

^d Theod. Mimor,
^e Strab. lib. xi. p. 345. & Ptol. lib. v. cap. 12.

(O) Iberia is at present subject to the king of Persia, and known to the Persians by the name of Gurgistan; that is, the land of the Georgians;

for *tan* is an ancient Celtic word, signifying *a country*, and still in use among the eastern nations,

The following are mentioned by Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny; Teleba, Thalbis, Gelda, Thiauna, Thabilaca, Albana, Chadaca, Misia, Boziata, and Cabalica, which last Pliny calls the metropolis of Albania. The rivers which it may be proper to take notice of are, the Cyrus or Cyrnus, the Albanus, the Casius, the Gerrhus, the Soana, the Cambyfes, and the Alazon^f, all emptying themselves into the Caspian sea. The Cyrus, now the Kur, springs from the Moschian mountains, which separate Colchis from Armenia, waters the country now called Moka, receives into its channel the Aragus and Araxes, and falls into the Caspian sea, within a small distance from the southern borders of the ancient Albania.

Cities.

Rivers.

The whole country, now known by the names of Schirwan and East Georgia, is extremely fruitful and pleasant. Strabo describes the ancient Albanians as tall and strong-bodied men, and adds, that they had, generally speaking, a very graceful mien, and far excelled all other nations in comeliness, as well as in stature (P).

The same writer tells us, that the manners of the Albanians were very simple; that they were unacquainted with weights, measures, and the use of money; that they could not count above one hundred; and that trade was carried on among them only by exchange. Pliny writes, that they held old age in great veneration; that they were of a very fair complexion, and thence, according to some called Albani; that they could see as well by night as by day; and that not only the men were stout and courageous, but also the women, whom he pretends to be descended from the ancient Amazons.

As to their origin, Tacitus^a and Pliny^b derive them from the Thessalians, who attended Jason in his expedition into Colchis, and settled in this part of the isthmus between the Euxine and Caspian seas. Justin^c affirms they were descended from the inhabitants of Alba in Italy, who followed Hercules into those parts, after he had overcome Geryon. Ammianus Marcellinus takes the Albani and Alani to be one and the same people, and

Their origin.

^f Plin. lib. vi. cap. 13 & cap. 10. Pomp. Mela, lib. iii. cap. 5.
^a Tacit. lib. v. ^b Plin. lib. vi. cap. 13. ^c Just. lib. xiii.

(P) Our modern travellers extol the women of Georgia and Schirwan for perfect beauties, but find nothing extraordinary in the men; whereas the ancients admired the men, without taking any notice of the women.

derives

Government.

derives them both from the Massagetæ. As to their form of government, the country was in ancient times divided into a great many small kingdoms. Strabo asserts, that twenty-six different languages were spoken formerly in Albania; and that there were as many different kings and kingdoms as languages, each tribe having their peculiar king^k. But the Albani, in process of time, prevailed over the other petty princes, and made themselves masters of the whole country. In Pompey's time they could bring into the field, as Strabo informs us, sixty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. We find no mention made of their kings till the reign of Alexander the Great, to whom the king of Albania is said, by Pliny^l and Solinus^m to have presented a dog of an extraordinary fierceness and size.

*Kings.**Oræses.**Pompey marches against him;*

The next king of Albania we find mentioned in history is Oræses, who entering into an alliance with Tigranes, the son of Tigranes the Great, incurred the indignation of Pompey. Cofis, the king's brother, a brave and enterprising prince, commanded the Albanians, and waited for Pompey on the banks of the Cyrus, which he fortified at certain distances with high palisades. But Pompey feigning to return to Armenia, leading his army a great way about, and drawing up his cavalry and beasts of burden in the bed of the river, to break the force of the stream, passed it without being discovered by the enemy. From the Cyrus he pursued his march to the Cambyfes, through a dry country, where his army suffered much for want of water. At length, after having been led astray by his guides, who were Albanians, he reached the Cambyfes, where his soldiers were seized with strange distempers, occasioned by their drinking too greedily of the water of that river, while they were heated by their march: however, he still advanced, with the precaution of carrying ten thousand skins full of water, lest he should be again reduced to the same distress. He heard no intelligence of the enemy, till he had passed the Abas, or Albanus, when he was informed, that Cofis was advancing full march against him, at the head of sixty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. Upon his approach he concealed the legionaries among the thick bushes, with which the whole plain was spread, commanding them to cover their helmets with their bucklers, lest the rays of the sun, reflecting on them, should discover them at a

^k Strabo, lib. xi.^l Plin. lib. viii. cap. 4.^m Solin. lib. ix.

distance.

distance. Then he detached the cavalry, with orders to attack the enemy, and, retiring before them, draw them into the ambuscade.

The stratagem had all the success Pompey could expect; for the legionaries starting up all on a sudden, and widening their ranks to let the cavalry retire, surrounded the Albanians on all sides, and routed them with great slaughter. On this occasion Cosis behaved with much valour and intrepidity; for he kept close to Pompey during the whole time of the engagement; and, having had at last an opportunity of discharging a blow at him, pierced his breast-plate. But Pompey threw his javelin at him with such vigour, that he laid him dead at his feet. The Albanians, disheartened by the death of their general, fled in disorder to the neighbouring forest, which the Romans set on fire, crying aloud, while the forest was burning, "Saturnalia, Saturnalia!" to remind the Albanians, that they had attempted to surprise them in their quarters during the feasts of Saturn, and therefore ought to expect no quarter. Oræses, after the defeat of his troops, retired to Mount Caucasus, and from thence sent ambassadors to treat of a peace with the conqueror, who willingly granted it, being desirous to end the war, and turn his arms against the king of Parthia, who had entered Gordyene at the head of a powerful army^a.

*and utterly
defeats him.*

*Grants him
a peace.*

Oræses, was succeeded by his son Zoberes, who, having ventured an engagement with P. Canidius, Marc Antony's lieutenant, was by him entirely defeated, and obliged to sue for peace. In this war Canidius was powerfully assisted by Pharnabazus, king of Iberia^c. The next king of Albania we find mentioned in history is Pharasmenes, who, in the time of the emperor Adrian, committed great devastations in Armenia, Cappadocia, and Media; and was on that account summoned by the emperor to Rome. Pharasmenes refused to comply with the summons; but, in the mean time, to appease Adrian, sent him some valuable presents, among which were many great-coats, such as were worn in those days by military men, all of cloth of gold. These alone the emperor accepted, but with no other view than to affront the king who had sent them; for he caused three hundred criminals to be clad with them, and in that attire fight the

Zoberes.

*Pharas-
menes.*

^a Dio, lib. xxxvi. Plutarch. in Pomp. Appian. in Mithridat. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 5. Eutrop. lib. vi. Oros. lib. vi. cap. 4. Sex. Ruf. in Epitom. Frontin. Stratag. lib. ii. cap. 3. ^c Plut. in Anton.

wild beasts in the public theatre. Upon Adrian's death the king of Albania came to Rome, at the first summons from his successor Antoninus Pius, who received him with great marks of esteem, and sent him back with presents to his kingdom ^p. Trebellius ^q, and Marcellinus ^r speak of two kings of Albania, whom they do not name, the one contemporary with Sapor I. king of Persia, and the emperor Valerian; the other reigning in the time of Sapor II. and entering into an alliance with him against Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great. The Albanians continued to be governed by their own princes till the reign of Justinian II. who is said by Zonaras ^s, and other writers ^t, to have subdued Albania by his general Leontius.

We shall conclude our account of these three kingdoms with the words of sir John Chardin, who, in describing the present Georgia, which comprehends the greater part of the ancient Colchis, Iberia, and Albania, speaks of it thus: "Georgia is as fertile a country as can be seen; the bread is as good there as in any part of the world; the fruit of an exquisite flavour, and of different sorts: no place in Europe yields better pears and apples; no place in Asia better pomegranates. The country abounds with cattle, venison, and wild fowl of all sorts; the river Kur is well stocked with fish; the wine is so rich, that the king of Persia has always some of it for his own table. The inhabitants are robust, valiant, and of a jovial temper, great lovers of wine, and esteemed very trusty and faithful, endowed with good natural parts, but, for want of education, very vicious. The women are generally fair and comely, and by their beauty recommended to the court of the king of Persia, whose wives and concubines are for the most part Georgian women. Nature has adorned them with graces no where else to be met with; it is impossible to see them without loving them; they are of a full size, clean-limbed, small-waisted, fair, and well-proportioned." Thus far sir John Chardin, to whose words, or rather panegyric on the Georgian women, we beg leave to subjoin a passage out of another modern traveller of no mean character ^u: "As to the Georgian women, (says he), they did not at all surprise us; for we expected to find them perfect beauties: they are no way

^p Dio, *ibid.* Zonar. & Spartian. in Adrian. Capitolin. in Antonin. Pio. ^q Trebel. in Valer. ^r Marcellin. lib. xviii.

^s Zonar. in Justin.

^t Hist. Misc. lib. xix.

^u Tournes. Voyage, &c. vol. ii. epist. 6.

disagreeable, and may be counted beauties, if compared with the Curdes; they have an air of health, that is pleasing enough; but, after all, they are neither so handsome, nor so well-shaped, as is reported. Those who live in the towns have nothing extraordinary, more than the others; so that I may, I think, venture to contradict the accounts that have been given us of them by most travellers."

S E C T. IV.

Of the Kingdom of Bosphorus.

THE ancient kingdom of Bosphorus, comprehending all the provinces that were subject to the Bosporan princes, was bounded on the east by Colchis, on the west by the gulf Carcinites, on the south by the Euxine Sea, and on the north by the Tanais, where that river falls into the Palus Mæotis; so that it comprised the Chersonesus Taurica in Europe, and in Asia all that tract which lies between the Palus Mæotis and the Euxine Sea (Q). Bosphorus.

Cities of note in the Asiatic Bosphorus were, anciently, Phanagoria, placed by some geographers on the Euxine Sea, by others on the Palus Mæotis; but by Pliny * and Mela † at some distance from both, on a peninsula, which they call Corocondama. Near this city was formerly a famous temple dedicated to Venus Apaturia, so called from the Greek word apate, signifying *deceit*; for she is feigned to have overcome the giants here by a stratagem suggested to her by Hercules. This city was, according to Strabo ‡, the metropolis of Bosphorus in Asia. Cēpi, Hermonassa, Stratoclea, and Cimmerium, stood on the Bosphorus, and are said by Pliny to have been once remarkable cities. From the latter the Bosphorus Cimmerius borrowed its name. Strabo, Pliny, and Pomponius Mela, tell us, that Cimmerium was the chief city of the Cimmerians, a people famous for their robberies as early as the days of Homer. These barbarians, being forced out of their Cities.

* Plin. lib. vi. cap. 6.
 † Strabo, lib. ix.

‡ Pomp. Mela, lib. i. cap. 19.

(Q) Diodorus Siculus (1) confines the kingdom of Bosphorus within the Bosphorus Cimmerius, the boundary of Europe and Asia on that side; but Strabo (2), whom we have followed, extends it to the Gulf Carcinites, which, with the Palus Mæotis, forms the isthmus of the Chersonesus.

(1) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii.

(2) Strabo, lib. vii.

own country by the Scythian Nomades, ravaged the finest provinces in the East, and penetrated as far as Sardis in Lydia, which they reduced; but being afterwards overcome by Halyattes, king of Lydia, some of them returned to their ancient habitation; and others, as most historians conjecture, advanced towards the North as far as the Baltic, and settled in the Cimbrica Chersonesus, now Jutland; for the Cimbri and Cimmerii are, by most historians, thought to be one and the same people. The other cities taken notice of by the ancients in the Asiatic Bosphorus, are Sinda, on the Palus Mæotis; Tanais, at the mouth of the river bearing that name, where the city of Asoph now stands; Paniardis, Tyrambe, and Gerarum, called by Ptolemy a Cimbrian village.

Inhabitants.

The coast of the Euxine Sea was inhabited by the Cerceæ, the Heniochi, the Moschi, and the Achæi, of whom we have spoken above. Strabo enumerates on the coast of the Palus Mæotis the following nations, the Sindi, Dandarii, Agri, Arrichi, Tarpetes, Obidiaceni, Sittaceni, Dosci, and Aspungitani. To these Scylax adds the Coraxi, the Coraci, or, as Vossius will have it, the Colici, and the Melanchleni. The country bordering on the Palus Mæotis and the Bosphorus, which was inhabited by the Cimmerii, is represented by the ancients as an inhospitable place, covered with thick forests, and continual fogs, which the rays of the sun could not break through (R).

Rivers.

The rivers mentioned by the ancient geographers in this tract, are, the Anticites or Vardanus, the Pfathis, the Greater and Lesser Rhombites, and the Marubius, most of them springing from the mountains of Sarmatia Asiatice, and all emptying themselves into the Palus Mæotis.

Taurica Chersonesus.

The Taurica Chersonesus, so named from its being a peninsula, anciently inhabited by the Tauri, or Tauroscy-

(R) This frightful description gave Cicero and Ovid occasion to say, that an eternal night reigned in this gloomy climate, and that sleep had taken up its abode here; and hence Cimmerian darkness became, according to Lactantius, a proverb, signifying an impenetrable darkness, and likewise a gloomy and stupid mind. Lycophron, Pliny, Eustathius, Servius, and others, have planted a colony of Cimmerians in Italy, between Cumæ and Baiæ, near the Lake Avernus; and tells us, that the sun never shines on that small canton: but Strabo, who was better acquainted with the countries we are speaking of, describes them as abounding with all the necessaries of life, and rather pleasant than disagreeable.

thæ,

thæ, as Pliny and Ptolemy call them, lies between the Euxine Sea, the Palus Mæotis, and the Bosphorus Cimmerius; extends, according to Sir John Chardin, sixty-one leagues from east to west, and about thirty-five from north to south, and is joined to the continent by a narrow isthmus about a mile over. The cities of note in former times were, Taphræ or Taphrus, on the isthmus, where the present city of Przekop, or Precop stands. The modern city is so called from the word przkop, signifying a ditch; for it was built on the ditch which the Tartars cut across the isthmus. Chersonesus, or, as the more modern Greek writers call it, Cherfon, was, according to Strabo, built by the Greeks on the Gulf Carcinites, now the Gulf of Nigropoli, on the west coast of the Chersonesus. Of this city, now called Topetarkan, there are still many ruins to be seen. Theodosia, or Theudusia, another Greek city on the east coast of the peninsula; once a place of great note: it is now known by the name of Caffa, and is the capital of Little Tartary. From this city the Bosphorus Cimmerius of the ancients is called by the present inhabitants the Streights of Caffa. Sanfon places Theodosia where the modern city of Tusba stands. Nymphæum, Lagyra, and Chiarax, stood on the Euxine Sea, and Panticapæum on the Bosphorus. This city was, according to Strabo, the metropolis of the European Bosphorus. It was founded by the Milesians, and for some ages governed by its own laws; but at length subdued by the kings of Bosphorus. Some writers have confounded the cities of Panticapæum and Bosphorus; but Pliny, Strabo, and Stephanus, speak of them as two different cities. Procopius often mentions the latter; but never takes any notice of Panticapæum, though the capital of Taurica Chersonesus. This peninsula is at present possessed by the Tartars, and commonly known by the name of the Crim, which it borrowed from the city of Krym, anciently called Cremnos. The Bosphorus Cimmerius, now the Streights of Kertzi or Caffa, which divides Europe and Asia, or the Crim and Kuban, is not above four leagues over. The Palus Mæotis extends from south-west to north-east about one hundred and thirty leagues, having on the north and west Little Tartary; on the south-west the Chersonesus Taurica, now the Crim; and on the east and south-east Sarmatia Asiatica, now Circass Tartary. This sea or lake was called by the ancients Palus Mæotis, from the Mæoti or Mæotici, a people inhabiting the European and part of the Asiatic coast, and also Palus Sarmatiæ, Cimmeriæ Paludes,

Paludes, Scythica Stagna, and Ponti Euxini Mater, or the Mother of the Euxine Sea ; but its modern name is the Sea of Zabach, borrowed from a fish taken there at certain seasons of the year.

*Kings of
Bosporus.*

The Bosporani were governed by princes of their own in the earliest times ; but as the works of Trogius Pompeius, who wrote the history of the Bosporan kings ^a, have not reached us, we can give but a very indifferent account of them. The first we meet with in history is Leucon, who is mentioned by Strabo ^a ; but we are destitute of materials both as to his reign and to that of Parifades, whom

Leucon.

Parifades.

Strabo calls the last of his race. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that many kings had reigned in Bosporus before the consulate of M. Genutius Augurinus, and P. Curiatius Philo. Hence it is plain, that Leucon and Parifades were not, as some authors have thought, the founders of the Bosporan kingdom, but preceded by a long series of princes of the same race. Spartacus I. succeeded Parifades, and is said by Diodorus Siculus, in one place, to have reigned seven years, and, in another, seventeen ^b.

*Spartacus
I.*

*Seleucus.
Spartacus
II.*

He had two sons, Seleucus and Spartacus. He left the kingdom to the former, who reigned four years, and dying without children, was succeeded by his brother Spartacus II. and he, after a reign of twenty-six years, by his son Satyrus, who reigned fourteen years. After him came Leucon II. who waged war with one Mnemon, probably a neighbouring prince, by whom he was overcome ; and with the Heracleans, over whom he gained considerable advantages. He had a particular regard for the Athenians, whom he supplied with a great quantity of corn in the time of a famine, and allowed their merchants a free trade to all parts of his dominions. The Athenians, in return for his kindness, made him and his children free of Athens, and granted to his trading subjects the same privileges and exemptions in Attica, which their citizens enjoyed in Bosporus, erecting three pillars in memory of the good understanding that subsisted between the two states, to wit, one in the city of Bosporus, another in the Perizæus, and the third near the temple of the Argonauts. He was a great encourager of trade, and granted ample privileges to all foreign merchants settling at Theodosia in the Chersonesus ; by which means that city became one of the most rich and populous of the East ^c.

Satyrus.

*Leucon
II.*

*Favours,
and is fa-
voured by
the Athe-
nians.*

^a Vide Prolog. lib. xxxvii.
Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. cap. 4. & 5.
Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiv. & xvi.
Dio Chrysost Orat. ii. de Regno.

^a Strabo, lib. vii.

^b Dio-

^c Demosthen. contra Leptin.

Strabo, lib. vii. Polyæn. lib. v.

His exploits were celebrated by Chrysippus the philosopher, as Plutarch informs us; but have not reached our times. He left two sons, Spartacus and Parisades. The former, surnamed Satyrus, succeeded him in the kingdom, and is called by Dinarchus the tyrant of Bosphorus. He restored Hecataeus, a neighbouring prince, to his kingdom, obliging him to marry his daughter, and murder Targataone his former wife, in order to make room for her. This transaction kindled a bloody war between him and the subjects of Hecataeus, in which he lost his son, with whose death he was so sensibly affected, that he died of grief. Dinarchus tells us ^d, that both he and his brother Parisades sent yearly to Demosthenes a thousand bushels of wheat. He reigned only five years, and was succeeded, according to some, by his younger son Gorgippus; according to others, by his brother Parisades. Of Gorgippus we find nothing upon record. Parisades is said by Diodorus Siculus to have reigned thirty-eight years.

Satyrus II.
&c.

Parisades
II.

He left three sons, Satyrus, Eumelus, and Prytanis, who made war upon one another. Satyrus, the eldest, succeeded his father; but his brother Eumelus, being assisted by Ariophanes, king of Thrace, attempted to drive him from the throne. Satyrus had recourse to the Scythians, who sent to his assistance twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. Reinforced by these, with two thousand Greeks, and an equal number of Thracians, he engaged and put to flight Eumelus, whose army consisted of twenty-two thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, all Thracians, under the command of Ariophanes, or Ariopharnes, their king. After this defeat, Eumelus and the Thracian king retired to a strong fortress, where they were closely besieged by the conqueror. While Satyrus continued before this place, Meniscus, who commanded the mercenaries, being surrounded by the enemy, while he was attempting to storm the fort, Satyrus hastened to his relief, and rescued him from the imminent danger he was in; but was himself run through the arm with a spear, and died of the wound the night following, after a short reign of nine months.

Satyrus III.
&c.

Upon his death Meniscus, breaking up the siege, retired with the army to the city of Gargara; and from thence carried the king's body to Panticapæum, and there delivered it to his brother Prytanis, who, having buried

Prytanis.

^d Dinarch. in Orat. contra Demosthen.

it with great pomp, took upon himself the command of the army, and the title of king. Eumelus sent ambassadors to the new king, offering to disband his forces, upon condition that he would divide the kingdom with him; but Prytanis not attending to his proposals, by the assistance of the neighbouring Barbarians, Eumelus made himself master of Gargara, and several other cities. Prytanis marched against him, at the head of a numerous army; but was overcome in battle, and being shut up within a narrow neck of land, between the Palus Mæotis and a lake, was forced to surrender, give up his army, and depart the kingdom; but he soon returned, and, by the assistance of his friends, made himself master of some strong places. Eumelus marched against him, and having put his army to flight, pursued him to a place called the Gardens, where he endeavoured to make head against his brother's victorious army, but was killed in the attempt.

Eumelus.

Upon his death, Eumelus ordered all the friends and children of his two brothers, Satyrus and Prytanis, to be murdered. Parisades alone, the son of Satyrus, had the good fortune to make his escape to the court of Agaras, king of the Scythians; all the others were inhumanly massacred. This cruelty incensed the people, who were ready to revolt, and revenge the death of their friends, by taking the life of the tyrant; when Eumelus, calling them together, promised to alter his conduct, restored to the cities their former privileges, freed them from all kinds of taxes, and having by these means regained their affections, governed the kingdom with great equity and moderation to his death. He is celebrated by the ancients, as the greatest king who had ever reigned in Bosphorus. He not only defended his dominions against the neighbouring Barbarians, who at different times invaded it with numerous armies, but would have brought all the neighbouring nations under subjection, had he not been prevented by death, after a reign of five years, and as many months. As he was returning from Scythia, in a chariot covered with a canopy, the horses taking fright, and the driver not being able to stop them in their career, the king threw himself out; but his sword being intangled in one of the wheels, he was hurried away with the violent motion of the chariot, and killed.

Spartacus.
III.

Leucanor.

He was succeeded by his son Spartacus III. who reigned twenty years. We read of Leucanor reigning, in the sequel, in the Bosphorus Cimmerius, and paying a yearly tribute

tribute to the Scythians. He was treacherously murdered by one Arfacomas, a Scythian prince, for having refused him his daughter in marriage^e. Upon his death, Euboitus, his brother by a concubine, was placed on the throne by the Sarmatians. The Alani, and the Greek states of Asia likewise, joined him against the Scythians, who began to be too powerful in those parts: however, he could never enjoy his kingdom in peace and tranquility, till he submitted to pay them a double tribute.

Euboitus.

The next prince we find reigning in Bosphorus, is Parisades III. who, not being able to pay to Scilurus, king of Scythia, the unreasonable tribute he exacted, nor to withstand so powerful an enemy, voluntarily resigned the kingdom to Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus, after it had been held by his ancestors for the space of four hundred years^f. In the time of the last Mithridatic war, the Bosphorans revolted from Mithridates, and admitted Roman garrisons into the cities of Phanagoria, Theodosia, Cherfonesus, and Nymphæum; but, upon the death of that prince, the whole country was restored by Pompey to his son Pharnaces, whom he honoured with the title of a friend and ally of the Roman people. During the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, Pharnaces, not satisfied with the kingdom of Bosphorus, attempted the recovery of his father's dominions; crossed the Euxine Sea, and reduced Colchis, Armenia Minor, and several places in Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia^g. After the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar sent Domitius Calvinus against him with part of his army; but Domitius being overcome in battle, Pharnaces made himself master of the remaining part of Pontus and Cappadocia, and of all Bithynia; whence he was preparing to advance into Asia, properly so called; but in the mean time Cæsar leaving Egypt, crossed Syria, came unexpectedly upon Pharnaces, and, having attacked him, gained a complete victory.

Parisades III.

Pharnaces.

Overcome by Cæsar.

Pharnaces, after this defeat, fled to Sinope with a thousand horse, and from thence sailed back into Bosphorus; where he no sooner landed, than Asander, whom he had appointed governor of that country during his absence, seized and put him to death, taking upon himself the title of king of Bosphorus^h. Cæsar bestowed the kingdom of Bosphorus on Mithridates the Pergamian, as a reward for the

Mithridates the Pergamian.

^e Lucian. in Toxari. ^f Diodor. Sicul. ibid. ^g Plut. in Cæsar. Hirt de Bell. Alexandrin. Dio Cass. lib. xlii. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. ^h Appian. Hirt. & Plut. ibid.

eminent services he had performed in Egypt, 'as we have related in the history of that country. At the same time he appointed him tetrarch of Galatia, which he had a title to in right of his mother, who was descended from one of those tetrarchs. He might also have laid claim to the kingdom of Bosphorus, in right of his father; for he was supposed to be the son of Mithridates the Great, his mother having been one of that prince's concubines, after the death of Menodotus of Pergamus, her husband. But Cæsar, in appointing him king of Bosphorus, gave him only an empty title; for Asander being in possession of the whole country, he was to settle himself on the throne by force of arms. With this view he raised forces; but, instead of gaining the kingdom, lost his life, being overcome and slain in battle by Asander, who, after his death, held the kingdom without any farther molestation; the Romans not being at leisure, on account of their intestine broils, to give him any disturbance ¹.

He was a man of great courage, and skill in the military art; however, the emperor Augustus, distrusting him, gave the command of the Bosporan troops, who served in the Roman army, to Scribonius; a circumstance which Asander took so much amiss, that he abstained from all food, and by that abstinence put an end to his life, in the ninety-third year of his age ^k. Upon his death, Scribonius, pretending that he was the grandson of Mithridates, married Dynamis, the daughter of Pharnaces, and possessed himself of the kingdom of Bosphorus; but was expelled by Polemon, on whom Augustus had bestowed that kingdom.

Polemon.

Polemon was the son of Zeno, a famous orator of Laodicea, and, after the battle of Philippi, had been, by Marc Antony, rewarded for his gallant behaviour with that part of the kingdom of Pontus which lay next to Capadocia. He attended him in his expedition against the Parthians, by whom he was taken prisoner. He was afterwards sent by the king of Media to negotiate a peace between him and Antony; which he concluded to the great satisfaction of the triumvir, by whom he was, on that consideration, made king of Armenia Minor. After the battle of Actium, in which he fought with great bravery for Antony, he was not only pardoned by Augustus, but sent by him, or rather by Agrippa, against Scribonius, whom he defeated, and drove from the throne.

¹ Appian. in Mithridat. p. 254. Strabo, lib. xiii p. 625. Hist. libid. ^k Strabo, & Dio, *ibid.* Lucian. in Macrob.

He engaged in several wars with the neighbouring Barbarians, whom he kept in awe, preventing them from making incursions into the Roman territories; but was at length overcome, taken, and put to death, by the Aspungitani, whom Strabo reckons among the nations that bordered on the Palus Mæotis. He had been honoured by Augustus, some time before his death, with the title of a friend and ally of the Roman people¹. He left two sons, Zeno and Polemon II. The former, surnamed Artaxia, was, by Germanicus, made king of Armenia, to the great satisfaction of the Armenians, among whom he had been educated^m. The latter succeeded his father in the kingdom of Bosphorus, which he exchanged, in the reign of Claudius, for part of Cilicia. We find no farther mention in history of the Bosphorani, till the reign of Trajan, who, as Eutropius informs usⁿ, received the king of Bosphorus under his protection. In the time of Antoninus Pius, Rimethalces reigned in the Bosphorus Cimmerius, and came to Rome to treat with the emperor about the affairs of his kingdom, as we read in Capitolinus^o. Lucian tells us, that the Bosphorans, in his time, were governed by a king, named Eupator; but what fate attended them thenceforth, to the division of the empire, we find no where recorded; and therefore shall proceed to a succinct account of the other kingdoms mentioned in the title prefixed to this chapter,

S E C T. V.

Of the Kingdom of Media.

WE have delivered elsewhere the history of Media, *Media.* from the earliest account of time, to its being reduced by the Persians, by whom it was held to the reign of Darius Codomannus, when the other provinces of Media fell under the power of the Macedonians; but that which lay between Mount Taurus and the Caspian Sea, withstood Alexander, being defended by Atropatus, who, upon the downfall of the Persian monarchy, reserved it for himself, and transmitted it to his posterity, who held it as sovereigns to Strabo's time^p. From Atropatus, it

¹ Strabo, lib. xi. Plut. in Anton. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. v. Dio, lib. xlix. liii. liv.

^m Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 54, 56.

ⁿ Eutrop. lib. viii.

^o Capitol. in Antonin. Pio.

^p Strabo,

lib. xi. p. 523.

Kings.
Atropatus.

Timarchus.

Mithridates.

Darius.

Artuafdes.

was called Media Atropatia, or simply Atropatene. In process of time it became a very considerable kingdom; for Strabo tells us, that the kings of Atropatene could bring into the field forty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. The metropolis of this kingdom is called by Strabo, Gaza; by Plutarch, Phrahata; and by Dio, Praspas. The first who reigned here was Atropatus, who being governor of this province in the time of Darius Codomannus, defended the narrow passes leading into it against Alexander; and at his departure caused himself to be acknowledged king of the country. Upon the death of Alexander, Perdiccas, who had married Atropatus's daughter, suffered him to enjoy his new kingdom without molestation. The other kings of Media we find mentioned in history, are, Timarchus, Mithridates, Darius, and Artuafdes. Timarchus reigned in the time of Demetrius Soter, king of Syria, who attempted, but without success, to reduce Media¹. Mithridates was contemporary with Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus, whom he assisted against Lucullus. He married the daughter of Tigranes, king of Armenia, but dying without issue, left the kingdom to his brother Darius, who likewise sided with Mithridates; but was overcome by Pompey². Darius was succeeded by his son Artuafdes, or Artuafdes, on whom Marc Antony made war, at the instigation of Artabazus, king of Armenia.

Upon the retreat of Antony, Artuafdes having a difference with his allies the Parthians, about the division of the Roman spoils, sent ambassadors into Egypt, acquainting Antony, that he was ready to join him with all his forces, and assist him, to the utmost of his power, in the reduction of Parthia. The triumvir, therefore, resolved to return into Parthia by the way of Media; and, to attach Artuafdes more firmly to his interest, first sent him, as a present, the head of Artabazus, his inveterate enemy, whom he had treacherously seized; and afterwards contracted a marriage for Alexander, one of his sons by Cleopatra, with a daughter of the king of Media; but in the mean time the civil war breaking out between Antony and Octavianus, Artuafdes sent his forces to join the former; a circumstance which gave the Parthians an opportunity of invading his dominions, and driving him from the throne. After having lived some time in Syria, he

¹ Trog. Pomp. Prolog. lib. xxxiv.
in Pomp. Appian. Mithridat.

² Dio, lib. xxxv. Plut.

had recourse to the clemency of Octavianus, who received him into favour, and bestowed upon him the kingdom of Armenia Minor¹. As for the kingdom of Media, it continued subject to the Parthians, who held it for many years.

S E C T. VI.

Of the Kingdom of Bactria.

BACTRIA, or Bactriana, now Chorassan, was *Bactria.*
bounded on the west by Margiana, on the north by the river Oxus, on the south by Mount Paropamisus, and on the east by Asiatic Scythia and the country of the Massagetæ. It was a large, fruitful, and well-peopled country, containing, if Ammianus Marcellinus is to be credited², a thousand cities; but of these we find only the following mentioned by the ancients: Bactra, the metropolis of the country, called anciently Zariaspe (S). *Cities of note.*

Alexandria, probably built by Alexander; Darapsa, or Adraspa, the same city which Arrian calls Drapsaca³; Euchratidia, Cariata, both spoken of by Strabo⁴; the latter was destroyed by Alexander; Sisimethræ Petra, where Alexander solemnized his marriage with Roxana, who was kept there; Maracanda, repaired, but not built, as Æneas Sylvius and Cambinus have imagined, by Tamerlane⁵. This city is known by the name of Samaracanda, whence the present kings of Persia style themselves princes of Samaracanda⁶. Ebusmi and Charracharta, now Chia-

¹ Dio, lib. xlix. p. 415. Zonar, tom. ii. ² Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxiii. ³ Arrian. lib. iii. cap. 29. ⁴ Strabo, lib. xv. p. 498. ⁵ Chalecocond. lib. iii. ⁶ Chrytæus in Chron.

(S) Some writers, indeed, disagreeing with both these writers, describes it as standing on the river Dargidus, in the heart of the country, at a great distance from Mount Paropamisus, which was the southern boundary. From the river Bactrus, Curtius (3) will have both the city and country to have borrowed their names. Paropamisus; but Ptolemy,

(1) Strabo, lib. xi. (2) Plin. lib. vi. cap. 15, 16. (3) Q. Curt. lib. vii. cap. 4.

riachar,

riachar, were once two places of great note, being called by Ptolemy royal cities.

Rivers.

The chief rivers of Bactria were, the Ochus, the Oxus, the Orgomenes, or, as Ptolemy calls it, Dargomenes, the Zariaspa or Zariaspes, the Artimis, and the Dargidus. Most of these rivers fall into the Ochus, which springs from Mount Paropamisus, and discharges itself into the Caspian Sea. Paropamisus, or Parapamisus, is a part of Mount Taurus, and not of Mount Caucasus, as those who attended Alexander in his expedition into India, chose to call it². That part of Bactria, which was watered by the river Oxus, is described by the ancients as a very fruitful country, abounding with pastures, and well stocked with cattle of a very large size; but the southern parts were nothing but sandy deserts, without any track or beaten way, inasmuch that travellers used to rest in the day-time, and pursue their journey in the night, guiding themselves by the stars, as on the sea, not without danger of being buried in the sand. The country was inhabited by the following nations; the Salataræ, Zariaspæ, Chomatri, Comi, Acinacæ, Tambazæ, Thocaræ, Marycæi, Amarispæi, and several others of less note. The Bactrians in general were reckoned good soldiers, being always at war, either among themselves, or with the neighbouring nations, and enemies to all manner of luxury. Pliny tells us, that they used to expose their old people, when they attained to a certain age, to be devoured by fierce mastiffs, which they kept for that purpose, and called sepulchral dogs. The same author adds, that they allowed their daughters to associate with whom they pleased, and that incontinency was no way disreputable, even to the women.

Government.

As to their government, they were ruled by kings in the earliest ages. Zoroaster is said, by Eusebius³, to have reigned in Bactria, and to have been contemporary with Ninus, who made war upon him, and subdued his country. But Ctesias mentions one Oxyartes, as reigning in Bactria, when that country was reduced by Ninus, and says, Zoroaster was contemporary with Cyrus the Great. Pliny questions whether he ever reigned in Bactria. All authors agree, that Bactria was subdued, first by the Assyrians, and afterwards by the Persians, under Cyrus the Great, as we have related in the history of those two empires. It fell afterwards under the power of the Macedo-

² Strabo, lib. xi. p. 348. Arrian. Indic. cap. 11. in Chron.

³ Euseb. nians,

nians, and was held by the successors of Seleucus Nicator till the reign of Antiochus Theos, when Theodotus, from being governor of that province, became king, and strengthened himself so effectually in his new kingdom, while Antiochus was engaged in a war with Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, that he could never afterwards dispossess him of his acquisitions^b. He was succeeded by his son, named also Theodotus, who, entering into an alliance with Arsaces, the founder of the Parthian monarchy, considerably enlarged his kingdom, while the two brothers, Seleucus Callinicus and Antiochus Hierax, were wasting their strength against each other. Theodotus was overcome in battle, and driven out by Euthydemus, his brother, who, being a very valiant and prudent prince, maintained a long war against Antiochus the Great, in defence of his country, obliging him, at last, to lay aside all thoughts of ever reducing it, as we have related in the history of Syria. Euthydemus was succeeded by his brother Menander, who, passing the river Hypanis, subdued the kingdom of Sigertis, the large province of Pattalena, and several other countries, unknown even to Alexander the Great; but while he was preparing to make new conquests, and invade the Syrian dominions, he was taken off by a violent fever, to the great grief of his subjects, among whom his ashes were distributed, to quell the disturbances that arose on account of his body, to which many cities laid claim. In consequence of these pretensions, magnificent monuments were erected to his memory in most cities of Bactria^c.

He was succeeded by his nephew Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, in whose name he had governed, that prince being very young at his father's death. Demetrius was not inferior to his uncle in courage and bravery; for he not only maintained himself in possession of the provinces which Menander had reduced, but made several new acquisitions, and, at his death, left the kingdom of Bactria in a most flourishing condition. His son Eucratides built the city of Eucratidia, and, having invaded India, made himself master of all those provinces which had been subjected by Alexander. On his return to his own dominions he was treacherously murdered by his son, named also Eucratides, to whom he had committed the government of the kingdom during his absence. So wick-

Kings.
Theodotus.

Theodotus
II.

Euthyde-
mus.

Menander.

Demetrius.

Eucratides

Eucratides
II.

^b Arrian. in Parthic. apud Phot. Cod. 58. Syncell. p. 284. Justin. lib. xiii. cap. 4. Strabo, lib. xi. p. 515. ^c Arrian, Periplus. p. 32. Trog. in Prolog. lib. xli.

ed an action did not go long unpunished; for the Scythians invading Bactria on one side, and the Parthians on the other, Eucratides was driven from the throne, and soon after killed in attempting to recover it. Upon his death the Parthians seized on the provinces of Aspionia and Thuriva, leaving all the rest to the Scythians, who held the kingdom of Bactria till the invasion of the Huns. The kings, whom we find mentioned as reigning in Bactria in the times of the emperors Adrian, Antoninus Pius, and Valerian, were all of Scythian extraction; but the Scythians were, in their turn, driven out by the Huns, who reigned in Bactria, as we read in our modern historians, in the time of Ladislaus IV. king of Hungary.

S E C T. VII.

*Of the Kingdom of Edessa.**Edessa.*

THE ancient city of Edessa is placed by geographers in Mesopotamia, on the banks of the Scirtus, between Mount Mafius and the Euphrates, into which the Scirtus empties itself. It was once a place of great note, and famous for a temple of the Syrian goddess, which was reckoned one of the richest in the world. From this temple, Edessa was styled Hierapolis, or the Holy City. During the intestine broils, which greatly weakened the kingdom of Syria, Augarus, or Abgarus, seized on the city of Edessa, and its fruitful territory, which he erected into a new kingdom, styling himself king of Edessa, and transmitting the same title to his posterity. Under which of the Syrian kings this revolution happened, we find no where recorded. All we know of the founder of this new kingdom is, that he often defeated the Syrians, to whom the country which he possessed had been long subject; and, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, left at his death his small principality in a very flourishing condition. He was succeeded by his son Ariamnes, or Abgarus II. for the name of Abgarus was common to all the kings of Edessa. This prince made himself master of the province of Osroene, and entering into an alliance with Pompey against Tigranes the Great, king of Armenia, supplied his army with provisions. In the Parthian war, he pretended to side with Crassus; but in the mean time, maintaining a private correspondence with the enemy, he was the cause of the great overthrow which the Romans received

*Augarus,
or Abgarus,
the
founder of
this king-
dom.*

*Ariamnes,
or Abgarus II.*

ceived at Carrhæ. He left the kingdom to his son Uchanias, mentioned by Eusebius^d, who was succeeded by his son Abgarus III. a prince celebrated by the ecclesiastical writers, on account of the letters which he is supposed to have written to our Saviour (T).

*Uchanias
and Abgarus III.*

Abgarus IV. the son of the above mentioned prince, reigned in the time of the emperor Claudius, and joined C. Cassius, governor of Syria, who had been ordered by that emperor to place Meherdates on the throne of Parthia. When Meherdates arrived at Edessa, Abgarus, who had been gained over by the Parthians, detained him there, under various pretences, till the enemy had drawn together their forces; and, in the heat of the engagement, abandoning the Romans, with the king of the Adiabeniens, occasioned the defeat of their army^e. The next prince of Edessa we find mentioned in history, is, that Abgarus, who was contemporary with the emperor Trajan, to whom he sent, during the war he waged with the Parthians, two hundred and fifty fine horses, a great many complete suits of armour, and sixty thousand javelins. Trajan accepted of three breast-plates only, and declared Abgarus a friend and ally of the Roman people. He was succeeded by his son Arbandes, who was highly favoured by Trajan. Abgarus VI. the son of Arbandes, is mentioned by Capitolinus in his life of Antonius Pius, and by Epiphanius, who calls him a most pious prince. Another prince of the same name reigned at Edessa, in the time of the emperor Severus, assisted him in the wars he waged in the East, and attended him to Rome, where he was, by the emperor's order, received and entertained with the utmost pomp and splendor^f. He was afterwards suspected, by Caracalla, of holding a correspondence with the enemies of Rome, and being summoned to justify himself before the emperor, he was, by his order, confined, and his kingdom reduced to a Roman province^g.

Abgarus IV.

Abgarus V.

*Arbandes.
Abgarus VI.*

^d Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 15.

^e Tacit. lib. xii.

^f Spartian. in Severo.

^g Dio, & Zonar. in Caracalla & Heliogabalo. Spartian. ubi supra. Herodian. lib. iii.

(T) Whether those letters were genuine or forged, it is foreign to our purpose to enquire: those who are desirous of being acquainted with the controversy which they have occasioned among the learned, may consult Casaubon, Gretsetus, Tillemont, Du Pin, and father Alexander; all of whom have treated on this subject.

S E C T. VIII.

*Of the Kingdom of Emesa.**Emesa.**Sampficeramus, founder of this small kingdom.*

EMESA, Emifa, or Emiffa, was a city of Syria, placed by most of the ancient geographers on the Orontes, between Apamea and Laodicea Cabiosa. This city one Sampficeramus, an Arabian, seized during the troubles of Syria; and, assuming the title of king, held Emesa, and its small territory, without the least disturbance from the Seleucidæ, who had other more important wars on their hands^b (U).

Iamblichus.

He left two sons, Iamblichus and Alexander. The former succeeded his father, and, as he was greatly attached to the Romans, acquainted Cicero, while he governed Cilicia in quality of proconsul, with the motions and designs of the Parthians, who, under the conduct of Pacorus, their king, were preparing to invade Syria. In the civil wars of Rome, he sided first with Cæsar against Pompey, and afterwards with Antony against Octavianus. After the victory gained by the latter at Actium, Antony, apprehending that he designed to follow the example of the neighbouring princes, who had all declared for the conqueror, got him into his power, and, upon that bare suspicion, caused him to be put to a most cruel death¹. He is styled by Strabo, the petty king of the Emeseni; by Josephus, a petty prince of Arabia; and by Dio, prince of the Arabians.

Alexander.

Upon his death the kingdom was, by Antony, bestowed on his brother Alexander, who, continuing faithful to his benefactor in his greatest distress, was taken prisoner by Octavianus, and not only deprived of his kingdom, but carried in triumph, and afterwards put to death². His son, Iamblichus II. was received into favour by Octavianus, and by him restored to his father's kingdom, after he had

Iamblichus II.^b Strab. lib. xvi.

lib. xiv. cap. 13. Dioo, lib. l. Cic. Epist. ad Fam. lib. xv. Epist. 1.

² Dio, lib. li¹ Strabo, ibid. Joseph. Antiq.

(U) Sampficeramus is often mentioned by Cicero, in his letters to Atticus (1). But Cicero, under that disguise, meant Pompey, who had over-
come Sampficeramus.
Nizolius is of opinion, that

(1) Cic. ad Attic. lib. ii. Epist. 14, 16, 17, & 23.

lived

lived some time in banishment. Many years after him reigned Sampficeramus II. whom some writers consider as his grandson. He is mentioned by Josephus, who styles him king of the Emeseni¹. He was succeeded by his son Azizus, who, falling in love with Drusilla, the sister of Agrippa Minor, embraced the Jewish religion, in order to marry that princess^m. His sister Jotape was married to Aristobulus, the brother of Agrippa the Great. Azizus is the last king of Emesa we find mentioned in history. This small kingdom was perhaps seized by the Arabians; for, some years after, we find it possessed by the Ituræans. The emperor Heliogabalus was a native of the city of Emesa.

Azizus.

S E C T. IX.

Of the Kingdom of Adiabene.

AS we have described elsewhere the province of Adiabene, which was the richest and most fruitful of all Assyria, we shall in this place only give a succinct account of the kings, who, taking advantage of the disturbances that reigned among the Seleucidæ, erected here a new kingdom, and held it in opposition to the Syrian kings, till they were expelled by the power of the Roman emperors. The first king we find mentioned in history, reigned in the time of the Mithridatic war, and joined Tigranes against Lucullus, as we read in Plutarch, though that author does not acquaint us with his nameⁿ. Many years after, that is, in the reign of the emperor Claudius, one Monobazus, called also Bazeos, ruled over the Adiabeniens. This prince, being enamoured with his sister Helena, married, and had by her two sons, named, Monobazus and Izates. He had several children by other wives; but, as he favoured Izates above all the rest, this preference raised no small jealousy in his other sons, especially in Monobazus, the eldest. To prevent the evil consequences which his partiality might occasion in his family, he sent Izates to be educated by one Abemerigus, lord or king of a rich country in that neighbourhood. Abemerigus, who then resided at a place called Spasinus, educated him with great care, and gave him his daughter Samacha in marriage, and with her a rich and fruitful country, by way of dowry. In the mean time Monabazus,

Adiabene.

Kings.

Monobazus.

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 7, & lib. xix. cap. 7. ^m Zonar. tom. i. ⁿ Plut. in Lucull.

being

Izates.

being stricken in years, and desirous to see his favourite child before his death, sent for Izates, and receiving him with great tenderness, bestowed upon him the country of Cæron, which abounded with odoriferous plants, and was famous, on account of the remains of Noah's ark. In this country Izates remained till his father's death, when his mother Helena, calling together the chief lords of the kingdom, told them, that the deceased king had, by his last will, appointed Izates to reign after his death, as the most worthy of all his children; but that she had not thought proper to acquaint him with this mark of distinction, till the honour, to which he had been destined by his father, should be confirmed by the unanimous consent of his subjects. The nobles, prostrating themselves on the ground before the queen, according to the custom of the country, declared, that they approved the king's election, and were ready, not only to obey Izates, who had been deservedly preferred to his brothers, but to put them all to death, that he might enjoy the kingdom without disturbance. The queen thanked them for their zeal, but at the same time desired them to forbear shedding the blood of any of the royal family, till the will of their new sovereign should be known. They then entreated the queen to confine at least the young princes till the king's arrival, and in the mean time to appoint one to govern in his name. Helena readily complied with their request, and named her eldest son, Monobazus, guardian of the kingdom during his brother's absence, placing with her own hand the diadem on his head, and delivering to him his father's seal, with the robe, called by the Adiabeniens, *Sampsera*. Izates, being acquainted with his father's death, and the zeal his new subjects had shewn for him, hastened to his kingdom, where he was received with great rejoicings, and met by his brother Monobazus, who, on his arrival, resigned to him the diadem, and other ensigns of royalty.

While Izates was at the court of Abemerigus, he had been instructed in the Jewish religion by one Ananias, who, at his request, had attended him into the kingdom of Adiabene, and continued with him in the province of Cæron.

In his reign Artabanus, king of the Parthians, being expelled by his rebellious subjects, had recourse to him, and was not only kindly received at his court, and treated like a king, but, by his good offices, restored to the crown; in acknowledgement of which kindness, Artabanus yielded

yielded to him the fruitful province of Nisibis, which he had lately taken from the king of Armenia. Upon the death of Artabanus, a civil war breaking out in Parthia between Gotarzes and Meherdates, Izates pretended to favour the latter, whose claim was supported by the emperor Claudius, but maintained the whole time a private correspondence with the former, and joined him at last with all his forces; a junction which brought on the ruin of Meherdates*, as we shall have occasion to relate in the History of Parthia.

Monobazus, the king's elder brother, and the other princes of the royal family, finding that Izates had been attended with wonderful success, says Josephus^p, in all his undertakings, ever since the change of his religion, resolved to follow his example; a resolution which so offended the chief lords of the kingdom, that, entering into a conspiracy against their prince, who had first introduced the Jewish religion among them, they wrote privately to Abias, king of Arabia. They promised him great sums of money, on condition he would assist them in driving Izates from the throne; assuring him, that they were all resolved to forsake him, and deliver him up to the first that should invade his dominions. In consequence of this intimation, Abias, having drawn together a considerable army, entered the kingdom of Adiabene, where he was met by Izates: a battle ensuing, the Adiabeniens, at the first onset, fled, as if they had been seized with a panic, and retired in great disorder to their camp. The king, seeing himself abandoned by his troops, retired with them; and having found, on examining the cause of so sudden a flight, that the private men had only followed the example of their leaders, he caused the chief conspirators to be immediately put to death; and marching out next day with the rest, fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, and gained a complete victory. The king of Arabia being closely pursued by the Adiabeniens, sheltered himself in the fortrefs of Arsuf, which Izates immediately besieged, and assaulted with such vigour, that it was soon obliged to surrender. He found there an immense booty, and great quantities of provisions; but Abias, by a voluntary death, escaped captivity.

The conspirators, though disappointed, still persisted in their former resolution of getting rid, with the first op-

*His subjects
conspire a-
gainst him,
and call in
the king of
Arabia;*

*who is de-
feated by
Izates.*

* Tacitus, Annal. lib. xii.

^p Joseph. ibid.

*They recur
to Vologeses,
king of
Parthia.*

*Izates deliv-
ered from
the threat-
ened inva-
sion.*

portunity, of a king who endeavoured to abolish their ancient religion, and introduce a strange law. They therefore had recourse to Vologeses, king of the Parthians, entreating him to assist them in dethroning Izates, and to give them a king of the race of the Arsacidæ, since they could not live under a prince, who countenanced a religion differing from that of his own country. Upon this invitation, Vologeses marched with an army against Izates, who, finding himself unable to oppose so powerful an enemy with his own strength, had recourse to prayers, beseeching the Almighty to exert his power in the defence of one, who put all his confidence in him. He had scarce ended his prayer, when news were brought him, that Vologeses, who had encamped over-against him on the other side of the river, which parted Adiabene from Media, was retired in great haste and confusion, upon certain advice, that the Dahæ and Sacæ, taking advantage of his absence, had invaded Parthia, committing most dreadful ravages¹. Izates, being thus delivered, by the protection of heaven, from the imminent danger he was in of losing both his life and his kingdom, spent the remainder of his days in peace and tranquillity, and died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign. He had by his wife Samacha or Samaco, the daughter of Abemerigus, five sons, who were all brought up under their grandmother Helena at Jerusalem, and there taught both the Jewish language and religion (W).

Mono-

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 2.

(W) They were in that city while it was besieged by Titus, who generously pardoned them, and carried them with him to Rome, where they remained as hostages⁽¹⁾. Helena, who was both mother and aunt to Izates, and a zealous proselyte to the Jewish religion, no sooner saw her favourite son settled on the throne, than she undertook a journey to Jerusalem, being desirous to visit the holy city, and offer sacrifices of thanksgiving in the temple, which

was so renowned over all the world. Izates not only supplied her with all things that were necessary for her journey, in a royal and magnificent manner, and with large sums of money, but attended her in person great part of the way. On her arrival at Jerusalem, she was received by the priests and chief men of the nation, in a manner suitable to her rank; and entertained with great splendor and magnificence; but soon after the city being most grievously oppress-

(1) Idem, de Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 13.

Monobazus, who succeeded his brother Izates, sent his body, with that of his mother Helena, to be deposited in the magnificent monument, which she had erected with three lofty pyramids, about three furlongs from the city of Jerusalem^r.

Though Izates had several children, yet, by his last will, he bequeathed the crown to his brother Monobazus, rewarding him for the great care, and indefatigable fidelity with which he had governed the kingdom during his absence, and the entire submission he had shewn him, though a younger brother, the whole time of his reign. But as to the affairs of this kingdom, there is a profound silence among authors, from the death of Izates, who was contemporary with the emperor Claudius, to the reign of Trajan, when one Mebarsapes ruled there, and joined Chosroes, king of the Persians, against the Romans. *Mebar- sapes.*

That war proving unsuccessful, he was driven from the throne, and obliged to shelter himself in the dominions of Manus, king of Arabia, who attempted to restore him to his kingdom; but as the strong castle of Adenystræ was held by a Roman garrison, which he could never dislodge, he was forced to drop the enterprize, and, abandoning his friend and ally, conclude a peace with Rome^s. We find no farther mention made of the Adiabeniens, till the reign of Sapor II. king of Persia, when they embraced the Christian religion, as Sozomenus^t and Nicephorus inform^u us, and were, on that account, treated

^r Joseph. ubi supra. ^s Dio, in Trajan. Sex. Ruf. in Epit. Theod. Min. in Fragm. lib. lxxv. ^t Dionys. ^u Sozom. lib. ii. cap. 12. ^v Niceph. Hist. Tripar. lib. viii. cap. 38.

ed by a famine, that, in all likelihood, which had been foretold by the prophet Agabus, as we read in the Acts (1), the pious queen not only refused to be maintained at the public expence, but plentifully supplied the poor of the city with corn from Egypt, and other provisions from the island of Cyprus. She likewise persuaded her son Izates to send a considerable sum of money to the governor of Je-

rusalem, for the relief of the afflicted citizens (3). These pious offices, and the zeal she shewed for the Jewish religion, gained her, as Josephus informs us, the affection of the whole nation. She continued in Jerusalem (where she built a magnificent palace, which was burnt by the Romans under Titus) till the death of Izates, when she returned to Adiabene, and soon after died.

(2) Acts xi. 28.

(3) Jos. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 2.

with great cruelty by the above mentioned king, to whom they were at that time subject.

S E C T. X.

*Of the Kingdom of Elymais.**Elymais.*

ELYMAIS, or, as Strabo ^w calls it, Elymatis, was a province of Persia, lying between the rivers Eulæus and Oroates, extending from the confines of Media to the Erythræan sea, or Persian gulf. It was formerly divided into three great districts; namely, Mesabatene, Gabene or Gabiene, and Carbiana, and contained the following cities; Seleucia, in more ancient times Soloce, on the banks of the Hedypos or Hedypnus, which Strabo calls a great city; Sasirate, at a small distance from Mount Casyrus; Badaca, on the Eulæus; and Elymais, the metropolis of the province, famous for a rich temple consecrated to Diana, which Antiochus Epiphanes attempted to plunder; but was obliged, by the inhabitants, to retire with disgrace. We must not confound this city with that of Persepolis, called also by some writers Elymais; for the city we are here speaking of stood in the province of Elymais, and the other in that of Persis. The temple of Elymais was afterwards plundered by one of the Parthian kings, who found in it, as Strabo tells us, ten thousand talents. In this country there was also a very rich temple consecrated to Jupiter Belus, which Antiochus the Great attempted to plunder, but lost his life in the attempt, as we have related in the history of his reign. The country of Elymais was inhabited, according to Pliny ^x, by the following nations; the Oxii or Uxii, Mizæi, Parthusi, Mardi, Saitæ, Hyi, Cossæi, Parætaceni, and Messabatæ. The Elymæans were a powerful people, inured to the toils of war, skilful bowmen, and never subdued either by the Syro-Macedonian, or Parthian kings, but governed by their own princes. If what Strabo writes be true, we may date the rise of this kingdom from the downfall of the Persian monarchy; for it is agreed on by all the ancients, that the Elymæans were subject to the kings of Persia; and, if they never submitted to the Syrian yoke, they must have been first governed by their own princes, either in Alexander's life-time, or

Cities.^w Strabo, lib. xvi.^x Plin. lib. vi. cap. 27.

foon after his death. Their kings are often mentioned by the ancients; but not one of them, which is somewhat surprising, named by any writer. All we know of them is, that they assisted Antiochus the Great in his wars with Rome; but afterwards cut off both him, and his army, in defence of their temple. The like fate would have attended Antiochus Epiphanes, when he attempted to plunder the temple of Diana, had he not, by a timely flight, retired into Media¹. They afterwards, under the conduct of their king, engaged in a war against the Babylonians and Sufians, in which they were assisted by the Cossæans, with thirteen thousand archers².

S E C T. XI.

Of the Kingdom of Characene.

CHARACENE was the most southern part of Sufiana, a province of Persia, lying on the Persian Gulf, between the Tigris and the Eulæus. It was so named from the city of Chorax, called first Alexandria, from its founder Alexander the Great; afterwards Antiochia, from Antiochus V. king of Syria, who repaired and beautified it; and lastly, Chorax Spasine, or Pafine, that is the Mole of Spasines, an Arabian king of that name having secured it against the overflowing of the Tigris, by a high bank or mole, extending three miles, which served as a fence to all that country³. Dionysius Periegetes, and Isidorus, author of the Parthicæ Mansiones, were both natives of this city. The small district of Characene was seized by Pafines, the son of Sogdonacus, king of the the neighbouring Arabs, during the troubles of Syria, and erected into a kingdom. Lucian calls him Hyspafines, and adds, that he ruled over the Characeni, and the neighbouring people: he died in the eighty-fifth year of his age⁴. The other kings of this country we find mentioned by the ancients, are, Teræus, who died in the ninety-second year of his age, and after him Artabazus the seventh, as Lucian informs us, who was driven from the throne by his own subjects, but restored by the Parthians. And this is all we find in the ancients relating to the kings of Characene.

Characene.

The city of Chorax.

Sogdonacus, founder of this small kingdom.

¹ Polyb. in Excerpt. Val. p. 144. Appian. in Syriac. ² Maccab. vi. 1, 2, &c. ³ Strabo, ibid. ⁴ Plin. lib. vi. cap. 27. ⁵ Lucian, in Macrobi.

S E C T. XII.

*Of the Kingdom of Commagene.**Commagene, or Commagene.**Kings. Antiochus.**Mithridates.**Antiochus II.*

COMMAGENE was subject to the Syrians in the time of Antiochus the Great, and left to him by the treaty of peace, which he concluded with Rome, after the famous battle of Magnesia; whence it is probable, that it was seized by some of the princes of the Seleucian family, during their intestine wars; for we find no mention made of the kings of Commagene till Pompey's time, and the names of those, who afterwards reigned there, are entirely Syrian. The first we find mentioned in history, is Antiochus, who, together with Darius king of Media, opposed Pompey as he entered Syria, after the defeat of Tigranes; but, being overcome in battle, he submitted to the conqueror, and was, for his submission, not only confirmed by Pompey in his kingdom, but rewarded with part of Mesopotamia ^c. In the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, he sent large supplies to the latter. He afterwards joined Pacorus, king of Parthia, whom Labienus had invited into Syria, and was, on that occasion, besieged by Ventidius, in the city of Samosata, and obliged to purchase a peace of Marc Antony with three hundred talents. In the reign of Augustus, a dispute arising between him and his brother Mithridates, he caused the ambassador, whom his brother had sent to plead his cause at Rome, to be treacherously assassinated. Whereupon he was summoned to appear before the senate, and, being by that body found guilty of the murder laid to his charge, he was, by the emperor's order, put to death ^d.

He was succeeded by Mithridates, on whom Augustus bestowed the kingdom of Commagene, though no way related to the deceased king, as a reward for his services during the war with Antony and Cleopatra. Mithridates, the king's brother, was excluded from the throne, for having sided with Antony. Upon the death of Mithridates, Augustus suffered Antiochus II. the son of Antiochus I. to take possession of his father's kingdom. He died in the reign of Tiberius. Upon his death great disturbances arising between the nobles and the people, the latter demanding a king, and the former desiring to be governed by a magistrate sent them from Rome, Ti-

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. ii. Oros. lib. vi. ^d Dio, lib. lii. p. 495.
berius

berius complied with the request of the nobles, and appointed Q. Servæus to govern Commagene in quality of prætor *. But Caligula restored the kingdom of Commagene to Antiochus, the son of Antiochus II. adding to it the maritime parts of Cilicia. He defeated the Cilicians, who refused to acknowledge him for their king, and took Trofobor their ringleader prisoner. He assisted Vespasian against Vitellius, and served under Titus at the siege of Jerusalem; but being afterwards suspected of holding a private correspondence with the Parthians, he was taken prisoner by Cefennius, and sent in chains to the emperor Vespasian, who banished him to Lacedæmon, but afterwards suffered him to lead a private life at Rome. Antiochus left two sons, Antiochus and Callinicus; and one daughter, named Jotape. Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, served under Otho against Vitellius, and under Vespasian in his war with the Jews, and distinguished himself at the siege of Jerusalem. Callinicus is mentioned by Josephus †, who tells us, that his sister Jotape was married to Alexander, king of Lefis, in Cilicia. But Vespasian, having reduced Commagene to the form of a Roman province, would not allow any of the sons of Antiochus to succeed him. This country was afterwards made part of the province called Augustophratenfis, or, as Ammianus has it, Euphratenfis, and was commonly known by the name of Euphratesia.

*Antiochus
III.*

*Antiochus
IV.*

S E C T. XIII.

Of the Kingdom of Chalcidene.

CHALCIDENE, one of the most fruitful provinces of Syria, was seized by Ptolemy the son of Mennæus, during the troubles of Syria, and by him made a separate kingdom. Ptolemy himself is styled, by Josephus ‡ and Hegesippus §, only prince of Chalcis; but his son Lysanias is honoured, both by Josephus ¶ and Dio, with the title of king. Upon the death of Antiochus Dionysius, king of Syria, Ptolemy attempted to make himself master of Damascus, and all Cœlesyria; but the inhabitants, having an utter aversion to him, on account of his cruelty

Chalcidene.

*Kings.
Ptolemy.*

* Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 3.
† Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 27. ‡ Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 13.
§ Hegesip. lib. i. cap. 24. ¶ Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 17.

Lyfaniat.

and wickedness, chose rather to submit to Aretas, king of Arabia, by whom Antiochus and his whole army had been cut off. He opposed Pompey, on his entering Syria; but was by him defeated, taken prisoner, and sentenced to death; which, however, he escaped by paying a thousand talents, and was left also in the possession of his kingdom. After Aristobulus king of Judæa had been poisoned by the friends of Pompey, and Alexander his son beheaded at Antioch, he sent Philippon his son to Ascalon, whither the widow of Aristobulus had retired with her other children, to bring them all to Chalcis, proposing, as he was in love with one of the daughters, named Alexandria, to maintain them in his own kingdom, in a manner suitable to their rank: but Philippon likewise being in love with Alexandria, married her on the way; for which presumption Ptolemy put him to death on his return, and then took her to wife. On account of this affinity, he supported, to the utmost of his power, Antigonus, the younger son of Aristobulus, who took the field at the head of a considerable army, but, on his entering Judæa, was entirely defeated by Herod. Ptolemy soon after died, and was succeeded by his son Lyfaniat, who, espousing the cause of the Asmonæan family with great warmth, promised to Barzapharnes, who commanded the Parthian troops in Syria, and to Pacorus, the king's son, a thousand talents, and five hundred women, provided they should put Antigonus in possession of the kingdom of Judæa, and depose Hyrcanus^k. He was not long after put to death by Marc Antony, at the instigation of Cleopatra, who, in order to have his dominions, accused him falsely of having entered into an alliance with the Parthians.

Thus far we have been able to record the conquests of Alexander the Great, and the several kingdoms which sprung up on the downfall of the Macedonian empire, from their rise to their being subdued by the Romans.

^k Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 11.

C H A P. XXXIV.

The History of the Parthians, from Arsaces to the Recovery of the Kingdom by the Persians.

THE ancient geographers enumerate a great many cities in Parthia; but those of most note were, Calliope, Issatis, Europum or Arsace, Apamea, Heraclea, Crenonia, Charax, Artacana, Aspa, Marriche, Rhagæa, and Hecatompylos. The latter was the metropolis of Parthia, and the place where the first kings of that country resided; for after they had made themselves masters of Assyria, they abandoned Hecatompylos, passing the winter at Ctesiphon, and the summer at Ecbatan, or in Hyrcania. The city of Ctesiphon stood on the Tigris, a little below Seleucia, and on the opposite bank, in the province of Chalonitis, which was the most southerly of all Assyria.¹ This city was founded, according to Ammianus Marcellinus¹, by Vardanes, and adorned and fortified by Pacorus. Who Vardanes was, we know not; but Valesius takes Pacorus, here mentioned, to have been the son of Orodes, whom Ventidius defeated. Polybius^m, Tacitus, Herodianⁿ, and Strabo^o, speak of Ctesiphon as the metropolis of the whole Parthian empire; whereas Hecatompylos was only the metropolis of Parthia properly so called, but, nevertheless, a place of great note, and about nine miles in compass. It had a hundred gates, whence it borrowed the name of Hecatompylos, as Polybius informs us^p. Most of our modern travellers are of opinion, that it stood on the very spot where the present city of Ispahan stands. Parthia is, at present, known by the name of Arach, or Erach, and may be called the royal province of Persia, since the king always resides in it. The chief cities it contains, at present, are, Casbin or Caswin, built on the ruins of the ancient Arsace, Sawa or Sava, Kom, Hamadan, Kashan, and Ispahan.

Ancient cities.

Hecatompylos.

Ctesiphon.

Modern cities.

The air of Parthia was anciently, and is still, very clear and healthy; but the soil barren, and not affording provisions sufficient to maintain the inhabitants, who were once very numerous, and therefore obliged to transplant themselves into other countries. Upon the death of

¹ Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxiii. cap. 20. cap. 45.

ⁿ Herodian. lib. iii. cap. 9.

xvi. p. 312.

^p Polyb. lib. x. cap. 25.

^m Polyb lib v.

^o Strabo, lib.

Alexander the Great, it was almost entirely neglected, and left as an appendage to Media, that prince's commanders declining the government of so poor and barren a province (Y).

Those Parthians who are so famous in history, were, doubtless, originally Scythians, driven out of their own country, and obliged to settle in this barren and inhospitable region. They called themselves, on their first settling here, Parthians; that is, in the old Scythian language, *exiles*; and hence came the name of Parthia.

*Manners,
customs,
&c. of the
Parthians.*

The Parthians were a courageous and warlike people, not undeservedly esteemed the best horsemen and archers in the world. They were accustomed, from their infancy, says Dionysius †, to the warlike and manly exercises of managing a horse, and handling a bow; and in both excelled all other nations. They had an art, or method, peculiar to themselves, of discharging their arrows with incredible address, dexterity, and order, while they were retiring full speed; which method gained them many victories, and rendered their retreat far more formidable to the enemy than their attack. To these exercises of horsemanship and archery, the air and country greatly contributed; for the dry air, as Dio observes, seasoned their bows, and their large plains afforded them sufficient room for training their horses. From the age of twenty to fifty, they were all, without exception, obliged to serve in war, to attend the musters, learn the military exercises, and be ready, at a very short warning, to take the field †. Persons of any rank or distinction among them never appeared in public on foot, but always on horseback, armed with scimiters †. In war they did not use trumpets like other nations, but large hollow vessels of brass, covered with skins, such as our kettle-drums, which, being beat

† Dionys. in Poem. de Situ Orb.
tin. lib. xii.

† Strabo, lib. xv. • Jus-

(Y) We must not here confound Parthia, or, as others call it, Parthyæa and Perthyene, with what the ancients understand by the Parthian empire. The former was comprised within the narrow bounds which we have before described; whereas the latter

was a of a vast extent, being bounded on the east by the Indus, on the west by the Tigris, on the south by the Red Sea, and on the north by Mount Caucasus (1); so that it comprehended Arachosia, Parthia, Assyria, Persis, and Media.

(1) Vide Orof. lib. i. cap. 2.

with

with hammers, yielded a very warlike sound ^t. They are said to have been very abstemious in their diet ^u, their country not affording any superfluities; but, at the same time, to have been great lovers of wine, and much addicted to all manner of lewdness, not respecting even their sisters or mothers, whom they were allowed to marry, and as many wives besides as they pleased, nothing being deemed more honourable among them than to have a numerous issue ^v. They entirely neglected agriculture, navigation, trade, and all other employments, being engaged in learning the arts of war, which alone were of any repute among them ^x.

Their religion was much the same with that of the Persians. They believed, that those who fell in battle enjoyed a perpetual and uninterrupted happiness; a doctrine well suited to the genius of a warlike nation: and in most other points of religion they entirely agreed with the Persians, of whose religion we have treated at large, in the history of Persia. They were most religious observers of their promises, thinking it highly dishonourable not to perform their engagements, or to deceive those who had trusted to their assurance ^y. *Religion.*

As to their government, it was monarchical, and absolute in the highest degree. They treated their subjects ^z as the meanest of slaves, and scarce as men, while they put themselves on a level with the immortal gods. Their usual title was, "The king of kings, the great monarch, the brother of the sun and moon." These haughty titles they not only assumed, in all the laws and edicts they enacted, but in their letters to other princes (Z). Their *Government.*

^t Plut. in Crasso. ^u Justin. lib. xii. cap. 3, & 9. ^v Agath. lib. ii. Philo de Special. Legib. p. 778 Tertul. in Apologet.
^x Dionys. ubi supra. ^y Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. ult.
^z Herodian. lib. iv. cap. 3.

(Z) Thus Vologeses II. in writing to the emperor Vespasian, used the following superscription: "Arsaces, king of kings, to the emperor Flavius Vespasian." The emperor could not help smiling when he read it; and, to shew how little he valued such pompous and high-sounding titles, he answered him in his own strain thus: "Flavius Vespasian, to Arsaces, king of kings;" giving the Parthian the titles he had assumed, but despising them himself. The same haughty style Phraates II. used in writing to Augustus; and Phraates III. sent ambassadors to Pompey, on purpose to expostulate with him, for omitting, in his letter to him, the title of king of kings, and giving him only that of king.

whole

whole conduct was answerable to the sublime and lofty titles they assumed; for, not satisfied with the respect paid to other crowned heads, they obliged all those whom they vouchsafed to see, to kiss the threshold, on their first entering the royal palace; to prostrate themselves before them, with their faces on the ground; and acknowledge their majesty with some offering.

We cannot give a particular account of the state of Parthia before Arsaces I. They were first subject to the Medes, afterwards to the Persians, and lastly, to Alexander the Great, upon whose death Parthia fell to the share of Seleucus Nicator, whose successors held it till the reign of Antiochus Theus, when Arsaces, shaking off the Macedonian yoke, founded a new kingdom, which became by far the most powerful in the East.

Yr. of Fl.
2048.
Ante Chr.
300.

*Kings of
Parthia.
Arsaces I.*

Arsaces I. the founder of the Parthian monarchy, was, according to some writers, of the race of the Achæmenidæ; according to others, by birth a Parthian. Strabo says, that he was king of the Dahæ, before the revolt of Parthia; and Georgius Syncellus affirms, that he was a nobleman of Bactria. We have related, in the history of Syria, on what provocation he solicited the Parthians to revolt from Antiochus Theus; and what success attended him in his wars with Seleucus Callinicus, the son and successor of Antiochus Theus, whom he not only defeated, but took prisoner, and from that time assumed the title of king, having founded, and, by that victory, firmly established, an empire in the East, which counterbalanced the overgrown power of the Romans in the West. He reduced Hyrcania, and some other neighbouring provinces; and was, at last, killed in a battle against Ariarathes IV. king of Cappadocia^a. From him all his successors of the same race took the name of Arsaces.

Arsaces II.

He was succeeded by his son Arsaces, who, entering Media, made himself master of that country, while Antiochus the Great was engaged in a war with Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt; but Antiochus was no sooner disengaged from that war, than he marched against Arsaces, drove him out of Media, and obliged him to retire into Hyrcania, whence he soon after returned with a powerful army. With these he put a stop to Antiochus's progress: the Syrian gave ear to the overtures made him for putting an end to so troublesome a war; and, by treaty, it was agreed, that Arsaces should hold Parthia

^a Justin. lib. xli. cap. 5, &c.

and Hyrcania, on condition of assisting Antiochus to recover the other provinces which had revolted^b.

Priapatus, the son of Arsaces II. succeeded his father ; but all we know of him is, that he reigned fifteen years, and left three sons, Phraates, Mithridates, and Artabanus. The crown he bequeathed to Phraates, his eldest son, who overcame the Mardi, one of the most warlike nations of the East, never conquered before the reign of Alexander, who with difficulty reduced them, as well as the other nations inhabiting Media^c. Phraates had a numerous issue ; but he left the crown to his brother Mithridates, on account of his extraordinary merit. He reduced the countries of the Bactrians, Persians, Medes, Elymæans, and over-ran, in a manner, all the East, extending his dominions into India, beyond the boundaries of Alexander's conquests. Demetrius Nicator, who then reigned in Syria, endeavoured to recover the provinces of the East which Mithridates had subdued ; but his army was entirely cut off, and himself taken prisoner. After this victory Mithridates got possession of Babylonia and Mesopotamia ; so that he was now master of all the provinces lying between the Euphrates on the west, and the Ganges on the east^d. He entertained his royal captive with great humanity, allowed him a maintenance suitable to his rank, and, sending him into Hyrcania to reside there, gave him Rhodagune, one of his sisters, in marriage. However, he kept him still in captivity, though with as much freedom as was consistent with the state of a captive ; and, at his death, which happened in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, left him, in this condition, to his son Phraates, who succeeded him in the kingdom (A).

Priapatus.

Phraates.

Mithridates I.

Phra-

^b Justin. lib. xli. cap. 5, &c.
lib. v. cap. 4.

^c Idem. ibid.

^d Oros.

(A) The reign of Mithridates is looked upon by authors as the epoch of the Parthian grandeur ; for, under him, that empire was by far the most powerful and extensive in the East ; all the countries that lie between the Euphrates and Mount Caucasus receiving law from him, and most of the princes of Asia be-

ing either subdued, or obliged to enter into an alliance with him, upon his own terms. He was a prince of great courage and resolution, and, at the same time, had a sweetness of temper which rendered him amiable to all who approached him. As he conquered many nations, he is said to have carefully examined their various

con-

Phraates
II.

Quarrels
with the
Scythians ;

by whom
both he and
his army
are cut off.

Artabanus
I.

Phraates II. had scarce taken possession of the throne, when Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, marched against him, at the head of a numerous army, under pretence of delivering his brother Demetrius, who was still kept in captivity. Phraates was overcome in three successive battles, deprived of Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and all the other countries which his father had reduced, and confined within the narrow limits of the first Parthian kingdom. However, he had the good fortune, at last, to retrieve his affairs, and cut off Antiochus, with his whole army, in the manner we have related at large in the history of Syria. Phraates, flushed with this victory, resolved to invade Syria ; but while he was making the necessary preparations for this enterprize, he found himself engaged in a war near home with the Scythians, his neighbours. He had called them to his assistance against Antiochus ; but that prince being overcome, and his army entirely defeated, before their arrival, he refused to pay them the sum which had been promised. Hereupon the Scythians, falling upon the country which they were come to defend, committed every where most dreadful ravages*. Phraates having thus drawn upon himself a war with the Scythians, in order to strengthen his army against so brave and powerful an enemy, took into his service all the Greek mercenaries, who, having followed Antiochus, king of Syria, in his Parthian expedition, had been taken prisoners, in the late overthrow of that prince. As these Greeks had been treated by the Parthians with great haughtiness and cruelty during their captivity, they resolved to be revenged on them ; and, accordingly, in the first engagement, they went all in a body over to the Scythians ; and, in conjunction with them, falling upon the Parthians, cut their army to pieces, killed their king, and laid waste his dominions. After this event both the Greeks and Scythians returned to their own countries ; and, on their departure, Artabanus, the third son of Pampatius, and uncle to the deceased king, took possession of the crown, which he held a very short time, being

* Justin. lib. xlii. cap. 1.

constitutions, and, out of the so that he was both a great
whole collection, to have formed a warrior and a wise law-giver
a body of excellent laws for (1).
the regulation of his empire ;

(1) Diodor. Sic. in Excerpt. Valesii, p. 361.

killed,

killed, a few days after, in battle, by the Thogarians, another nation of the Scythian race.

Artabanus was succeeded by his son Pacorus I. who, hearing of the great exploits of the Romans, sent ambassadors to Sylla, who was then in Cappadocia, to desire the friendship and alliance of so powerful a people. The Parthians, though the most warlike and wealthy nation in Asia, were, at that time, scarce known at Rome. Sylla, therefore, was overjoyed to hear, that their king had resolved to send ambassadors to him; and looked upon it as one of the most fortunate occurrences of his life, that he should be the first Roman to whom so great and gallant a nation applied for an alliance with the people of Rome. He was then only prætor, and had been sent by the senate to restore Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, to the throne, whence he had been driven by Tigranes, king of Armenia. However, to dazzle the eyes of the ambassadors with an air of grandeur, he affected great state in the audience he gave them; for, in the place where he received them, he ordered three seats to be put, one in the middle for himself, that on the right hand for king Ariobarzanes, and the other, on the left, for Oromazes, the chief of the embassy. This compliance of the Parthian ambassador cost him his life, Pacorus having caused him to be beheaded on his return, for debasing the majesty of the Parthian monarchy, by giving place to a Roman prætor. However, Pacorus afterwards sent ambassadors to Lucullus, to renew the alliance he had concluded with Sylla.

*Pacorus I.
enters into
an alliance
with the
Romans.*

He was succeeded by his son Phraates III. who taking under his protection Tigranes, the son of Tigranes the Great, king of Armenia, gave him his daughter in marriage; and invading Armenia, laid siege to Artaxata, with a design to expel the father, and raise the son to the throne: but, on the approach of Pompey, he withdrew, and, by a solemn embassy, renewed the alliance which his father had concluded, first with Sylla, and afterwards with Lucullus. He was afterwards murdered by his own children, Mithridates and Orodes, in the twelfth year of his reign. Upon his death, Orodes, the elder brother, took possession of the throne; but was soon expelled by Mithridates, who, making himself odious to the Parthians by his cruelties, was, in his turn, obliged to abandon the kingdom, and shelter himself with Gabinius,

*Phraates
III.*

Orodes.

*Mithri-
dates II.*

† Plut. in Sylla. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 24. § Dio, lib. xxxvi.
p. 22. Liv. Epit. lib. c.

governor of Syria. On his flight, Orodes was replaced on the throne, by means of one Surenas, who, next to the king, held the first post of honour and power in the kingdom, and had always adhered to the interest of Orodes. Gabinius was easily prevailed upon to undertake the restoration of Mithridates; for being extremely avaritious, he wanted only a pretence to invade Parthia, at that time a wealthy nation. Accordingly he set out on his march, taking Mithridates with him for his guide; but, after he had passed the Euphrates, being accosted by Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, who offered him ten thousand talents, on condition he would restore him to his kingdom, the corrupt governor, dropping his former enterprize, repassed the Euphrates, and marched directly into Egypt, leaving Mithridates to shift for himself. The Parthian, seeing himself thus abandoned by Gabinius, raised what troops he could, and returning into Babylonia, seized Seleucia, where he was closely besieged by Orodes, and in a short time he was obliged to surrender at discretion. Orodes, considering him as an enemy, and not as a brother, caused him to be put to death, and was himself an eye-witness of that cruel execution ^b (B).

Mithridates put to death by his brother Orodes.

Orodes, by the death of his brother, became sole master of the whole Parthian empire, but did not long enjoy it in peace. M. Licinius Crassus had been lately created consul at Rome, the second time, with Pompey; and, in the partition of the provinces had obtained, in virtue of a law made by C. Trebonius, tribune of the people, Syria, with the neighbouring provinces. To Pompey the two Spains were assigned, with all the provinces of Africa. By the Trebonian law, they were both impowered to hold their provinces for the space of five years; to raise what forces they should think proper; and to make peace or war with whom they pleased, according to their own judgment, without having recourse to the senate or people

^b Dio, lib. xxxix. Appian. in Parthic. p. 134, 140, 141, & in Syriac. p. 120. Justin. lib. xlii. cap. 4.

(B) We must not confound, as Justin has done, this Mithridates with Mithridates II. it being plain from Plutarch, Dio, Florus, Xiphilinus, and from the very prologue of the forty-second book of Troguus Pompeius, whom Justin has epitomized, that Mithridates II. and Mithridates the brother of Orodes, were two different princes. The former, by his many conquests, and noble exploits, acquired the surname of Great; whereas the latter did nothing worth mentioning.

of

of Rome, as all other governors had ever before been obliged to do¹. Crassus no sooner found himself vested with this power, than, prompted by his insatiable avarice, he resolved to carry the war into Parthia, in hopes of enriching himself with the spoils of that nation, which was deemed very rich, as never having been subdued by any foreign enemy. Some of the tribunes of the people, disapproving his design of making war upon the Parthians, who had entered into an alliance with Rome, and religiously observed their engagements, did all that lay in their power to reverse the plebiscitum, or decree of the people, passed at the instigation of Trebonius, who was now out of office (C).

M. Licinius Crassus resolves to make war on the Parthians,

Crassus

¹ Liv. lib. cv. Plut. in Crasso, Pomp. & Cat. Min. Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. ii. p. 437, 438.

(C) Ateius Capito, one of the tribunes, having roused the people, by representing to them how base and shameful a thing it was to disturb the tranquillity of a peaceable nation, who had done the Romans no injury, would have arrested Crassus, though consul, if eight other tribunes had not opposed the violence of their colleague, and rescued Crassus out of the hands of the officers who had seized him. When the consul, after performing, as usual, his vows in the Capitol, was ready to set out for his province, Ateius assembling the people, prepared to obstruct his departure; which Crassus being alarmed at, desired Pompey to accompany him to the gates of the city; which he did accordingly, keeping in awe by his presence, as he was greatly revered by the people,

those who had most zealously opposed the consul's expedition. Ateius, seeing he could not prevent the departure of Crassus, hastened to the gate of the city through which he was to pass; and there having ordered a fire to be kindled, as soon as Crassus appeared, he threw some perfumes into it, and, invoking the infernal gods, uttered a thousand imprecations against Crassus, which made all those who heard them tremble with horror (1).

Florus tells us, that Crassus, on his setting out from Rome, was cursed by Metellus, tribune of the people (2); and Velleius Paterculus (3), Appian (4), and Dio (5), that he was cursed by all the tribunes, but especially by Ateius, who signalized himself on that occasion.

Crassumque in bella secutæ
Sæva tribunitiæ moverunt prælia diræ,

(1) Dio & Plut. ibid. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 11. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 46. Appian. Bell. Civil. p. 438. (2) Flor. lib. iii. cap. 11. (3) Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 46. (4) Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. p. 438. (5) Dio, lib. xlix.

Yr. of Fl.

1293.

Ante Chr.

55.

*Sets out
from Rome.**Plunders
the temple
of Jerusa-
lem.**Begins hos-
tilities with
the Par-
thians.**Reduces
Mesopo-
tania.*

Crassus having, with the assistance of Pompey, got safe out of Rome, pursued his march to Brundisium; where he immediately embarked his troops on board several transports, and, notwithstanding the wind blew then very high, set sail for Asia, and with much difficulty reached the ports of Galatia, having lost many ships in his passage.

From Galatia Crassus pursued his march into Syria, the province allotted to him; and being there informed that immense treasures were lodged in the temple of Jerusalem, which Pompey had not ventured to touch, he marched thither with part of his army, and seized them*.

From thence he proceeded to the Euphrates, which he crossed on a bridge of boats, entered the Parthian territories, and began hostilities. The Parthians, expecting nothing less than such an invasion, and having made no preparations for their defence, were easily driven out of all Mesopotamia. The city of Zenadotia was the only place that made any opposition. Apollonius, who was governor, or rather tyrant, of that city, sent deputies to Crassus, acquainting him, that he was willing to surrender the place to him; but as soon as the detachment, sent to take possession of it, had entered the gate, he surrounded them, and cut them in pieces. But both he and the inhabitants paid dear for their treachery; for Crassus, having immediately invested the city with his whole army, and taken it by assault, reduced the inhabitants to slavery, confiscated their goods, and sold their persons to the best bidder. The other cities made no resistance; so that he over-ran all Mesopotamia, and might, if he had taken advantage of the consternation the Parthians were in, have penetrated as far as Seleucia and Ctesiphon, and made himself master of Babylon, as well as Mesopotamia; but, instead of pursuing his success, he, in the beginning of the autumn, repassed the Euphrates, and leaving only seven thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 12.

says Lucan (6). Crassus, the night before he set out for his province, supped with Cicero, in the gardens of his son-in-law Crassippes (7). From thence Cicero removed to Tusculum, and Crassus hastened to Brundisium in his military habit, being resolved, in spite of the tribunes, to make war on the Parthians (8).

(6) Lucan. lib. iii.

(7) Cic. Epist. Familiar. lib. i. epist. 9.

(8) Idem. lib. iv. ad Attic. Epist. 12. & lib. ii. de Divinat.

garrison

garrison the places he had taken, put his army into winter-quarters in the cities of Syria. His hasty retreat gave the enemy time to recover from the terror which his arms had spread over the East, and to raise an army against the ensuing year, which the Romans could not withstand. On his return into Syria, he was joined by his son, at the head of a thousand chosen horse.

In Syria, Crassus spent his time more like a publican than a general, being wholly taken up with examining into the revenues of that province, and improving them by the most shameful methods. The plundering the temple of Jerusalem was not the only sacrilege he was guilty of: he robbed, in like manner, all the temples of Syria, appropriating to his own use their rich ornaments and furniture. The temple of the Syrian goddess, named Atargetis, at Hierapolis, was famous all over the East, on account of the immense treasures it contained. These the avaricious proconsul seized, and, lest any of the rich vases and ornaments should be embezzled, he spent much of his time in seeing the money counted, and the gold and silver vessels weighed. Having thus ransacked all the temples and sacred places within the limits of his province, he began to load the Syrians with such taxes, as reduced them to beggary. He commanded all the cities of his province to furnish each a certain number of men, and then discharged them for a sum of money. No one could obtain justice without a bribe, nor redeem himself from the insolence of the soldiers, without advancing a large fee to the general. In short, there was not any expedient for amassing money which he did not use, as if he had been sent not to govern, but to plunder the province. In the mean time, the military discipline was entirely neglected; the soldiers lived in their quarters without any order; and the whole army gave themselves up to idleness and debauchery.

Crassus, early in the spring, drew together his troops out of their several quarters, in order to pursue the war which he had begun with the Parthians. Orodes, their king, who was a very warlike prince, had, during the winter, assembled a numerous army; but before he entered upon action, he sent ambassadors to the Roman general, to know for what reason he made war upon him. The ambassadors arrived in Syria, while Crassus was assembling his troops. Being introduced to him, they first

His interview with the Parthian ambassadors.

Strab. lib. xvi. p. 478. Plin. lib. v. cap. 73. Plut. & Dio, ib.

reminded him of the alliance which the Parthians had concluded with Sylla and Pompey; and then told him, that if he was sent against the Parthians by the people of Rome, they did not pretend he should disobey his orders, since, in that case, a war must ensue, which could not be terminated but by the final ruin of one of the empires; but if Crassus, as they were informed, had undertaken this war, contrary to the inclinations of the people of Rome, to satiate his private interest, the king their master, pitying his old age, would suffer the Romans he had left in Mesopotamia, where they were rather besieged than in garrison, to retire unmolested. Crassus, without alleging any pretence for his invading the Parthian dominions, answered this speech with a rhodomontade, saying, "That they should have his answer at Seleucia." The chief of the ambassadors, by name Vageses, or Vahises, smiling, and shewing him the palm of his hand, said, "You shall sooner, O Crassus, see hair grow here, than be master of Seleucia;" and, without adding a word more, retired.^a

Orodes immediately took the field; and dividing his troops into two bodies, marched in person with one to the frontiers of Armenia, to make a diversion there, the king of that country having raised a considerable army to reinforce the Romans. The other he sent into Mesopotamia, under the command of the brave Surena, or Surenas. This general had all the qualifications that form a consummate hero.^b He was descended from one of the most ancient and noble families of Parthia, and had derived, from his ancestors, the right of putting the crown on the king's head at his coronation. To his illustrious birth he is said to have joined extraordinary wisdom and discretion, though he was but thirty years of age, and to have surpassed in valour and prowess all men of his time. His valour kept the princes and nations of Asia in awe, and prevented their entering into a confederacy against the formidable power of Parthia. Orodes was indebted to him for his crown: the reduction of Seleucia, when held by Mithridates, was chiefly owing to him; for he was the first who mounted the ramparts of that capital, and struck terror into the enemy's troops. His stature was majestic, his air graceful, and his behaviour extremely obliging. In wealth, power, and authority, he was, next to the king, the first man in the king-

The character of Surena, the Parthian general.

^a Flor. lib. iii. cap. 11. Plut. Dio. ib.

^b Plut. in Crasso.
dom.

dom. His equipage, when he travelled, consisted of a thousand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for the service of his wives and concubines, a thousand horsemen completely armed for his guard; besides a great number of light-armed troops, which, with his domestics, amounted to ten thousand more. He is said to have united the luxury of an Asiatic with the intrepidity of a Roman; for he carried with him whatever could contribute to his pleasures, and, at the same time, was ready to expose himself to the greatest dangers, being always at the head of the troops he commanded, in the most perilous and desperate enterprizes. Though his courage was such as to brave death in a breach or battle, yet he was not ashamed to paint his face, and perfume his hair, after the manner of the effeminate Medes; whereas the Parthians marched against the enemy with their hair in disorder, and making as hideous a figure as they could, to strike the more terror.

But, to resume the thread of our history, Orodes having divided his army into two bodies, Surenas marched with that which was under his command into Mesopotamia, where he soon retook most of the cities which Crassus had made himself master of, the year before. Hereupon several Roman soldiers, who garrisoned the other places, making their escape out of Mesopotamia, fled to Crassus, and filled his camp with an alarming report of the number, power, and strength of the enemy. They told their fellow-soldiers, that the Parthian troops were very numerous, brave, and well disciplined; that it was impossible to overtake them when they fled, or escape them when they pursued; that their defensive arms were proof against the Roman darts, and their offensive weapons so sharp, that no buckler was proof against them. Crassus looked upon this account only as the effect of fear; but the common soldiers, and many of the chief officers, were so disheartened, that the quæstor Caius Cassius, the same who afterwards conspired against Cæsar, and most of the legionary tribunes, advised Crassus to suspend his march, and deliberate with more leisure on the enterprize, before he proceeded farther. Crassus obstinately persisted in his former resolution, contrary to the opinion of all his officers, being confirmed by the arrival of Artabazus, king of Armenia, who brought with him six thousand horse, which were only his guard, and promised to send to the

Surenas retakes most of the cities of Mesopotamia.

• Plut. *ibid.* & Appian. in *Parthic.*

proconsul ten thousand cuirassiers, and thirty thousand foot, whenever he should demand them. At the same time he advised him by no means to march his army through the plains of Mesopotamia; but to take his route over the mountains of Armenia. The reasons with which he supported this advice, were, that as Armenia was a mountainous country, the Parthian horse, in which the main strength of their army consisted, would prove there entirely useless; and besides, that if he took this route, his army would be plentifully supplied with all necessaries: whereas, if he marched by the way of Mesopotamia, he would be perpetually harassed by the Parthian horse, and often be obliged to lead his army through sandy deserts, where he would be distressed for want of water, and all other provisions. This was the best advice that could be given him, and the reasons for it were unanswerable; but Crassus, despising all that was said to him, told Artabazus, "That as he had left many valiant Romans to garrison the towns, which he had reduced in the course of the last year, in Mesopotamia, he was obliged to take that route, lest they should be abandoned to the mercy of the enemy; but as to the auxiliaries the king of Armenia had offered him, he willingly accepted them, and desired Artabazus to send them to him with all possible expedition."

Crassus despises the advice of the king of Armenia.

Enters Mesopotamia, contrary to the advice of all his officers.

The proconsul, being greatly encouraged by the prospect of the reinforcement promised him by the king of Armenia, began his march, and, contrary to the advice of his chief officers, advanced to the frontiers of Mesopotamia. He had under his command seven legions, four thousand horse, and a great many auxiliaries, the whole army amounting to forty thousand men. With these he passed the Euphrates, near the city of Zeugma, in the province of Comagene, and again entered Mesopotamia.

Cassius advised the proconsul to advance to some of the towns in which he had left garrisons, and there rest and refresh his troops, till he had certain intelligence of the number, strength and power of the enemy; but if he did not approve of this counsel, he thought it necessary to march along the Euphrates to Seleucia; for, by keeping close to that river, he would avoid being surrounded by the Parthians, and, at the same time, be plentifully supplied, by means of his ships, with all necessary provisions. Crassus seemed to approve of this advice, and was ready to come into it, when Abgarus, king of Edessa, arrived in the Roman camp, and prevailed upon the proconsul to follow a quite different

*Betrayed by
Abgarus,
king of
Edessa.*

different plan. Abgarus, as he had formerly served under Pompey, was well known in the Roman army, and looked upon by the soldiery as a friend; but in reality was a traitor, and sent by Surenas, with whom he kept a private correspondence, on purpose to bring about the destruction of Crassus; and this part he acted so well, that the ruin of the Roman army was chiefly owing to him. In the first interview he had with the Roman general, he told him, that he wanted wings and feet more than arms, against a nation that was ready, on his approach, to withdraw, with their most valuable effects, into Scythia and Hyrcania; that they had not courage enough to look the Romans in the face; that the name of Crassus had already spread a general terror among their troops; and that there wanted no more for the obtaining of a complete victory, than to march directly and give them battle. He offered himself for a guide to lead them the shortest way to the enemy. Crassus, blinded with his flattering speeches, gave entirely into the snare, and followed the traitor, who had so strongly insinuated himself into his favour, that he would hearken to no other person.

*The painful
march of
the Romans*

Under the conduct of this crafty and treacherous guide, the Romans entered a vast green plain, divided by many rivulets; and their march proved very easy cross this delicious country; but the farther they advanced, the worse the roads grew; insomuch that they were obliged at last to climb up mountains and rocks, which brought them to a dry and sandy plain, where they could neither find food to satisfy their hunger, nor water to quench their thirst. Then Abgarus began to be suspected by the tribunes, and other officers, who earnestly pressed their general to follow him no longer, but to retreat to the mountains. At the same time an express arrived from Artabazus, acquainting Crassus, that Orodes had invaded his kingdom at the head of a powerful army; and that he was obliged to keep his forces at home, for the defence of his own dominions. The same messenger advised the proconsul, in his master's name, to avoid by all means the barren plains, where his troops would perish with hunger, and to take to the mountains, and approach Armenia, that they might join their forces against the common enemy. Crassus, instead of listening to the wise counsels of his own officers, or of a king, who was a sincere friend to the Romans, obstinately followed the advice of the treacherous Abgarus; and was violently enraged against the messenger sent by Artabazus, for the wholesome advice

he had given him^p. Cassius was filled with indignation; but Abgarus endeavoured to soften him, by promising to lead the army very soon into a delicious and fruitful country beyond the deserts, which would make him amends for the fatigue they had undergone. As to Crassus, he gave no other answer to the complaints of his troops, than that they could not expect to meet with the delights of Campania in the most remote parts of the world.

Thus they continued their march for some days cross a desert, the very sight of which was sufficient to throw them into despair; for they could not perceive, either near them, or at a distance, the least tree, plant, or brook, not so much as a hill, or a single blade of grass; nothing was to be seen but huge heaps of burning sand. The Romans had scarce passed this desert, when advice was brought them by their scouts, that a numerous army of Parthians was advancing full march to attack them; for Abgarus, under pretence of going out on parties, had often conferred with Surenas, and concerted measures with him for destroying the Roman army. Upon this advice, which occasioned great confusion in the camp, the Romans being quite exhausted with their long and fatiguing march, Crassus drew up his men in battalia, following at first the advice of Cassius, who proposed extending the infantry as wide as possible, that they might take up the more ground, and prevent the enemy from surrounding them; but Abgarus assuring the proconsul, that the Parthian forces were not so numerous as was represented, he changed this disposition, and, believing only the man who betrayed him, drew up his troops in a square, which faced every way, and had on each side twelve cohorts in front. Near each cohort he placed a troop of horse to support them, that they might charge with the greater security and boldness. Thus the whole army looked more like one phalanx, than troops drawn up in manipuli, with spaces between them, after the Roman manner. The general himself commanded in the centre, his son in the left wing, and Cassius in the right.

In this order they advanced to the banks of a small river, called the Balissus, the sight of which was very pleasing to the soldiers, who were much harassed with thirst and excessive heat. Most of the officers declared for encamping on the banks of this river, or rather rivulet,

The imprudent conduct of Crassus.

^p Plut., Dio, *ibid.* Appian, in *Parthica*.

to give the troops time to refresh themselves, after the fatigues of so long and painful a march, and, in the mean time, to procure certain intelligence of the number and disposition of the Parthian army; but Crassus, suffering himself to be hurried on by the inconsiderate ardour of his son, and the horse he commanded, only allowed the legions to take a meal standing; and then ordered them to advance, not slowly, and halting at intervals, after the Roman manner, but as fast as they could move, till they came in sight of the enemy, who, contrary to their expectation, did not appear either so numerous or terrible as they had been represented. Surenas had concealed his men in convenient places, ordering them to cover their arms, lest their brightness should betray them, and, starting up at the first signal, attack the enemy on all sides. The stratagem had the desired effect; for Surenas no sooner gave the signal, than the Parthians, rising, as it were, out of the ground, with dreadful cries, and a most frightful noise, advanced against the Romans, who were greatly surprised and dismayed at the sight, and much more so, when the Parthians, throwing off the covering of their arms, appeared in shining cuirasses, and helmets of burnished steel, finely mounted on horses covered all over with armour of the same metal. At their head appeared young Surenas, in a rich dress, and was the first who charged the enemy, endeavouring, with his pikemen, to break through the first ranks of the Roman army; but finding it impentrate, the cohorts supporting each other, he retired in seeming confusion. The Romans were much surprised when they saw themselves suddenly surrounded on all sides, and galled with continual showers of arrows: Crassus ordered his light-armed foot and archers to advance, and charge the enemy; but they were soon repulsed, and forced to cover themselves behind the heavy-armed foot. Then the Parthian horse, advancing near the Romans, discharged showers of arrows upon them, every one of which did execution, the legionaries being drawn up in such close order, that it was impossible for the enemy to miss their aim. As their arrows were of an extraordinary weight, and discharged with incredible force and impetuosity, nothing was proof against them. The two wings advanced in good order to repulse them, but to no effect; for the Parthians shot their arrows with as great dexterity when their backs were turned, as when they faced the enemy; so that the Romans, whether they kept their ground,

Yr. of Fl.
229.
Ante Chr.
53.

*The Roman
army at-
tacked by
the Par-
thians.*

*The Ro-
mans gall-
ed by the
arrows of
the Par-
thians.*

ground, or pursued the flying enemy, were equally annoyed with those fatal arrows.

*Young
Crassus
advances
against the
enemy.*

The Romans, while they had any hopes that the Parthians, after having exhausted their arrows, would either betake themselves to flight, or engage them hand to hand, stood their ground with great resolution and intrepidity; but when they observed that there were a great many camels in their rear, loaded with arrows, and that those who emptied their quivers wheeled about to fill them anew, they began to lose courage, and loudly complain of their general for suffering them thus to keep their ranks and serve only as a mark for the enemy's arrows, which, they believed, would not be exhausted till they were all killed. Thus reproached, Crassus ordered his son to advance, at all adventures, to attack the enemy with thirteen hundred horse, five hundred archers, and eight cohorts. The Parthians no sooner saw this choice body (for it was the flower of the army) marching up against them, than they wheeled about, and betook themselves, according to their custom, to flight. Hereupon young Crassus, crying out, as loud as he could, "They fly before us," pushed on full speed after them, not doubting that he should gain a complete victory; but when he was at a great distance from the main body of the Roman army, he perceived his mistake; for those who before had fled, facing about, charged him with incredible fury. He then ordered his troops to halt, hoping that the enemy, upon seeing their small number, would not be afraid to come to a close fight: but herein he was likewise greatly disappointed; for the Parthians, contenting themselves with opposing their heavy-armed horse to his front, surrounded him on all sides; and, keeping at a distance, discharged incessant showers of arrows upon the unfortunate Romans, thus circumstanced. The Parthian cavalry, in wheeling about, raised so thick a dust, that the Romans could scarce see one another, much less the enemy; nevertheless, they found themselves wounded with arrows, though they could not perceive whence they came. In a short time the place where they stood was covered with dead bodies.

*Is reduced
to great
strains.*

*Dreadful
slaughter of
the Ro-
mans.*

Those who out-lived their companions were no longer in a condition to act; for when young Crassus exhorted them to march up to the enemy, some shewed him their wounded bodies, others their hands nailed to their bucklers, and some their feet pierced through, and fixed to the

the

the ground; so that it was equally impossible for them either to attack the enemy or defend themselves. The young commander, therefore, leaving his infantry to the mercy of the enemy, advanced, at the head of the cavalry, against their heavy-armed horse. The thousand Gauls, whom he had brought with him from the West, charged the enemy with incredible vigour; but their lances did little execution on men armed with curiasses, and horses covered with tried armour: however, they behaved with great resolution; for some of them, taking hold of the enemies spears, and closing with them, threw them off their horses on the ground, where they lay, without being able to stir, occasioned by the great weight of their armour; others, dismounting, crept under the enemy's horses, and, thrusting their swords into their bellies, made them throw their riders. Thus the brave Gauls fought, though greatly harassed with heat and thirst, which they were not accustomed to bear, till most of their horses were killed, and their commander was dangerously wounded. Then they thought it adviseable to retire to their infantry, which they no sooner joined, than the Parthians invested them anew, making a most dreadful havock among them with their arrows. In this desperate condition, Crassus, spying a rising-ground at a distance, led the remains of his detachment thither, with a design to defend himself till succours should be sent from his father. The Parthians pursued, and having surrounded him in his new post, continued showering arrows upon his men, till most of them were either killed or disabled, without being able to make use of their arms, or give the enemy proofs of their valour.

Young Crassus had two Greeks with him, who had settled in the city of Carrhæ. These, touched with compassion at seeing so brave a man reduced to such straits, pressed him to retire with them to the neighbouring city of Ischnes, which had declared for the Romans; but the young Roman rejected their proposal with indignation, telling them, that he would rather die a thousand times than abandon so many valiant men, who had sacrificed their lives for his sake. Having returned this answer to his two Greek friends, he embraced and dismissed them, giving them leave to retire and shift for themselves. As for himself, having now lost all hopes of being relieved, and seeing most of his men and friends killed round him, he gave way to his grief; and not being able to make use of his arm, which was shot through with a large barbed arrow,

The gallant behaviour of young Crassus.

His death. arrow, he presented his side to one of his attendants, and ordered him to put an end to his unhappy life. His example was followed by Censorius, a senator, by Megabacchus, an experienced and brave officer, and by most of the nobility who served under him. Five hundred common soldiers were taken prisoners, and the rest cut in pieces.

*The whole
Parthian
army falls
upon Cras-
sus.*

The Parthians having thus cut off, or taken, the whole detachment commanded by young Crassus, marched, without delay, against his father, who, upon the first advice that the enemy fled before his son, had retired to a small hill in his rear, to wait there till he should return from the pursuit. Young Crassus had dispatched frequent expresses to acquaint him with the danger he was in; but they had fallen into the enemy's hands, and been by them put to the sword: only the last, who had escaped with great difficulty, arrived safe, and informed him, that his son would be lost, if he did not send him an immediate and powerful reinforcement. These news threw Crassus into the utmost consternation; a thousand affecting thoughts rose in his mind, and disturbed his reason to such a degree, that he scarce knew what he was doing. However, the desire he had of saving his son, and so many brave Romans, who were under his command, impelled him to decamp and march to their assistance; but he had not advanced far before he was met by the Parthians, who, with loud shouts, and songs of victory, gave, at a great distance, the unhappy father notice of his misfortune. They had cut off young Crassus's head, and, having fixed it on the point of a lance, were advancing full speed to fall on his father. As they drew near, Crassus was struck with that dismal and affecting sight, but, on this occasion, behaved like a hero; for though he was under the deepest concern, he had the presence of mind to stifle his grief, for fear of discouraging the army, and to cry out to the dismayed troops, "This misfortune is entirely mine; the loss of one man cannot affect the victory. Let us charge, let us fight like Romans: if you have any compassion for a father who has just now lost a son, whose valour you admired, let it appear in your rage and resentment against these insulting Barbarians." Thus Crassus strove to reanimate his troops; but his efforts were unsuccessful: their courage was quite sunk, as appeared from the faint and languishing shout which they raised, according to custom, before the action. When the signal was given, the Parthians, discharged clouds of
arrows

arrows on the legionaries, without drawing near them; which did such dreadful execution, that many of the Romans, to avoid the arrows, which occasioned a long and painful death, threw themselves, like men in despair, on the enemy's heavy-armed horse, seeking from their spears a more quick and easy kind of death. The Parthians continued in action till night, when they left the field of battle, crying out, that they would allow the father one night to lament the death of his son.

*Desperate
condition of
the Ro-
mans.*

This was a melancholy night for the Romans. Crassus kept himself concealed from the soldiery, lying not in the general's tent, but in the open air, and on the bare ground, with his head wrapped up in his paludamentum, or military cloak. Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius, endeavoured to raise him up, and console him; but seeing him quite sunk under the weight of his affliction, and deaf to all comfort, they summoned a council of war, composed of the chief officers; wherein it was unanimously resolved, that they should decamp before break of day, and retire, without sound of trumpet, to the neighbouring city of Carrhæ, which was held by a Roman garrison. Agreeable to this resolution, they began their march as soon as the council broke up; a motion which produced dreadful outcries among the sick and wounded, who, perceiving that they were to be abandoned to the mercy of the enemy, filled the camp with their complaints and lamentations: but their cries and tears, though very affecting, did not stop the march of the others, which, indeed, was very slow, to give the stragglers time to come up. There were only three hundred light-horse, under the command of one Ægnatius, who pursued their march, without stopping. These arriving at Carrhæ about midnight, Ægnatius, calling to the centinels on the walls, desired them to acquaint Coponius, governor of the place, that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians; and, without saying a word more, or letting them know who he was, continued his march with all possible expedition to the bridge of Zeugma; which he passed, and thus saved his troops, but was much blamed for abandoning his general.

*They re-
solve to
retire to
Carrhæ.*

However, the message he sent to Coponius was of great service to Crassus; for that commander, wisely conjecturing, from the manner in which the unknown person had given him that intelligence, that some misfortune had befallen Crassus, immediately ordered his garrison to stand to their arms, and, marching out, met Crassus, and conducted

*Crassus
gets to
Carrhæ.*

vited Crassus to an interview. So sudden a change seemed very suspicious to the proconsul, who therefore declined the interview, till he was forced, by his own soldiers, to intrust his life with an enemy whose treachery they had all experienced; for the legionaries flocking round him, not only abused him in an outrageous manner, but even menaced him, if he did not accept of the proposals made him by the Parthian general. Seeing therefore that his troops were ready to mutiny, he began to advance, without arms or guards, towards the enemy, after having called the gods, and his officers, to witness the violence his troops offered him; and entreated all who were present, but especially Octavius and Petronius, two of the chief commanders, for the honour of Rome their common mother, not to mention, after his death, the shameful behaviour of the Roman legionaries. Octavius and Petronius could not resolve to let him go alone, but attended him down the hill, as did likewise some legionaries, keeping at a distance. Crassus was met at the foot of the hill by two Greeks, who, dismounting from their horses, saluted him with great respect; and desired him, in the Greek tongue, to send some of his attendants, who might satisfy him, that Surenas, and those who were with him, came without arms. Crassus accordingly sent two brothers, of the Roscian family; but Surenas having caused them to be seized, advanced to the foot of the hill, mounted on a fine horse, and attended by the chief officers of his army. Crassus, who waited for the return of his two messengers, was surprised to see himself prevent by Surenas, in person. The Parthian general perceiving, as he approached Crassus, that he was on foot, exclaimed, "What do I see? a Roman general on foot, and we on horseback! Let a horse be brought for him immediately." "You need not be surprised, (replied Crassus), we are come only to an interview, each after the custom of his country." "Very well, answered Surenas), there shall be henceforth a lasting peace between king Orodes and the people of Rome; but we must sign the articles of it on the banks of the Euphrates; for you, Romans, do not always remember your conventions." Crassus would have sent for a horse; but a very stately steed, with a golden bit, and richly caparisoned, was brought to him by a Parthian; which Surenas presenting to him, "Accept this horse from my hands, (said he), which I give you, in the name of my master, king Orodes." He had scarce uttered these words, when some of the king's officers, taking Crassus

by the middle, set him upon the horse, which they began to scourge with great violence before them, in order to make him quicken his pace. Octavius, offended at this insult, took the horse by the bridle; Petronius, and the few Romans who were present, seconded him, and, flocking all round Crassus, stopped his horse. The Parthians endeavouring to repulse them, and clear the way, they began to jostle and push one another with great tumult and disorder. At last Octavius, drawing his sword, killed one of the king's grooms; but, at the same time, another coming behind Octavius, with one blow laid him dead at his feet. Both parties fought with great resolution, the Parthians striving to carry off Crassus, and the Romans endeavouring to rescue him. Most of the Romans who came to the conference were killed, and, among the rest, Crassus himself; but whether by a Roman or a Parthian, is uncertain (D). *Insulted by the Parthians, and killed.*

Upon his death, the rest of the army either surrendered to the enemy, or, dispersing in the night, were pursued, and put to the sword. The Romans lost in this campaign at least thirty thousand men, of which twenty thousand were killed, and ten thousand taken prisoners. The latter continued in captivity among the Parthians, and, contracting ignominious marriages, to the shame of Rome, grew old on the lands, and under the power, of the Barbarians. The standards of the vanquished legions were carried to Seleucia, and there shewn for many years; and, from this time, the Romans looked upon the war with the Parthians as the most important of all their wars, the revenging of the death of Crassus, and the recovering of their ensigns, being ever after the chief objects of their attention. *His whole army destroyed.*

Surenas, having thus entirely defeated the Roman army, set out on his march to Seleucia, spreading a report, that Crassus was still alive, and that he intended to shew him *Surenas's entry into Seleucia.*

(D) Some writers tell us, that he fell by the hand of one Prononæthros, or Manarthes, a Parthian; but others, with Livy (1), Florus (2), and Sextus Rufus (3), leave it in doubt, whether he was killed by his own men, to prevent his falling alive into the enemy's hands, or by the Parthians. However that be, his head and right hand were immediately cut off, in order to be sent to Orodes in Armenia; and his mangled body left unburied, to be devoured by the wild beasts.

(1) Liv. lib. cvi. (2) Flor. lib. iii. cap. 11. (3) Sext. Ruf. in Brev.

to the numerous inhabitants of that great metropolis. His design was to entertain them with a ludicrous scene, which he projected on his march: there was among the Roman captives one Caius Paccianus, who greatly resembled the proconsul Crassus: this man Surenas caused to be dressed after the Parthian manner; and having placed him on a stately horse, made him enter Seleucia at the head of the army, with twelve lictors, carrying before him their fasces and axes. The guards of this mock consul were mounted on camels, each of them having an empty purse hanging at his girdle. The bloody heads of several Roman soldiers, stuck on spears, served for trophies, and revived in the minds of the inhabitants of Seleucia the joy which the first news of the late victory had occasioned in that city. This train was followed by a company of lewd women, who, with loose songs stigmatized the memory and character of Crassus. When the shew was over, Surenas produced, in the presence of the senate of Seleucia, a collection of lascivious tales, then known by the title of the Milesian Fables, which a Parthian soldier had found in rifling the baggage of a young Roman, whom Plutarch calls Rustius. The general took occasion from thence to inveigh against the debauchery of the Romans, who put such infamous books into the hands of their youth, and corrupted their minds with lewd fables, instead of forming their bodies for the exercise of war.

*The head
of Crassus
sent to
Orodes.*

When the battle of Carrhæ was fought, king Orodes was in Armenia, where he had concluded a peace with Artabazus; for the king of Armenia, on the return of the expresses he had sent to Crassus, perceiving, by the false measures the Roman had taken, that the army under his command would be infallibly lost, had entered into a treaty of friendship with the Parthian, and cemented it by giving one of his daughters in marriage to Pacorus the son of Orodes. While the two kings were solemnizing their new alliance with public feasts, Syllaces, or Syllaces, a Parthian officer, whom Surenas had sent with the news of his late victory, and the head of Crassus as a proof of it, arrived in the capital of Armenia. The two kings were at table, and Jafon, a tragedian of Trallis, was singing some verses out of the Bacchis of Euripides, when the messenger was introduced, and presented Orodes with the head of Crassus, saying, "Surenas sends you the head of the

* Plutarch, *ibid.*

Roman

Roman general, who has been cut in pieces, with his whole army." The transports of joy which Orodes felt at this fight, and these words, are not to be expressed: the lords of both kingdoms, who attended their sovereigns, raised loud and repeated shouts of joy; and Syllaces was ordered to give a more particular account of that memorable action: then Orodes commanded melted gold to be poured into Crassus's mouth, reproaching him with avarice, which had been always his predominant passion.

Surenas did not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory; for Orodes, jealous of his glory, and great authority among the Parthians, caused him to be put to death soon after this victory, placing Pacorus, his favourite son, at the head of the army in his room. The young prince, agreeable to his father's directions, marched into Syria, which the Parthians expected to find without defence, after the late defeat of the Roman army; but Cassius, the only general officer who survived the defeat of Crassus, meeting them on the frontiers, at the head of five hundred horse, who had escaped with him out of Mesopotamia, and some Asiatic levies, gave them so warm a reception, that they thought it adviseable to retreat to their own territories, and there raise more forces for a second invasion. Accordingly, they repassed the Euphrates; and, having spent the winter in making new preparations, early in the spring they again crossed the Euphrates, and re-entered Syria with a very numerous army, under the command of Orsaces, an old and experienced commander; for Pacorus, the king's son, being then but fifteen years of age, had only the name of general. Orsaces reduced, without opposition, such places as lay in his way; and, being master of all the country between the Euphrates and the city of Antioch, closely besieged that metropolis, Cassius having shut himself up in it, as not having sufficient forces to keep the field, and to oppose so powerful an enemy. In the mean time Cicero, to whom the province of Cilicia had been assigned, being informed by Antiochus, king of Comagene, that Cassius was besieged in Antioch by the Parthians, and that the king of Armenia was ready to fall upon Cappadocia, drew together a body of forces, and marched to the eastern borders of his province lying next to Armenia, with a design to prevent the Armenians from invading Cappadocia, and to be, at the same time, ready to assist Cassius, in case the Parthians

*Surenas
put to
death.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2298.
Ante Chr.
50.*

*The Par-
thians in-
vade Sy-
ria;*

• Flor. lib. iii. cap. 11. Sext. Ruf. in Brev. Dio Cass. lib. xl.

*but are
driven out
with great
loss by Ci-
cero and
Cassius.*

should pursue the siege of Antioch with vigour. He likewise sent another body of troops to Mount Amanus, with the same view, which, falling in with a great party of Parthian horse, that had entered Cilicia through the streights of that mountain, cut them all off to a man. The news of this defeat, and of Cicero's approach to Antioch, greatly encouraged Cassius, and his soldiers, to make a vigorous defence, and so disheartened the Parthians, that, despairing to carry the place, they raised the siege; and, marching to Antigonía, another city in that neighbourhood, attempted to reduce it: but, as they were quite unacquainted with the manner of managing sieges, their chief force consisting in cavalry, they were attended with no better success there, and were soon obliged to retire. Cassius, who was apprised of the route they would take, drew them into an ambuscade, in which great numbers of them were cut off, with Orfices their leader. Those who had the good fortune to escape, repassed the Euphrates with Pacorus; but returned again, with new forces, towards the end of the summer, and wintered in Cyrrhestica, a northern province of Syria^t.

*Return,
and besiege
Antioch.*

When the season was proper for action, the Parthians took the field; and, marching to Antioch, besieged that city a second time, and M. Calpurnius Bibulus, with all his forces in it; for the province of Syria had been allotted to him, and Cassius, who had defended it without any legal commission, was now returned to Rome. As Bibulus was no warrior, he did not make one sally, but kept his troops within the walls, suffering the enemy to carry on their works without the least molestation: he would not even acquaint Cicero, who was still in Cilicia, with the danger he was in, and was heard to say, that he had rather be reduced to the utmost extremity, than seem to stand in need of his assistance. However, his lieutenants wrote both to Cicero, and to Thermus, prætor of Asia, soliciting them to hasten to their relief; but, before their arrival, Bibulus effected by craft what he dared not attempt by force; for, having, by his emissaries, encouraged Ordonopantes, a nobleman of Parthia, who had been disgusted by Orodes, to raise a rebellion in the heart of the kingdom, the army before Antioch was recalled, to suppress it; by which means the siege of Antioch was raised, and all Syria delivered from the danger it was in of falling under the power of the Parthians.

*The siege
raised.*

^t Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 12. & de Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 6. Dio Cass. lib. xl. Plut. in Cicer.

We find no farther mention made of the Parthians from this time to the breaking out of the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, when the latter sent ambassadors to solicit succours from Orodes; which that prince was willing to grant, on condition that Syria should be ceded to him: but Pompey refusing to comply with his demand, he not only denied him the succours he required, but, after the battle of Pharfalia, put in irons Lucius Hirtius, whom Pompey had sent to implore his assistance anew, or, at least, to obtain leave to shelter himself in the Parthian dominions^u. Cæsar had no sooner vanquished Pompey and settled his affairs at Rome, than he began to make great preparations, with a design to invade Parthia, and revenge the defeat and death of Crassus at Carrhæ; but, when all things were ready for his expedition, he was killed, and the Parthians, by his death, were delivered from a war, which, in all likelihood, would have proved fatal to their nation^w. Not long after this event, the eastern provinces being allotted to Marc Antony, in the famous partition of the Roman empire between him, Octavianus, and Lepidus, the cities of Syria, being grievously oppressed with the taxes Marc Antony laid on them, rose up in arms; and, having killed those who were sent to gather them, invited the Parthians to their assistance, assuring them, that they were ready to join them, and drive out the Romans. On this invitation, the Parthians passed the Euphrates with a powerful army, under the command of Pacorus, and Labienus, a Roman general of Pompey's party. Labienus, on entering Syria, was met by Saxa, Antony's lieutenant, whom he overthrew in battle, obliging him to shelter himself in Cilicia. After this victory, having divided his army into two bodies, he marched with one after Saxa, into Cilicia, where he killed him: over-ran all Asia Minor; and, having obliged Plancus, Antony's other lieutenant in those parts, to fly to the islands, subjected all the places as far as the Hellespont and the Ægean Sea^x. At the same time Pacorus, with the other part of the army, reduced all Syria and Phœnice, as far as Tyré, which was the only city that resisted him, being defended by the Romans, who, from all parts, had flocked thither as to a place of refuge. Thus the Parthians made themselves masters of all Syria, Asia Minor, and Phœnice, except Tyré; and exercised

The Parthians invade Syria, under the command of Pacorus and Labienus.

Their conquests in Syria, Phœnice, and Asia Minor, &c.

^u Dio, lib. xli. xlii. ^w Plut. in Cæs. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. ^x Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 5.

their power even in Judæa, where they plundered Jerusalem, drove Hyrcanus from the throne, and placed Antigonus on it in his room, in the manner we have related in the history of the Jews.

*Ventidius
sent against
them.*

But they did not long enjoy their new conquests; for Antony, after his reconciliation with Octavianus, having sent Ventidius, one of his lieutenants, against them, that general was attended with such success, that the Parthians were soon obliged to quit all they had taken, and repass the Euphrates. Ventidius arriving in Asia much sooner than he was expected, surprised Labienus, before he was in a condition to withstand him, having no Parthian troops, but only a few Roman deserters, and a small body of raw and undisciplined Asiatics, collected in Syria, Phœnicie, and Asia Minor; wherefore, not daring to stand the approach of a Roman army, he retired as fast as Ventidius advanced, to Mount Taurus, where he encamped so advantageously, that he could not be forced to a battle,

*Gains
great ad-
vantages
over them.*

and then sent to Pacorus for assistance. Pacorus immediately dispatched the flower of his army to the relief of Labienus; but the Parthians, despising the Romans, on account of their late victories over them, engaged Ventidius before Labienus could join them, and were entirely defeated. The news of this defeat so disheartened those who were with Labienus, that they all abandoned him, every one shifting for himself. Ventidius pursued them, slew some of them, and took the rest into his service. Labienus made his escape in disguise; but, after having lurked for some time in Cilicia, he was at last discovered by Demetrius, governor of Cyprus, taken, and put to death¹. After this victory, Ventidius, having made himself master of all Cilicia, marched to Mount Amanus, which parted that province from Syria, and there met another army of Parthians, who, under the command of Pharnapates, one of Pacorus's lieutenants, had seized the passes leading into Syria, in order to obstruct his progress; but the Roman general cut most of them in pieces, killed their general, and, having gained a second victory as considerable as the former, pursued his march, without any more opposition, into Syria. Pacorus, having assembled all his forces, hastened to the Euphrates, which he repassed, leaving the Romans masters of all the countries on this side that river².

*Labienus
taken, and
put to
death.*

¹ Dio, lib. xlviii. p. 380, 381. Appian. in Parthic. = Dio. Appian. ibid. Liv. Epit. lib. cxxvii. Flor. lib. iv. cap. 9. Plut. in Anton.

Antony, who was then celebrating his nuptials with his new wife Octavia at Athens, being informed of the victories gained by Ventidius, made great rejoicings in that city; but hearing at the same time that Pacorus was making great preparations for another invasion, he resolved to head his army in person, and not suffer his lieutenant to reap the whole glory of the war. Wherefore, early in the spring, he left Athens, with all his forces, and marched towards the East; but, before he joined the army, Ventidius had gained a third victory over the Parthians, far more glorious than the other two. It was obtained in the following manner: Ventidius, fearing lest the Parthians, whose preparations were much advanced, should pass the Euphrates before he had time to draw all his troops together from their different quarters, had recourse to the following stratagem: there was one Chaunæus, a petty eastern prince, in his camp, under the character of an ally, entirely attached to the interest of the Parthians, with whom Ventidius knew he kept a private correspondence, communicating to them all the intelligence he could procure of the counsels and designs of the Romans. This man's treachery Ventidius resolved to improve to his own advantage. Taking the first opportunity that offered of conversing with him, and seeming to repose in him an entire confidence, he told him he had heard, with concern, that the Parthians did not design to pass the Euphrates at Zeugma, as usual, but to enter Syria another way, at a passage much below the former; "for if they pass at Zeugma, said he, the country on this side the Euphrates is so mountainous, that the cavalry, in which the whole force of their army consists, can do us no great hurt; but in case they take the lower passage, the country being there all plain and level, they will have so great an advantage over us, that it will be impossible to make head against them." This conference was no sooner over, than the treacherous Chaunæus conveyed a full account of it to the Parthians, with whom it had the desired effect. Pacorus, instead of keeping the road to Zeugma, took the other route, and in that march lost forty days; during which Ventidius, being joined by Silo, Antony's lieutenant in Palestine, and by all the legions which were quartered on the other side Mount Taurus, found himself in a condition to give them a warm reception when they entered Syria.

Ventidius turns the treachery of Chaunæus to his advantage.

As they met with no opposition, either in passing the river, or advancing into Syria, they ascribed his inactivity

to fear; and therefore, with great boldness, went to attack the Romans in their camp, on the top of a steep hill. This attack Ventidius expected. Sallying out upon them, therefore, at the head of his legionaries, as they were ascending the hill, he put them in disorder, by the advantage of the ground, and pursued them with great slaughter into the plain, where they rallied, and made a most vigorous resistance; the victory being doubtful, till Pacorus was killed, fighting with incredible bravery at the head of the Parthian horse. His death was followed by the flight of the whole army, every individual striving to regain the bridge, in order to retire into his own country; but Ventidius, with a strong detachment of horse, cut off their retreat; so that only a small number escaped by flight, and retired into the dominions of Antiochus, king of Comagene: the rest were all put to the sword. This victory, which fully revenged the death of Crassus, and the Romans who were killed with him, was gained on the same day of the year, on which, fourteen years before, the famous battle of Carrhæ had been lost.

*Pacorus
killed, and
his army
entirely
cut off by
Ventidius.*

*Orodes
almost
distressed
with grief.*

Orodes, when he heard of the defeat of his army, and the death of his son, was so overwhelmed with grief, that for some days he abstained from food, unable to utter a single word. When he recovered the use of his tongue, he acted and spoke in such a manner, as plainly shewed that sorrow had affected his understanding; for nothing was heard from him but the name of Pacorus, his dear Pacorus. Sometimes he talked to him as if he had been present, commended his gallant behaviour, and launched out on the happiness of a father, who was blessed with such a son. At other times, remembering that he was dead, he burst into tears, and was ready to lay violent hands on himself; and indeed never was grief more just, for this was the most fatal blow the Parthian monarchy had ever received; and the loss of the young prince was as great as that of the army, he being extolled by all the ancients as the most worthy person for justice, clemency, valour, and all other princely qualities, that the royal family of Arsaces had ever produced.

*The excel-
lent qua-
lities of
Pacorus.*

Had Ventidius pursued the advantages of this victory, he might have driven the Parthians quite out of Mesopotamia and Babylonia, and extended the boundaries of the

* Liv. lib. cxxviii. Flor. lib. iv. cap. 9. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 731. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 78. A. Gell. lib. xv. cap. 4. Justin. lib. xlii. cap. 4. Plut. in Anton. Frontin. Stratagem. lib. i. cap. 1. & lib. ii. cap. 2. Dio, lib. xlix.

Roman empire to the Tigris; but being afraid of giving umbrage to Antony, with whose jealous temper he was well acquainted, he contented himself with reducing those places in Syria and Phœnice which had revolted from the Romans in the late war. Pursuant to this plan, he was, with his whole army, in Comagene, making war upon Antiochus, king of that country, for siding with the Parthians, when Antony arriving, took the command of the army upon himself, and dismissed Ventidius. His pretence for this dismissal was, that Ventidius deserved a triumph, and ought to go to Rome, to ask it of the senate; but the true motive, that prompted him to act in this manner, was, that he envied him the great glory he had acquired, and the reputation he was in with the army. Ventidius, on his return to Rome, was received there with all marks of honour, and granted a triumph, with the general applause of the whole city (E).

Antony dismisses Ventidius, and takes the command of the army on himself.

Ventidius obtains a triumph.

(E) In his triumph two very remarkable circumstances concurred; the one, that he was the only Roman who ever triumphed over the Parthians, no one having, either before or after him, attained to that honour. The other circumstance, no less remarkable, was, that he triumphed after having been led in triumph himself; for in the Social War, being made a captive at the taking of Asculum, the chief city of Picenum, by Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, he was, with his father and mother, who carried him in her arms, led before the triumphal chariot of that general. Afterwards, his family being brought to poverty by the ruin of their city, he was obliged, when grown up, to betake himself to a mean and sordid employment for his livelihood; for at first he was only a muleteer, and being used to provide mules to

carry the baggage of such Roman magistrates as were sent to govern foreign provinces, Cæsar employed him in this capacity when he first went into Gaul; and having, on that occasion, observed in him a great quickness of apprehension and activity, took him into his province, and put him in the way to rise to great preferments; for he first gave him a small command in the army, from which he raised himself, by his distinguished merit, through all the stations of the camp to the highest post in the army, and became one of Cæsar's chief generals in all the wars he waged afterwards. Upon his death, he sided with Antony, distinguished himself at Mutina and Perugia, and was at last sent as Antony's lieutenant into the East, where he gained the victories over the Parthians which we have mentioned (1).

(1) Plut. Appian. Dio. Cass. *ibid.* A. Gell. lib. xv. cap. 4. Vell. Paternul. lib. ii. cap. 63. Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 9. Plin. lib. vii. cap. 43.

Yr. of Fl.
2312.
Ante Chr.
36.

*Orodes
murdered
by his son
Phraates.*

*Antony un-
dertakes
a war
against the
Parthians.*

In the mean time Orodes, being in some degree recovered from the distraction of mind, which the death of his son Pacorus had occasioned, appointed Phraates, the eldest, but the most wicked of all his children, to succeed him in the throne, admitting him, at the same time, to a share of the regal power. Phraates no sooner saw himself vested with the sovereign authority, than he caused all his brothers by the daughter of Antiochus Eusebes, king of Syria, to be put to death, because they were of a more noble descent than himself. As this barbarity was highly resented by his father, he attempted to put him to death also, by giving him a potion of the poisonous juice of hemlock; but that proving only a medicine against the dropsy, which grief had brought upon the king, the cruel and unnatural son caused him to be stifled in his bed, and soon after dispatched all his brothers, who were thirty in number. The same cruelty he exercised over the nobility, and all the rest of the royal family, not sparing his eldest son, lest the discontented Parthians should place him, as he was already of age, on the throne. Hereupon many of the chief lords of Parthia, quitting their own country, took refuge in Syria, under the protection of Antony. Among these was one Monæses, a man of great distinction, who having gained the confidence of Antony, prevailed upon him to engage in a war with the Parthians, his countrymen ^b.

As Antony had, by means of his lieutenant Publius Canidius, reduced the Armenians, Albanians, and Iberians, and carried his victorious arms as far as Mount Caucasus, he was easily persuaded to embark in a war which he had long designed, all the Romans, who served under him, earnestly pressing him to revenge the death of Crassus, and their countrymen, who had perished with him at Carrhæ. Accordingly, he began to make preparations for so great an undertaking; and as he formed all his schemes for the carrying of it on by the advice of Monæses, in order to attach him the more to his service, he allowed him the revenues of three cities for his maintenance, in this imitating the generosity of Xerxes towards Themistocles; and promised to place him on the throne of Parthia, on his conquering that country. In the mean time Phraates, dreading the advantage which the enemy might draw from the advice of so wise and able a counsellor, who was well acquainted with the country, sent

^b Justin. lib. xlii. cap. 4. Dio. Cass. lib. xlix. Plut. in Crass.

a solemn embassy to invite him home, on such terms as the banished Parthian thought fit to accept. This accommodation greatly provoked Antony; but, nevertheless, he did not use any violence, for fear of discouraging others from revolting. He therefore dismissed him with great civility, and sent ambassadors with him to Phraates, to treat of a peace, hoping thus to divert that prince from making the necessary preparations for a war, and to fall upon him before he was in a condition to defend himself: but herein Antony was greatly disappointed; for, on his arrival at the Euphrates, which he intended to pass, and enter the Parthian dominions on that side, he found all the passes so well guarded on the other bank, that he thought it adviseable to march off to the left, with a design to reduce Media, and from thence invade Parthia.

Inva-des Media.

This plan had been suggested to him before by Artabazus, king of Armenia, who, having a difference with Artavasdes, king of Media, had pressed Antony to take that route, with no other view than to distress the Median, his rival. Antony had rejected it, when first proposed, intending to invade the Parthian dominions by the nearest way over the Euphrates; but not succeeding, he accepted the proposal of the Armenian, who, in the end, betrayed him; for, instead of conducting him the strait way from Zeugma, on the Euphrates, to the river Araxes, which parted Media from Armenia, and was near five hundred miles distant from the place whence he first set out, he led him over rocks and mountains so far about, that the army had marched above a thousand miles, before they reached the borders of Media^c, where they intended to begin the war; so that they were not only greatly fatigued, but had not sufficient time, the year being already far advanced, to put in execution the design of their expedition. However, Antony being in great haste to return to Cleopatra, left behind him most of the baggage of the army, and three hundred waggons loaded with battering-rams, and other military engines for sieges, ordering Statianus, one of his lieutenants, with a body of ten thousand men, to guard, and bring them, by slower marches, after the army. With the rest of the forces he hastened forward, and marched three hundred miles more, without allowing his army any respite, till he arrived at Praaspa, or, as others call it, Phraata, the capital of Media; which he immediately invested: but, as the place

His long and fatiguing march.

Bese-ges Praaspa.

^c Dio Cass. & Plut. *ibid.* Strabo, lib. xi. & xvi.

*Statianus
cut off
with ten
thousand
Romans.*

was well fortified, he was soon made sensible of his mistake in leaving behind his battering-rams, and other military engines; for, without them, he could make no progress in the siege; and when the Median and Parthian forces came up with him, they did not think it necessary to attack him, but pursued their march, with a design to prevent Statianus from joining him with the heavy carriages, without which, they knew, he could never make himself master of the city. Statianus did not expect them; and therefore, being attacked before he had time to draw up his men, was cut off, with the whole body under his command, which amounted to ten thousand men. All the baggage and military engines were taken, and, among the rest, a battering-ram, eighty-feet long. Polerno, king of Pontus, was made prisoner, and, with him, a few Romans, to whom the Parthians gave quarter at the end of the slaughter; but all the rest were put to the sword^d.

*Antony
gains some
small ad-
vantages
over the
enemy;*

*but is re-
duced to
great diffi-
culties.*

Statianus, on his first discovering the enemy, had dispatched an express to Antony, who made all the haste he could to his assistance; but he came too late, and found, on his arrival, Statianus, and all his detachment, dead on the field of battle: but, as no enemy appeared, he returned to the siege, where he was daily harassed by the garrison within, and by the enemy's army without. If he sent out small parties to forage, they were generally cut off by the Parthian cavalry; and if he detached large bodies, those who remained were not able to stand the repeated sallies of the numerous garrison. To obviate these inconveniencies, Antony attempted to draw the enemy to a general engagement, and twice succeeded, but without reaping from thence any advantage; for though he put the enemy to flight in both engagements, yet the loss they sustained was very inconsiderable, the Parthians preventing, by the swiftness of their horses, the evil consequences which generally attend defeats. In the last he thought his victory complete, and pursued it to the utmost; but found that he had killed only eighty of the enemy's men, and taken thirty prisoners, during the whole action. However, he continued before Phraata till his provisions were near exhausted, and the forage round the country quite consumed, when he began to think of a retreat, as he had lost all hopes of making himself master of the besieged city; but as he was to march three hun-

^d Strabo, lib. xi. p. 523. Dio Cass. p. 407. Yell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 32. Plut. in Anton.

dred miles through the enemy's country, he sent ambassadors to Phraates, to acquaint him, that the Roman people were willing to grant him a lasting peace, provided he would return the standards and prisoners taken at Carrhæ. Phraates received the ambassadors, sitting on a golden throne; and, after having inveighed against the avarice and unbounded ambition of the Romans, told them that he would not part with the standards and captives taken at Carrhæ, but would allow Antony to retire unmolested, provided he withdrew immediately from before Phraata.

Antony, who was reduced to great difficulties, no sooner received this answer than he raised the siege, and began his march towards Armenia, hoping that Phraates would observe his promise: but he was greatly disappointed; for the Parthians attacked him eighteen times, with all their forces, before he reached the Araxes, which was the boundary of the Median territories. It is true, he always repulsed them, but not without great loss on his side; whereas that of the Parthians, being all horsemen, was very inconsiderable, occasioned by their quick retreats. The Romans were very fortunate in their guide, who, being a native of Mardia, a country bordering on Media and Armenia, was well acquainted with the roads and bye-ways, and conducted them with great fidelity. However, the army was thrice in imminent danger of being entirely cut off by ambuscades, which they could not possibly have escaped, had they not received notice of them from the enemy's quarters. Monæses twice forewarned Antony of them, by a messenger sent to him for that purpose, in return for the kindness shewn him during his banishment. The other time he had his intelligence from an old Roman soldier, who had continued among the Parthians ever since the battle of Carrhæ, and came to the Roman camp, to acquaint his countrymen with the danger. This painful march lasted twenty-seven days, during which time they were not only incessantly harassed by the Parthian archers, but greatly distressed for want of provisions, the parties that went out to forage being generally cut off, and their beasts of burden either dead, or employed in carrying the sick and wounded. A quart of wheat was sold in camp for fifty drachmas, and barley-loaves for their weight in silver: at last they were reduced to live upon such roots and herbs as they found in the fields, which occasioned many distempers. When the famine began to rage in the camp, some, to avoid it, fled to the enemy, but were by the Parthians cruelly murdered,

*Antony
raises the
siege of
Praaspa.*

*Harassed
by the Par-
thians in
his retreat.*

*Greatly
distressed
for want
of provi-
sions.*

Antony reduced to despair.

Arrives safe at the Araxes.

dered, in the sight of the rest. This barbarity put a stop to their deserting, and proved very advantageous to Antony, who would have been left alone, had the enemy treated kindly such as took refuge with them. Antony, seeing his men dying every day in great numbers, was often heard to cry out, "O, the ten thousand!" admiring the conduct of Xenophon, who marched a longer way through the enemy's country; and, notwithstanding all opposition, led his troops safe home. At length the army began to mutiny, and falling upon those who had gold or silver, plundered and murdered them, rifled Antony's baggage, seized on his money and plate, and committed many other disorders. The general, quite disheartened, retired to his tent, where, calling one of his freed-men, ordered him to kill him, and, after his death, to cut off his head, and conceal it, lest it should fall into the enemy's hands, and be insulted, as that of Crassus had been; but the Mardian guide coming into his tent in the mean time, prevailed upon him to forbear using any violence on himself, by assuring him that the worst of the march was over; and that he was at a small distance from the river Araxes, beyond which the Parthians would not continue the pursuit. Accordingly, he arrived in a few days at that river, and crossed it, without being disturbed in the least by the enemy. The soldiers, seeing themselves out of the enemy's reach, and in a place of safety, fell down on the ground, and kissed it, embracing one another with tears of joy^c (F).

Antony

• Plut. Dio Cass. Justin. Flor. ibid.

(F) Antony committed, without all doubt, many mistakes in the management of this war, but none in his retreat; for all the ancients do him the justice to own, that he conducted it with as much art and success as it was capable of. He lost, indeed, a great many men; for, on his reviewing his forces after he had passed the Araxes, he found twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, missing; but the greater part of these had perished by the hardships of the campaign, and very few by the enemy's sword.

The greatest error he committed in this fatal undertaking, was his obstinately pursuing his march, after he had, with the utmost difficulty, got back into Armenia; for, instead of putting the remainder of his army into winter-quarters, and allowing them time to refresh themselves after so long and fatiguing a march, as he was in haste to get back to Cleopatra, he continued his march, though winter was far advanced, through Armenia, which was then covered with snow; and, in that mountainous

Antony was no sooner returned from this expedition, than the kings of Media and Parthia disagreeing about the booty they had taken on the defeat of Statianus, the former sent an embassy, offering to join him, with all his forces, against the latter. Antony accepted his offer with great joy, because he was informed, at the same time, that the Parthians, not able to endure the tyranny and cruelty of their king, had taken up arms against him, and were greatly divided among themselves. These circumstances offered him a favourable opportunity of repairing, by a new expedition, the miscarriages of the former. Accordingly, he resolved to embrace it; and leaving Egypt, hastened into Syria, there to make the necessary preparations for a second invasion; but Cleopatra feigning, that his absence had thrown her into a languishing distemper, and that she could not live without him, he was so infatuated as to believe her; and relinquishing all thoughts of revenging his late losses, to drop the enterprize, and return to the embraces of his beloved Egyptian^f. However, he sent such a body of Roman troops to the assistance of Artavasdes, king of Media, as enabled him to gain a complete victory over Phraates, king of Parthia; but the ensuing year, a war breaking out between Antony and Octavianus, the former not only recalled the troops he had sent to the assistance of Artavasdes, but also retained those which Artavasdes had sent him in their room: by which means the king of Media was entirely defeated in a second battle, and taken prisoner by Phraates, who, pursuing his victory, reduced all Media, and likewise Armenia, restoring to that throne Artaxias, the son of Artabazus, who had been driven from it by Antony.

Resolves on a second expedition against the Parthians; but is diverted from it by Cleopatra.

Media reduced by Phraates.

^f Plut. in Anton. Dio Cass. lib. xlix. p. 411.

ous country, lost eight thousand more of his men, who perished by reason of the hard season, and excessive cold; so that, according to the most moderate calculation, he lost in all thirty-two thousand men (1). Florus tells us (2), that he did not bring back the third part of his army, which, at first setting out on this destructive undertaking, consisted of a hundred

thousand men. He was not indeed overcome in battle, as Crassus had been; but if we compare the losses of both generals, we shall find Antony's expedition to have been the most unfortunate of the two; and yet, on his return into Egypt, he had the confidence to assume such honours as were due only to conquerors.

(1) Plut. & Dio Cass. *ibid*.

(2) Flor. lib. iv. cap. 10.

Phraates,

*Civil dis-
sensons
among the
Parthians.*

Phraates, elated with this success, began to oppress his subjects in a most cruel and tyrannical manner; whereupon the Parthian nobility, conspiring against him, drove him from the throne, and placed on it, in his room, Tiridates, one of their own body; but the next year Phraates returned into Parthia, at the head of a numerous army; and, having overcome his rival in a pitched battle, recovered his crown. Tiridates took refuge in Syria, where Octavianus found him, after the death of Antony; and was warmly solicited to lend him his assistance against Phraates. At the same time ambassadors arrived from Phraates, on the contrary side: Octavianus received them both in a very friendly manner, without intending to help either, but rather to incense them against each other; and, by that means, to weaken the power and strength of that formidable empire. With this view he gave Tiridates leave to continue in Syria till he should be in a condition to make head against his rival, accepting from him a son of Phraates, who had fallen into his hands. This son he carried with him to Rome, where he kept him as a hostage^z. Not long after, Tiridates returned into Parthia, and drove out Phraates; but was soon expelled again by him, in his turn. Phraates was assisted by the Scythians, who not only reinstated him in his kingdom, but supported him in it with a powerful army. Hereupon Tiridates, with the leading men of his party, fled to Rome, to implore the assistance and protection of Augustus, promising to hold the kingdom of him, provided he was restored to it by his means. Phraates, hearing he had fled to Rome, dispatched ambassadors thither, to traverse his designs, and to demand of Augustus the delivery of his rebellious subjects, and the release of his son, whom Tiridates had put into his hands. Augustus received Tiridates, as well as the ambassadors, with particular marks of esteem; but answered, that he would not deliver Tiridates into the hands of Phraates, nor lend either of them assistance against the other. However, to gratify both in some measure, he gave Tiridates leave to continue at Rome, ordering him, out of the public treasury, a maintenance suitable to his rank, and sent back to Phraates his son, on his promising to restore the captives and standards that had been taken from Crassus and Antony^h.

^z Dio Cass. lib. li. p. 456. Plut. ibid. Justin. lib. xlii. cap. 4.

^h Justin. ibid. Dio Cass. lib. liii.

This promise Phraates could not prevail upon himself to perform, till Augustus repaired in person to Syria, three years after this period; when dreading a foreign war, as he was greatly hated by his subjects on account of his cruelty, he sent ambassadors to conclude an alliance with the people of Rome: and on this occasion he restored all the captives and ensigns which the Parthians had taken in their wars with Crassus and Antony. At the same time, he agreed to such terms of peace as Augustus thought proper to impose; giving four of his sons, with their wives and children, as hostages for the performance of articles¹ (G).

¹ Liv. lib. cxxxix. Flor. lib. iv. cap. ult. Strab. lib. ii. p. 288. & lib. xvi. p. 748. Vel Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 91. Justin. lib. xiii. cap. ult. Dio, lib. liv. p. 52. Eutrop. lib. vii. Oros. lib. vi. cap. 21.

(G) The ensigns Augustus caused to be hung up in a temple, which he built, and consecrated to Mars Twice the Revenger; and appointed Circensian sports to be annually solemnized in memory of his victory at Philippi (for, before that battle, he had vowed the temple to Mars), and of his recovering the Roman ensigns from the Parthians (1). Justin observes here (2), that Augustus did more by the greatness of his name, than any other could have done by a long and expensive war; but Tacitus (3) tells us, that Phraates was induced to comply with the demands of Augustus, not for fear of him, but because he distrusted his own subjects. Strabo (4), and Josephus (5) agreeing with Tacitus, relate the matter in the following manner: a very beautiful Italian woman, by name Thermusa, having been

formerly sent by Augustus to Phraates as a present, the king kept her at first as his concubine; but afterwards, on her bringing him a son, married her, and declared her queen. In this station she gained an absolute ascendant over him, which she made use of to secure the succession to her son. With this view she proposed to Phraates the delivering up of his other sons, who were four in all, to the Romans; and he readily came into the proposal, as not thinking himself safe against his discontented subjects, so long as there were any of the royal race of Arsaces of an age fit to govern. On this consideration, when hostages were demanded by Augustus, for securing the terms of their agreement, he delivered up to him his four sons, Saraspades, Cerospades, Phraates, and Vonnones, two of their wives, and four of their sons.

(1) Vide Ovid. Fast. lib. v. & Horat. lib. iv. ad ult. (2) Justin. lib. xlii. cap. 5. (3) Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 1. (4) Strab. lib. vi. p. 288. (5) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 3.

These were all carried to Rome, where they remained many years ; but a fifth son, whom he had by Thermusa, named Phraatices, was educated at home, and appointed to succeed his father. The Parthians were so superstitiously addicted to the family of Arsaces, that Phraates knew they would bear with him, notwithstanding their hatred, as long as they had no other of the same race to set up in his room ; and therefore it was not for fear of Augustus, as some write, but for his own safety, that he readily yielded up to him his four sons, who being of an age to govern, gave him no small jealousy. But what he thus projected for his safety, proved at last his ruin ; for, as soon as Phraatices was of age, Thermusa, impatient to see him on the throne, poisoned her husband, to make room for him the sooner^k.

Phraatices.

But he was scarce seated on the throne, when the Parthians, disdaining to be governed by so wicked a paricide, rose up in arms, and drove him into banishment, where he perished some years after. In his room they placed one Orodes, who was of the royal family of Arsaces, but generally hated, on account of his cruel and savage temper : however, they preferred him to the sons of Phraatices, who, by their father, were descended from the Italian concubine Thermusa ; but not being able to bear his unheard-of cruelties, they assassinated him soon after, at a banquet. Upon his death they dispatched ambassadors to Rome, intreating Augustus to send one of the sons of Phraates to rule over them. The emperor readily granted them Vonones, who was received at first with great demonstrations of joy ; but as he betrayed a great inclination to the Romans, and affected their dress and manners, the Parthians grew soon weary of their new king ; and, disdaining to obey, as they expressed it, a Roman slave, had recourse to Artabanus, king of Media, who was likewise of the race of Arsaces, inviting him to take possession of the crown of Parthia.

Orodes II.

Vonones.

Artabanus.

Artabanus willingly complied with their request ; but being encountered on the frontiers by Vonones, was by him defeated, though he had a considerable army, and obliged to retreat into Media. There he raised new forces ; and, in a second engagement obtained a complete victory over Vonones, who took shelter in Armenia, where he was kindly received, and entertained by some of the chief lords of that country : but Artabanus threat-

^k Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 749.

ening to invade Armenia, Vonones thought proper to retire from thence, after having solicited, in vain, the assistance of Tiberius, by a solemn embassy sent to Rome for that purpose. From Armenia the unhappy prince withdrew into Syria, and there delivered himself up to Creticus Silanus, governor of that province, who, in consequence of his being educated at Rome, suffered him to live at Antioch, with the pomp and title of a king. He was afterwards removed by Germanicus from Antioch to Pompeiopolis, in Cilicia^a, whence he made his escape, though kept under a strict guard; but being soon after retaken, was killed by one Remmius, a Roman soldier¹. Germanicus had removed him from Antioch to Pompeiopolis, at the request of Artabanus, and also because he was in high favour with Cneius Piso, to whose wife, Plancia, he made rich presents, having brought with him into Syria immense treasures^m.

Artabanus, having now no competitor to contend with, began to treat his subjects with great cruelty: whereupon some Parthian lords, among whom were Sinnaces, a man of great power and credit, and an eunuch named Abdus, entering into a plot against him, sent privately to Rome for Phraates, the son of king Phraates, who had been delivered by his father to Augustus, as a hostage. The deputies represented, that the Parthians were ready to revolt; that they wanted only a leader; that a descendant of Arsaces, supported by Rome, and seen on the banks of the Euphrates, would occasion an immediate and general insurrection. Tiberius, who had succeeded Augustus, was glad of so favourable an opportunity of raising new disturbances in Parthia; for Artabanus, elated with the success that had attended him in his wars with the neighbouring nations, had not only seized on Armenia, and appointed his eldest son Arsaces king of that country, but sent a message to the governor of Syria, demanding the treasures which Vonones had left there, and in Cilicia; and claiming all the countries which had been possessed by Cyrus, and since by Alexander. Tiberius, therefore, in hopes of humbling the haughty Parthian, immediately dispatched Phraates to recover his father's kingdom; but that prince arriving in Syria, and there diffusing the Roman way of living, to which he had been many years accustomed, and resuming the Parthian customs, was seized, on that sudden change, with a violent

*Phraates
sent from
Rome into
Parthia.*

¹ Suet. in Tiber. & Octav. cap. 21. Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 2. & 4. ^m Tacit. Annal. ibid.

Dies.

distemper, which put an end to his life. At the same time the plot was discovered, and the chief promoters of it either privately put to death, or so narrowly watched, that they could not meet, without being observed, to consult together about the necessary measures.

*Tiridates
set up in
his room;*

*and sup-
ported by
Mithrida-
tes and
Pharaf-
menes.*

However, Tiberius did not abandon the enterprize; but substituting Tiridates, another prince of the royal family of Parthia, in the room of Phraates, wrote to Mithridates Iberus, requesting him to invade Armenia, with his brother Pharasmenes, king of Iberia; and, by these means, to draw Artabanus out of his own kingdom. Mithridates, pursuant to the directions of Tiberius, entered Armenia, at the head of a numerous army of Iberians, and made himself master of Artaxata, the metropolis of that kingdom. At the same time his brother Pharasmenes, having recourse to treachery, suborned some of the servants of Arsaces to murder him. Artabanus no sooner heard of the invasion of Armenia, and the death of his son, than he dispatched his other son, Orodes, with a powerful army, against the enemy; and, at the same time, sent to hire auxiliaries in Sarmatia and the neighbouring countries. Pharasmenes, on the other hand, having joined the Albanian forces to his own, and received great supplies from Sarmatia, marched to the assistance of his brother, and, meeting with Orodes, offered him battle; which he declining, Pharasmenes besieged him in his camp, and he was obliged, at last, to put all to the issue of an engagement, which proved very bloody, the Parthians behaving with their usual bravery. The victory was long doubtful; but, in the end, Pharasmenes having attacked and wounded Orodes, and a report being spread through the Parthian army, that he was killed, the Parthians retired in disorder, and left Pharasmenes master of the field. This victory was attended with the conquest of Armenia, which Pharasmenes over-ran without opposition. In the mean time Artabanus, having raised another army, marched in person against the united forces of Mithridates and Pharasmenes; but his army being entirely defeated, he was obliged to abandon his dominions, and take refuge among the Carmanians and Hyrcanians^a.

*Artabanus
driven
from the
throne.*

Upon the retreat of Artabanus, Lucius Vitellius, governor of Syria, advanced with his legions to the banks of the Euphrates; and, having crossed that river on a bridge of boats, caused Tiridates, whom he had brought

^a Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. cap. 36. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 6.
with

with him, to be proclaimed king of Parthia. The new king was immediately joined by a great many Parthian lords, among whom were Ornospades, Sinnaces, and Abdageses. Ornospades brought with him a strong body of horse, and Abdageses all the ensigns of royalty which had been committed to his care. When Vitellius found the Parthians inclined to receive Tiridates, he repassed the Euphrates with his legions, and retired into Syria. He had no sooner retired, than Phraates and Hiero, two men of great power and authority among the Parthians, from envy to Abdageses, who governed the new king and the whole court, returned to their old allegiance, and recalled Artabanus, who was, at his first appearing, joined by all those who hated Abdageses. The Scythians likewise, the Dahæ, and the Sacæ, declared in his favour, and sent powerful supplies: so that he was soon in a condition to take the field at the head of a very numerous and well-disciplined army. Tiridates, who had employed his whole time in besieging a fortress whither Artabanus had conveyed his treasures and concubines, did not think it adviseable to hazard an engagement at this juncture. He therefore retired into Mesopotamia, with a design to recruit his army in the country of the Elymæans and Armenians, and then try the fortune of a battle; but in his march he was abandoned by the greatest part of his troops, who either went home to their habitations, or fled to Artabanus, insomuch that, not thinking himself any longer safe within the Parthian dominions, he retired into Syria, leaving his competitor in quiet possession of the crown °.

Tiridates.

Artabanus recalled.

But it was not long before new disturbances obliged Artabanus to quit the kingdom a second time. The nobility, incensed at his cruelties and haughty behaviour, again conspired against him; and, taking up arms, obliged him to take shelter in the dominions of Izates, king of the Adiabeniens, who not only received and entertained him in a manner suitable to his rank, but, by his kind offices, prevailed upon the Parthian nobility to receive their king again, after he had, by a solemn oath, promised to forgive all those who had taken up arms against him. The Parthians had placed Cinnamus on the throne in his room, who was, by Izates, persuaded to resign the regal power and authority to the banished prince. Artabanus being thus restored to his kingdom, by the mediation of

Driven out;

and again restored.

• Tacit. *ibid.* cap. 41, 42, 43, 44. Joseph. *ibid.* cap. 6. Dio Cass. lib. lvi. p. 537. Suet. in Tiber. cap. 66.

Izates, bestowed on him the rich country of Nisibis, and allowed him to wear a frain tiara, and to lie in a golden bed; which were privileges peculiar to the kings of Parthia. From this time he governed with great equity and moderation, and, after a reign of thirty years, died, greatly lamented by all his subjects, leaving behind him seven sons, Darius, Bardanes, Gotarzes, Orodes, Volgeses, Pacorus, and Tiridates.

Yr. of Fl.

239⁵.

A. D.

47.

Bardanes.

Gotarzes.

*Gotarzes
expelled by
Bardanes.*

By his last will he appointed Bardanes to succeed him, who, forgetful of the obligations his family owed to Izates, made war upon him, because he refused to join that prince against the Romans. His monstrous ingratitude towards a prince who had so well deserved of the Parthian nation, was highly resented by the chief lords of his kingdom, who, taking up arms, killed him, and raised his brother Gotarzes to the throne^p. This is the account which Josephus gives us, in few words, of the several accessions and reigns of Bardanes and Gotarzes; but Tacitus, disagreeing with that writer, relates that event in a quite different manner^q. According to him, Gotarzes and Bardanes were not the sons, but the brothers of Artabanus, who was succeeded by Gotarzes, a most cruel prince, and therefore so much hated by his subjects, that they called Bardanes to the crown. Bardanes, as he was a man of great resolution and activity, marched, in two days, three thousand furlongs, and, arriving at Ctesiphon, surprised Gotarzes, and drove him from the throne. With the same expedition he over-ran the chief provinces of the Parthian empire, and was every-where received with loud acclamations. Seleucia was the only city that refused to submit, which he closely besieged; but while he was wasting his time before that place, Gotarzes unexpectedly arrived at the head of a numerous army of Dahans and Hyrcanians, which obliged Bardanes to raise the siege, and retire to the plains of Bactria. Gotarzes followed him; but while the two armies were ready to engage, Gotarzes received private intelligence of a conspiracy formed by the chief men of the kingdom against himself, and also his brother, to whom he immediately imparted it. Hereupon the two competitors had an interview, in which they were at last thoroughly reconciled; both of them swearing on the altar not to molest one another, but to turn their arms against their common enemies: nay, Gotarzes, judging Bardanes more worthy of

^p Zonar. lib. iii. Philostrat. lib. i. & iii. de Vita Apollon. ^q Tacit. Annal. lib. xi. cap. 8

the crown than himself, resigned it to him; an instance of equity and moderation seldom to be met with! And, in order to remove all ground of jealousy, retired into the most remote parts of Hyrcania. Bardanes, leaving Bactria, returned to the siege of Seleucia, which voluntarily submitted, after he had attempted, in vain, to reduce it by force. Being now sole master of the Parthian empire, he formed a design of recovering Armenia; but Vilius Marfus, or, as we read in Josephus, Cassius Longinus, governor of Syria, threatening him with war in case he made any attempts upon that kingdom, he thought it advisable to drop the enterprize¹.

*Gotarzes
resigns the
crown to
his brother
Bardanes;*

In the mean time Gotarzes, repenting of his resignation, and being called by the nobility, who, in time of peace, were continually attempting to change the government, raised new forces, and advanced, at the head of a powerful army, to the river Charinda, where he was entirely defeated by Bardanes, who, elated with that victory, attacked and reduced all the countries lying between that river and the Gindes, which parts the Dahans from the Arians. There he was obliged to halt, the Parthians, though victorious, refusing to follow him into those countries. Having therefore erected monuments, with pompous inscriptions, importing, that none of the Arsacidæ before him had exacted tributes from those nations, he returned home with the spoils of the countries he had conquered. The glory he acquired in this expedition rendered him insupportable to his subjects, especially the nobility, who, conspiring against him, killed him at a hunting match, when he was not attended by his guards, not apprehending any treachery or danger. He was, according to Tacitus, a prince endued with excellent qualities, and would have been one of the greatest kings that ever reigned in Parthia, had he studied to be as much beloved by his subjects as he was feared by his enemies².

*but repents,
and strives
to resume
it.*

*Bardanes
murdered.*

Upon the death of Bardanes disputes arose among the nobility, relative to electing a king to succeed him, some declaring for Gotarzes, and others for Meherdates, the grandson of Phraates, by whom he had been delivered to the Romans as a hostage. At last the party of Gotarzes prevailed, who was no sooner placed on the throne than he began to practise all sorts of cruelty on his subjects, especially on those who had adhered to Meherdates: whereupon they had private recourse to the emperor Clau-

*Yr. of Fl.
2397.
A. D.
49.*

Gotarzes.

¹ Tacit. Annal. lib. xi. cap. 8, 9. Joseph. ibid.

² Tacit. ibid.

*Meherdates
set up a
gainst him
by the Par-
thian nobi-
lity, and
supported
by the em-
peror Clau-
dius.*

dius, soliciting him to send them Meherdates, since they could no longer bear with Gotarzes, whose cruelties had rendered him odious to all his subjects. Claudius readily complied with their request; and having exhorted Meherdates to govern with equity and moderation, he dismissed him, together with the ambassadors; and, at the same time, wrote to Caius Cassius, governor of Syria, enjoining him to attend the young prince to the banks of the Euphrates. When Meherdates arrived in Syria, Cassius drew together his legions, and marched with him to Zeugma, where the river was then fordable. There he encamped, and being joined by Abgarus, king of Edeffa, and such of the Parthian chiefs as privately favoured Meherdates, he exhorted, in their presence, the new king to forward the execution of his design, lest the Parthians should in the mean time, as it had often happened, cool in their affections to him, retire home, or join his competitor.

*Meherdates
betrayed by
Abgarus,
king of
Edeffa.*

This advice, the best that could be given, was frustrated by the treachery of Abgarus, who had, in appearance, espoused the interest of Meherdates, but was, in reality, entirely attached to Gotarzes. He detained the young king many days at Edeffa, though Carrhanes, a leading man among the Parthians, and a sincere friend to Meherdates assured him, that if he only shewed himself, he would be joined by great multitudes; but Meherdates, neglecting the advice of his friends, followed that only of the treacherous Abgarus, who prevailed upon him to march a great way about, and, instead of entering Mesopotamia, though he was on the borders of that country, to pass through Armenia, which was in great part covered with snow. As they descended into the champaign country, wearied with the deep snow and steep mountains, Carrhanes joined them with his forces. Thence they crossed the Tigris, passed through the country of the Adiabeniens, and advancing to the city of Ninos, the ancient seat of the kings of Assyria, made themselves masters of that place, as they did likewise of the strong castle of Arbela. In the mean time Gotarzes, having offered sacrifices on Mount Sambulos to the gods of the place, especially to Hercules, encamped in the plain, with the river Carma between him and the enemy. Meherdates endeavoured, by daily insults and haughty messages, to draw him to a battle; but he declined it, soliciting, in the mean time, by his emissaries, the friends of Meherdates to abandon and betray him. In these endeavours he was attended

attended with all possible success; for first, Izates, king of the Adiabeniāns, and afterwards Abgarus, king of the Edeſſians, went over to him, with all the forces under their command. Meherdates, seeing himself forsaken by his allies, and mistrusting those who remained, resolved, as his only resource, to commit the issue to chance, and risk a battle; which Gotarzes no longer avoided, his army being now as much strengthened as his enemy's was weakened. Both parties engaged with the utmost fury, and the victory continued doubtful, till Carrhanes, having put to flight one of the enemy's wings, and pursuing it too far, was surrounded by a body of reserve, which prevented him from returning to the assistance of Meherdates; who being so hemmed in that he could not make his escape, surrendered to Parrhaces, a dependent of his father's, by whom he was immediately loaded with fetters, and delivered up to the conqueror. Gotarzes looking upon him not as one of the race of Arsaces, but as a Roman, and foreigner, ordered his ears to be cut off, in contempt of the Romans, but granted him his life to shew his clemency[†].

*His army
defeated,
and him-
self taken
prisoner.*

Not long after this battle Gotarzes died, and was succeeded by Vonones, at that time governor of Media, whose reign was short and inglorious; for he did nothing which writers have thought worth transmitting to posterity. Upon the death of Vonones, the crown of Parthia devolved upon Vologeses, the son of Gotarzes, according to Josephus; of Vonones, according to Tacitus. In the beginning of his reign he invaded Armenia with a powerful army; and having, without opposition, made himself master of Artaxata and Tigranocerta, the two chief cities of that kingdom, he obliged Rhadamistus, the Iberian, who had usurped the crown, to save himself in Iberia. Upon his retreat Vologeses declared his brother Tiridates king of Armenia, having before appointed his other brother, named Pacorus, king of Média; for Tiridates and Pacorus had yielded the crown of Parthia to him, though born of a Greek concubine; whence he thought it incumbent upon him to procure a crown for each of those who had so generously parted with one for him; but while he was in Armenia, a plague breaking out in his army, occasioned by want of provisions, he was forced to relinquish his conquests, and retire into his own dominions. Hereupon Domitius Corbulo, entering Armenia, expelled Tiridates, with the few Parthian forces that had

Vonones.

Yr. of Fl.
239⁸.
A. D.
50.

Vologeses.

[†] Tacit. *ibid.* & lib. xii. cap. 14.

continued with him, and placed on that throne Tigranes, the Cappadocian, as we have related in the history of Armenia.

*His wars
with the
Romans.*

This affront Vologeses could not brook. Having, with great solemnity, crowned Tiridates, king of Armenia, he dispatched Moneses, one of his generals, with a strong body of chosen horse, and Adiabenian auxiliaries, enjoining him to drive out Tigranes, and recover Armenia, which had been long held by, and therefore belonged to, the princes of the family of Arsaces. As for himself, he dropped his expedition against the Hyrcanians, who had lately revolted; and having raised a great army, began to make the necessary preparations for a descent on the Roman provinces. Corbulo, whom Nero had charged with the defence of Armenia, was no sooner acquainted with the measures taken by Vologeses, than he sent two legions to the assistance of Tigranes, under the command of Verulanus Severus and Vettius Bolanus, with private injunctions to act rather with caution than eagerness and dispatch; for he was more desirous, as Tacitus observes, of keeping a war on foot, than bringing it to a speedy conclusion: besides, he had written to Nero, that another general was necessary to defend Armenia, since Syria was threatened with a terrible storm from Vologeses. In the mean time he posted the remaining legions along the banks of the Euphrates; and, having raised new forces in the province, placed guards at all the passes, and erected forts over the several fountains, to prevent the enemy from having any water in that dry and sandy country.

*Invades
Armenia.*

While Corbulo was thus busied in securing Syria, Moneses advanced by long marches towards Armenia, hoping to surprise Tigranes: but, with all his expedition, he found that prince ready to receive him; for he had furnished the strong city of Tigranocerta with all manner of provisions, and warlike stores; and retired into it, with all his forces. Moneses, after having attempted in vain to reduce it, withdrew, and began to lay waste the country. Hereupon Corbulo, who was unwilling to engage in a war with the Parthians, lest he should lose the reputation he had gained, sent ambassadors to Vologeses, to expostulate with him for attacking a Roman province, for besieging a king who was a friend and ally of the Roman people, and for ravaging a country which Rome had taken under her protection. At the same time he gave him to understand, that if he did not abandon the siege of Tigranocerta,

granocerta, he would consider it as an infraction of the treaties subsisting between the Parthians and Romans, and, in his turn, invade the Parthian territories. Vologeses, cautious of provoking Corbulo, who had acquired great fame by his military exploits, answered, that he would send ambassadors to beg of Nero the kingdom of Armenia, and to renew the alliance made by his ancestors with the people of Rome. Agreeably to this answer he immediately dispatched messengers to Monceses, ordering him to raise the siege of Tigranocerta; and retired himself, with all his forces, to wait for the return of the ambassadors he had sent to Rome. The emperor Nero received them in a very obliging manner; but refused to renew his ancient alliance with the Parthians, unless they renounced all pretensions to the crown of Armenia. This answer so incensed Vologeses, that he immediately drew all his forces together, with a design to invade Syria; but finding the banks of the Euphrates strongly guarded by Corbulo, he turned all his efforts against Armenia, where he gained those advantages over Cæsennius Pætus, which we have related at large in the history of that kingdom. However, he consented at last, dreading the consequence of a war with the Romans, that his brother Tiridates should go in person to Rome, and there receive the crown of Armenia as a gift from Nero; who bestowed it upon him accordingly. Thus the ancient alliance between the two empires was renewed, and the affairs of the East were settled in peace^u. From this time no farther mention is made of Vologeses till the beginning of the reign of Vespasian, to whom he sent ambassadors, offering to assist him with forty thousand Parthian horse^v. Vespasian, being already settled on the throne, did not accept of the succours offered him; but renewing all the ancient treaties with the Parthians, dismissed the ambassadors with presents, and maintained, during the reign of Vologeses, a good understanding with the Parthian nation. That prince being now disengaged from all foreign and domestic wars, applied himself to the building of a city, which, from his own name, he called Vologesocerta, or the city of Vologeses; but was prevented by death from completing the work he had begun.

He was succeeded by his son Artabanus III. who, disagreeing with Vespasian, espoused the cause of the counterfeited Nero, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in

The ancient alliance between the Romans and Parthians renewed.

Artabanus III.

^u Tacit. *ibid*.

^v Tacit. *Hist. lib. vi.*

the history of Rome. However, the emperor did not think it advisable to resent the affront, the kingdom of Parthia being at that time in a very flourishing condition, and the Roman provinces greatly weakened by a late irruption of the Alani, a barbarous people of Scythia, inhabiting the countries bordering on the river Tanais, and the lake Mæotis. Artabanus had formed a design of invading Armenia; but died before he could put it in execution ^x. Upon his death, his son Pacorus II. was raised to the throne; but all we know of him is, that he entered into an alliance with Deçebalus, king of the Daci, and maintained, during the whole time of his reign, which is said to have been very long, a strict friendship with the Romans ^y. He was succeeded by his brother Cosdroes: he invaded Armenia, expelled Exadares, who had been appointed king of that country by the emperor Trajan, and placed his eldest son, Parthamasiris, on the throne. As this was an open infraction of the treaties subsisting between the two empires, Trajan hastened into the East, with a design to humble the Parthians, who, relying on their victories formerly gained over the Romans, were raising new disturbances in Syria and Armenia, and making incursions into the Roman provinces bordering on their dominions. His arrival in Armenia was so sudden and unexpected, that he reduced the whole country almost without opposition, and took Parthamasiris himself prisoner. Animated with these successes, he entered Mesopotamia; and, having there besieged and taken the strong city of Nisibis, after many skirmishes and encounters, he made himself master of that opulent country, never before subject to Rome. From Mesopotamia, which he reduced to a Roman province, he returned, in the beginning of the winter, into Syria; whence he acquainted the senate with the success that had attended his arms against the Parthians; and was by them honoured with the surnames of Armenicus and Parthicus ^z.

The emperor Trajan reduces Mesopotamia.

Early in the spring the emperor took the field again; but was warmly opposed by Cosdroes, whom he found encamped on the banks of the Euphrates, with a design to dispute his passage. The emperor, after having several times attempted to ford that river, and been always repulsed with great slaughter, was obliged to cause boats to be built on the neighbouring mountains, which he pri-

^x Xiphilin. in Orhone.

Epist. lib. x.
in Traj.

^y Suidas, voce *Στρατῆς*.

^z Sext. Ruf. in Breviar. Theod. Min. Spartan.

vately conveyed from thence on carriages to the water-side; having, in the night-time, formed a bridge with them, he passed his army the next day, but not without great loss and danger, the Parthians harassing his men the whole time with incessant showers of arrows, which did great execution. Having gained the opposite bank, he advanced boldly into Assyria, the Parthians flying every where before him, and made himself master of Arbela. Thence he pursued his march, subduing, with incredible rapidity, countries where the Roman standards had never been displayed before. Babylonia, or the province of Babylon, voluntarily submitted. The city itself was, after a vigorous resistance, taken by storm; by which means he became master of all Chaldæa and Assyria, the two richest provinces of the Parthian empire. From Babylon he marched to Ctesiphon, the metropolis of the Parthian monarchy; which he besieged, and at last reduced. But there are few particulars recorded of these great conquests; this expedition, however glorious to the Roman name, being rather hinted at, than described by the writers of those times. While Trajan was thus making war in the heart of the enemy's country, Cosdroes, having recruited his army, marched into Mesopotamia, with a design to recover that country, and cut off all communication between the Roman army and Syria. On his arrival in that province, the inhabitants flocked to him from all parts; and most of the cities, driving out the garrisons left by Trajan, opened their gates to him. Hereupon the emperor detached Lucius and Maximus, two of his chief commanders, into Mesopotamia, to keep such cities in awe as had not revolted, and to open a communication with Syria. Maximus was met by Cosdroes; and, having ventured a battle, his army was entirely defeated, and himself killed. But Lucius, being joined by Euricius and Clarius, two other commanders sent by Trajan with fresh supplies, gained considerable advantages over the enemy, and retook the cities of Nisibis and Seleucia, which had revolted.

and likewise Chaldæa and Assyria.

Maximus defeated by Cosdroes, and killed. Cosdroes defeated by Lucius.

Trajan, though possessed of all the best and most fruitful provinces of the Parthian empire, was convinced that he could not, without an enormous expence, maintain his conquests, nor keep in subjection so fierce and warlike a people, at such a distance from Italy: he therefore resolved to place over them a king of his own choosing, who should hold the crown of him, and his successors, and acknowledge them as his lords and sovereigns. With this view

*Parthana-
spates
crowned
king of the
Parthians
by Trajan.*

view, he repaired to Ctesiphon; and, having there assembled the chief men of the nation, he crowned one of the royal family, by name Parthanaspatēs, king of Parthia, obliging all who were present to pay him their allegiance. He chose Parthanaspatēs, because that prince had joined him at his first entering the Parthian dominions, conducted him with great fidelity, and shewn, on all occasions, an extraordinary attachment to the Romans. Thus the Parthians were at last subdued, and their kingdom made tributary to Rome. But they did not long continue in this state of subjection; for they no sooner heard of Trajan's death, which happened shortly after, than they drove Parthanaspatēs from the throne; and, recalling Cosdroses, who had retired into the country of the Hyrcanians, openly revolted from Rome. Adrian, who was then commander in chief of all the forces in the East, and soon after acknowledged emperor by the army, thought it imprudent, though he was at that time in Syria with a very numerous army, to engage in a new war with the Parthians; but contented himself with preserving the ancient limits of the empire, without any ambitious prospects of farther conquests: therefore, in the beginning of his reign, he abandoned those provinces beyond the Euphrates, which Trajan had conquered, withdrew the Roman garisons from Mesopotamia, and, for the greater safety of other places, made the Euphrates the boundary of, and barrier in, those parts, posting his legions along the banks of that river.

*Adrian
makes the
Euphrates
the bounda-
ry of the
Roman em-
pire.*

*Vologeses
II.*

*Invades
Armenia
and Syria.*

Cosdroses died after a long reign, and was succeeded by his eldest son Vologeses; in whose reign the Alani, breaking into Media, then subject to the Parthians, committed there great devastations; but were prevailed upon, with rich presents sent them by Vologeses, to abandon that kingdom, and return home. Upon their retreat, Vologeses, having no enemy to contend with at home, fell unexpectedly upon Armenia; surprised the legions there; and, having cut them all in pieces to a man, entered Syria; defeated with great slaughter Attilius Cornelianus, governor of that province; and advanced, without opposition to the neighbourhood of Antioch, putting every where the Romans, and those who favoured them, to the sword. Hereupon the emperor Verus, by the advice of his colleague Antoninus, surnamed the Philosopher, leaving Rome, hastened into Syria; and, having forced the Parthians from that province, ordered Statius Priscus to invade Armenia, and Cassius, with Martius Verus, to enter

enter the Parthian territories, and carry the war into the enemy's country. Priscus made himself master of Artaxata, and, in one campaign, drove the Parthians, though not without great loss on his side, out of Armenia. Cassius, on the other hand, having, in several encounters, defeated Vologeses, though he had an army of four hundred thousand men under his command, reduced, in four years time, all those provinces which had formerly submitted to Trajan, took Seleucia, burnt and plundered the famous cities of Babylon and Ctesiphon, with the stately palaces of the Parthian monarchs, and struck terror into the most remote provinces of that great empire. On his return, he lost above half the number of his forces by sickness and famine; so that, after all, the Romans, as Spartianus observes, had no great reason to boast of their victories and conquests.

Cassius gains great advantages over him.

However, Antoninus Verus, who had never moved during the whole time of the war, from Antioch and Daphne, took upon him the lofty titles of Parthicus and Armenicus, as if he had acquired them justly in the midst of his pleasures and debaucheries². After the revolt and death of Cassius, Antoninus the Philosopher repaired into Syria, to settle the affairs of that province; and was, on his arrival, met by ambassadors from Vologeses, who, having recovered most of the provinces subdued by Cassius, and being unwilling either to part with them, or engage in a new war, solicited the emperor to confirm him in the possession of them, promising to acknowledge the sovereignty of Rome. To these terms Antoninus readily agreed, and a peace was accordingly concluded between the two empires; which Vologeses did not long enjoy, being soon after carried off by a distemper, and not murdered by his own subjects, as we read in Constantinus Manasses, who calls him Belegeses.

A peace concluded between the two empires.

Upon his death, Vologeses III. the son of his brother Sanatruces, and grandson of Cosdroes, was raised to the throne. He sided with Niger against the emperor Severus; who having settled affairs at home, marched against him, advancing to the city of Ctesiphon, whither he had retired, laid siege to that metropolis. Vologeses made a most gallant defence; but the city, after a long siege, and much blood-shed on both sides, was taken by assault. The king's treasures, with his wives and children, fell into the emperor's hands; but Vologeses had the good fortune

Vologeses III.

Ctesiphon taken by Severus.

² Euseb. in Chron. Zonar. lib. iv. Oros. Hist. Miscel. Theodof. Min. ibid.

*Intestine
disturb-
ances
among the
Parthians.*

to make his escape. Severus had no sooner crossed the Euphrates, than Vologeses recovered all the provinces, except Mesopotamia, which he had reduced. These expeditions were very expensive to the Romans, and cost them much blood, without their reaping any advantages from them; for, as they had not sufficient forces to keep in awe the provinces they had subdued, the inhabitants, greatly attached to the family of Arsaces, never failed to return to their ancient obedience, as soon as the Roman armies were withdrawn. Vologeses was soon after engaged in a war still more troublesome and destructive with his brother Artabanus, who, encouraged by some of the discontented nobles, attempted to rob him of the crown, and place it on his own head. Vologeses gained several victories over his brother, and rebellious subjects; but died before he could restore the empire to its former tranquillity.

*Artabanus
IV.*

Artabanus, who had a numerous army, did not meet with any opposition in seizing the throne, vacant by the death of his brother, though Tiridates had a better title to it, as being his elder brother. He had scarce settled the affairs of his kingdom, when the emperor Caracalla, desirous to signalize himself by some memorable exploit against the Parthians, sent a solemn embassy to him, desiring his daughter in marriage. Artabanus, overjoyed at this proposal, which, he thought, would be attended with a lasting peace between the two empires, received the ambassadors with all possible marks of honour, and readily complied with their request. Soon after, Caracalla sent a second embassy, to acquaint the king, that he was coming to solemnize the nuptials: whereupon Artabanus went to meet him, attended with the chief of the nobility, and his best troops all unarmed, and in most pompous habits; but this peaceable train no sooner approached the Roman army, than the soldiers, on a signal given them, falling upon the king's retinue, made a dreadful slaughter of the unarmed multitude. Artabanus himself escaping with great difficulty. The treacherous Caracalla, having gained by this exploit great booty, and, as he thought, no less glory, wrote a long and boasting letter to the senate, assuming the title of Parthicus for this piece of treachery.

*Treachery
of the em-
peror Ca-
racalla.*

*Artabanus
invades
Syria.*

Artabanus, resolving to revenge himself on the Romans for their inhuman and barbarous treachery, raised the most numerous army that had been known in Parthia, crossed the Euphrates, and entered Syria, putting all
to

to fire and sword. But Caracalla being murdered before this invasion, Macrinus, who had succeeded him, met the Parthians at the head of an army composed of many legions, and all the auxiliaries of the states of Asia. The two armies no sooner came in sight of each other, than they engaged with the utmost fury. The battle continued two days, both Romans and Parthians fighting so obstinately, that night only parted them, without any apparent advantage on either side, though both retired, when night ended the contest, crying, "Victory, victory!" The field of battle was covered with dead bodies, there being already forty thousand killed, including both Romans and Parthians: nevertheless Artabanus was heard to say, that the battle was only begun, and that he would continue it till either the Parthians or Romans were cut in pieces. But Macrinus, being apprised, that the king came highly enraged against Caracalla in particular, and dreading the consequences which would attend the destruction of his army, sent an herald to Artabanus, acquainting him with the death of Caracalla, and proposing an alliance between the two empires. The king, understanding that his great enemy was dead, readily embraced the proposals of peace and amity, upon condition that all the prisoners, who had been taken by the treachery of Caracalla, should be immediately restored, and a large sum of money paid, to defray the expences of the war. These articles being performed without delay or hesitation, Artabanus returned into Parthia, and Macrinus to Antioch *.

An obstinate engagement between the Parthians and Romans.

A peace concluded.

As Artabanus lost, on this occasion, the flower of his army, Artaxerxes, a Persian of a mean descent, but of great courage and experience in war, revolting from the Parthians, prevailed upon his countrymen to join him, and attempt the recovery of the sovereign power, which, he said, they had unjustly been deprived of, first by the Macedonians, and afterwards by the Parthians their vassals. Artabanus, upon the news of this revolt marched, with the whole strength of his kingdom, to suppress it; but, being met by Artaxerxes, at the head of a no less powerful army, a bloody battle ensued, which is said to have lasted three days. At length the Parthians, though they behaved with the utmost bravery, and fought like men in despair, were forced to yield to the Persians, who

The Persians revolt.

Defeat the Parthians, kill their king, and put an end to the Parthian empire.

* Theodof. Min. ubi supra. Zonar. lib. iv. Sozomen. Histor. Tripart. lib. iii. cap. 1.

were commanded by a more experienced leader. Most of their troops were cut off in the flight, and the king himself taken prisoner, and soon after put to death by Artaxerxes' order. The Parthians, having lost in this fatal engagement both their king and their army, were forced to submit to the conqueror, and become vassals to a nation which had been subject to them for the space of four hundred and seventy-five years. Thus was this gallant and warlike nation subdued at last, and the empire once more transferred to the Persians. However, the royal family of Arsaces did not end in Artabanus, but continued to reign in Armenia, till the time of the emperor Justinian, holding that kingdom of the Persian monarchs, to whom the Arsacidæ of Armenia were tributaries. Among these we find the following princes mentioned in history, Arsaces, Tiridates, Artabaldes, Tiridates II. Arsaces II. Paras, Tigranes, and Arsaces III. all descended from Arsaces, brother to Artabanus IV. the last king of Parthia.



C H A P. XXXV.

The History of the Persians, from their recovering the Empire from the Parthians to their being subdued by the Arabs.

S E C T. I.

According to the Greek and Latin Authors.

THE reader hath before seen after what manner, and how long, the Persians were subject to the Parthians princes. We are here to speak of their achievements after they had again rendered themselves independent; and not only so, but lords also of many spacious provinces, and the first nation in the East. As we have no regular history of Persia by any Greek or Latin writer, what we offer to the reader in this section is collected, as carefully as might be, from such as have occasionally mentioned the Persian affairs. These passages we have digested into their natural order; and if there be any omissions, they will

will be supplied in the next article, wherein we shall treat of the same period, from the Oriental historians (H).

A Table of the Persian Kings.

| | Years. | Mo. | D. | | Years. | Months. |
|--------------------|--------|-----|----|--------------------|--------|---------|
| Artaxares, | 14 | 10 | | Vararanes VI. | 17 | 4 |
| Sapores I. | 31 | | | Perozes, | 20 | |
| Ormisdas, | 1 | 0 | 10 | Valens, | 4 | |
| Vararanes I. | 3 | | | Cavades, | 11 | |
| Vararanes II. | 17 | | | Zambades, | 8 | |
| Vararanes III. | 0 | 4 | | Cavades, restored, | 30 | |
| Narces, | 7 | 9 | | Chofroes I. | 48 | |
| Misdas, | | | | Hormisdas, | 8 | |
| Sapores II. | 70 | | | Chofroes II. | 39 | |
| Artaxerxes, | 4 | | | Siroes, | 1 | |
| Sapores III. | 5 | | | Adhefyr, | 0 | 2 |
| Vararanes IV. or } | | | | Sarbaras, | 0 | 6 |
| Carmanfah, | 12 | | | Bornarim, | 0 | 7 |
| Isdigerdes, | 21 | | | Hormisdas, | 10 | |
| Vararanes V. | 20 | | | | | |

Artaxares, or, or as he is sometimes called, Artaxerxes, the restorer of the Persian kingdom, was not only a pri-

Yr. of Fl.
2576.
A. D. 230.

Artaxares.

(H) We have divided the history of this period into two parts: the first is composed of such materials as the Latin and Greek writers furnish, particularly that noble collection which goes under the name of the Byzantine Historians, whence we have taken ten times as much as hath appeared in any modern language, and, by assembling a multitude of divided passages, have presented the public with something that looks like a connected history; whereas Byzarus, whose history of the Persian affairs is deservedly esteemed the best (1), found himself so destitute of matter, that, in his history of the Persian affairs, he makes the reigns of the Roman emperors his rule, and refers the series of Persian monarchs to a table. The second part is

really taken from Oriental writers, but more especially from Mirkhond; and what is related is so necessary a supplement to what the first part contained, that, without it, there would not only have remained a visible imperfection, but, in many places, it would have been unintelligible; because the Greek writers wilfully misrepresent the manners, customs, and literature of the Oriental nations. The comparison, therefore, of these distinct histories will illustrate each of them, and enable the intelligent reader perfectly to comprehend both; whereby this wide chasm will be in some measure filled up, and this period of Persian history no longer remain, as it hitherto hath done, under an impenetrable obscurity.

(1) *Rerum Persicarum Historia, initia gentis, mores, instituta, resque gestas ad hæc usque tempora complectens: auctore Petro Bizaro Sentinate, fol. Francofurti, A. D. 1601.*

vate person, but of spurious birth, as we are informed by Agathias (1). His mother was married to one Pabecus, or Pabec, who was either a tanner or a shoemaker, but a person well skilled in judicial astrology. It happened, that one Safanus, or Safan, a military officer, travelling through the country of the Caduceans, took up his lodging in the house of this Pabec, who, by his art, perceiving that a person begotten by this stranger would become the head of a potent family, and also arrive at regal honours, was exceedingly chagrined that he had neither sister, daughter, nor cousin in the house. At length, his ambition surmounting his sense of shame, he caused his wife to go to bed to Safan, who begat on her Artaxares. When Artaxares came afterwards to be king, Pabec and

(1) As we have taken the foregoing table chiefly from Agathias, it is necessary we should say something of the merit of this author. He was a native of Marina, and applied himself to the study of the law. As those who dedicated their time to the acquirement of that science, studied mostly in colleges, he was from thence called Scholasticus (2). He was a poet and historian; but it is in his last capacity only that we are to consider him. He was, it seems, so pleased with Procopius's memoirs of the Persian wars, that he resolved to continue them; which he did in the history we yet have, divided into five books. In the fourth of these, he takes occasion to mention one Sergius, who was so well skilled in the Persian tongue, as to be on that account in great favour with Cosroes the first. This man, making several journies into Persia, and having many opportunities of conversing with the learned of

that nation, procured, by their favour, the perusal of the royal annals; from whence he made many extracts, which, at his earnest desire, he communicated to Agathias. These were, in that historian's opinion, of so great weight, that he preferred them to the memoirs of Procopius, differing from him, to follow them; which shews that he was thoroughly convinced of their authority. From these extracts he drew up a short, but very perspicuous and exact account of all the Persian monarchs, from Artaxares, who recovered the kingdom from the Parthians, to Cosroes, with whom himself was contemporary (3). It is from this short account that we have taken the dates, and such other material circumstances, as we thought could not be had, with the same probability of exactness, from other historians, who wrote from later and less authentic memoirs.

(2) Agath. Scholast. Præfat. ad Hist. lib. iv. p. 140, 141.

(3) Agath. Schol. Hist.

Sasan each claimed him for a son : the story became public ; and it was agreed, that he should be styled, “ The son of Pabec, of the seed of Sasan ^b.” Artaxares from his youth accustomed himself to a military life ; and having attained to great skill, and no less reputation, in the wars, he projected the delivery of his countrymen from the Parthian yoke. In pursuance of this design, he excited a general revolt ; and having in three battles routed, and in the last slain, the Parthian monarch, he assumed the double diadem, and the pompous title of king of kings. He was a man of great abilities, and undaunted spirit, or, in other words, a person of great courage, and unbounded ambition ^c.

He was no sooner seated on the throne, than he formed a design of restoring the Persian empire to its ancient glory ; and having caused the necessary preparations to be made, he gave notice to the Roman governors of the provinces bordering on his dominions, that he conceived himself to have a just and unquestionable title, as the successor of Cyrus, to all the Lesser Asia : this country he commanded them immediately to quit, as well as the provinces on the frontiers of the ancient Parthian kingdom, which were already his. Alexander Severus was, at this time, possessor of the Roman empire ; a youth, under the tutelage of his mother, who had hitherto dwelt always at Rome. He was therefore unwilling to engage in a war ; and, for that reason, sent letters to Artaxares, importing, that he would do wisely to keep within bounds, and not, out of vain hopes of conquest, undertake new wars, which might not be attended with the same success as formerly ; that, in the present case, he ought to consider, he was not to deal with Barbarians, or with a nation unused to war, but with the Romans, whose emperors, Augustus, Trajan, and Severus, had often vanquished the Parthians. The Persian king paid little regard to these letters ; on the contrary, he began to raise a great army, and to attack the fortified posts of the Romans on the river Euphrates, making such a progress in the reduction of the adjacent provinces, that the emperor Alexander, how unwilling soever he might be, was con-

Asserts his right to all the provinces of the ancient Persian empire.

^b Agath. Scholast. Hist. de Reb. Gest. Justinian. Imperat. Edit. Paris. lib. ii. p. 65. lib. iv. p. 134. ^c Herodian. Hist. lib. vi. Æl. Lamprid. in Vit. Aurel. Alexand. Sever. Oros. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 11. Nicephor. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 6. Gregor. Abul-Phar. Hist. dynast. vii. p. 186.

strained to raise an army, and to march towards Mesopotamia, in order to give a check to the Persian power ^d.

Sends an insolent message to the emperor Alexander.

Artaxares was employed in the siege of Nisibis, or Antiochia, when he received intelligence of Alexander's marching towards him; upon which he thought proper to raise the siege, that he might recruit and refresh his army. He sent, however, deputies, or ambassadors, if he may be allowed to call four hundred persons by that title, whom he selected for their extraordinary stature and great strength; and, having furnished them with rich habits, and fine horses, he gave them orders, when they should be introduced to the emperor's presence, to speak thus: "The great king Artaxares commands the Romans, and their prince, to depart out of Syria and Asia Minor; and to restore to the Persians all the countries on this side the Ægean and Pontic Seas, as of right descending to them from their ancestors."

His messengers rigorously treated.

These heralds, or ambassadors, performed their commission very exactly: this so highly irritated Alexander, otherwise a prince of the gentlest disposition, that he ordered all their equipage to be taken from them, and sent them into Phrygia, where they were assigned farms, which they might cultivate for their subsistence. Then he advanced into Mesopotamia, which he recovered, in a great measure, without fighting. Historians differ so much in their accounts of the subsequent parts of this war, that it is almost impossible to reconcile them. We shall, however, relate what appears to us most probable ^e.

Gives battle to, and is beat by the Romans.

Artaxares advanced with his forces into Mesopotamia, as soon as he thought himself strong enough to give the enemy battle. His army consisted of a hundred and twenty thousand horse, ten thousand heavy-armed soldiers, eighteen hundred chariots with scythes, and seven hundred elephants. Alexander, however, did not decline fighting; an engagement ensued, in which the Romans were victorious; and Artaxares was compelled to retire into his own dominions, where, with great assiduity, he applied himself to the recruiting and restoring his army. On the other hand, the Roman emperor divided his forces into three bodies: the first, marching through Armenia, had orders to penetrate into Media; the second passed over the marshes, to enter the Parthian dominions on the other side; the third, being the greatest, and which the

^d Herodian. & Æl. Lamprid. ubi supra.
ad A. C. 230.

^e Zonar. Hist.
^f Herodian. & Æl. Lamprid. ubi supra.

emperor commanded in person, was to have advanced into the heart of Artaxares' dominions: and if this scheme had been thoroughly executed, in all probability, the Persian power would not only have been weakened, but even brought to the verge of destruction ^z.

The body of troops, which passed through Armenia, underwent great difficulties, and, with great fatigue, arrived at last at Media. Artaxares marched against them with a formidable army; but failed in his efforts; for, the country being uneven, the Roman foot had the advantage of his cavalry. While he was considering how these evils might be surmounted, he received advice that the other body of Romans had broke into his territories; an irruption which, in some measure, frustrated all his designs. However, having left guards sufficient to secure the passes, he marched against the new invaders. These troops, finding no enemy to oppose them, plundered all the country, and, proud of their spoils, would no longer be restrained under discipline; nay, at last they became so licentious, that they slew Flavius, their commander in chief, for endeavouring to keep them within bounds, and for being more careful of their safety than they were themselves. In this situation the Persian king fell upon them, and rather destroyed than defeated them. The Roman emperor returned first to Antioch, and then to Rome, where he triumphed, and assumed the title of Parthicus and Persicus (K). Artaxares made the best use of his absence, recovering what he had lost, restoring the glory of the Persian name; and having reigned with much reputation, died with honour, and in peace, after enjoying the kingdom twelve, or, as others say, fifteen years, abating two months ^b.

He was succeeded in the throne by his son Sapor, or Sapor, a prince equally famous for strength of body, and abilities of mind, fierce and untractable in his nature, covetous of glory, haughty, insolent, and cruel. He was no sooner seated on the throne, than he began to meditate a new war with the Romans, to which he was encouraged by a traitor, who dwelt in his court. The name of this man was Cyriades, the son of another Cyriades, an emi-

Restores his affairs by firmness and vigilance.

Yr. of Fl.
2590.

A. D. 242.

Sapor 1.

^z Zonar. ubi supra. Herodian. lib. vii.
lib. iv. p. 134.

^b Agath. Scholiast.

(K) Nothing can be more by Herodian and Ælius Lampridius of the Persian war.

nent commander in the Roman army. This profligate son began his exploits with robbing his father. He was naturally a voluptuary; and therefore, when he had possessed himself of this treasure, he withdrew into Persia, where he lived in that splendor and luxury, for which he had sacrificed his honour. In conjunction with Odomastes, a Persian general, he laid waste the adjoining provinces; and having at last prevailed upon the king to take the field, Cyriades, with the deserters, who, for the sake of plunder, followed him, attacked the cities of Antioch and Cæsarea Philippi, both of which they were so lucky as to make themselves masters of; whereupon Cyriades took first the title of Cæsar, and then called himself Emperor, acquiring, by degrees, dominions, revenues, and forces, not altogether unworthy of that title¹.

His dominions invaded by the Romans.

The young emperor Gordian, when he had settled the affairs of the empire in the West, resolved to rescue the East also from the tyranny of pseudo-emperors, as well as from the terror of the Persian arms. With this view, he marched into Syria, at the head of a numerous army: and while his father-in-law, whom some writers call Mystheus, others Timefocles, lived, his affairs were properly conducted: the Persian found himself constrained to withdraw into his own dominions, whither the emperor followed him, taking Charra, or Haran, in Mesopotamia; but while he was preparing to push his conquests still farther, he was murdered by the treachery of Philip, whom he made captain of his guards, on the death of his father-in-law^k.

Makes an advantageous peace.

This Philip, having possessed himself of the sovereign authority, made peace with Sapor, and abandoned Mesopotamia and Armenia to him again. Part of these provinces, on the news of the senate's disapproving his conduct, he recovered anew, without shewing any regard to his treaty; and, leaving a sufficient number of troops to secure the frontiers, marched back into Italy. As soon as the Roman army was withdrawn, Sapor and Cyriades renewed their incursions; and the latter, growing stronger than ever, began, in all respects, to be treated as an emperor. Indeed the Roman affairs were in such a confused state, that many, who would otherwise have opposed Cyriades, were now glad to be sheltered under his protection. At length, however, things began to take another turn: Valerian, though he was seventy years old

¹ Trebel. Pol. in Hist. Tringint. Tyran. lib. vii. Jul. Capitolin. de Vita Gordian. Tert. 243. Zonar. A. C. 244.

^k Herodian. Hist. Zosim. Hist. A. C.

when

when he was advanced to the empire, yet spared no pains to reduce all the numerous provinces to a proper degree of obedience. While he was thus employed, Sapor, with a formidable army, broke into the Roman territories, burnt and pillaged the country, and at length, advancing as far as Edeffa, besieged it in form; but Demosthenes, who commanded there, made a gallant resistance^l.

Valerian no sooner received advice of this invasion, than he hastened, with the troops about his person, to its relief. His approach gave new spirits to the distressed inhabitants of the Roman provinces, and disposed them to take all the necessary steps for compelling the Persians to retire into their own dominions. The soldiers of Cyriades mutinied against him, put him to death, and declared for Valerian. Sapor, however, confiding in the strength of his army, continued still before Edeffa, in the neighbourhood whereof an action happened, in which Valerian was taken prisoner, whether by his own temerity, or the treachery of one of his commanders, cannot be determined. This incident gave a mortal wound to the Roman affairs in the East, where Sapor gained continual advantages, and used his fortune with an insolence not to be endured. At length the people were driven to despair; so that, first under the command of Callistus, and afterwards under Odenatus, prince of Palmyrene, they took arms. They not only protected themselves against any farther insults, but the last mentioned general defeated the Persian, and seized part of his baggage, with all his concubines; a circumstance which determined him to retire into his own dominions. In his march he is said to have made use of the bodies of his unfortunate prisoners to fill up the hollow roads, and to facilitate the passage of his carriages over such rivers as lay in his way. On his return into Persia, he was solicited by the kings of the Cadusians, Armenians, Bactrians, and other nations, to set Valerian at liberty; but to no purpose. On the contrary, he used him the worse, treated him daily with indignities, set his foot upon his neck when he mounted his horse, and, as some writers say, after several years confinement, caused him to be flayed alive^m.

*Takes the
emperor
Valerian
prisoner.*

*Treats him
inhumanly,*

From this time the affairs of Sapor wore but an indifferent aspect: Odenatus, flushed with victory, at the

*and is ever
after un-
fortunate.*

^l Jul. Capitolin. in Vita Gordian. Trebell. Pol. Hist. Trigint. Tyran. Zonar. Hist. A. C. 253. Zosim. Hist. A. C. 252. ^m Trebell. Poll. in Vita Valerian. Agath. Schol. lib. iv. p. 133. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynast. vii. p. 128.

head of a potent army, vested with the character of president over the Roman provinces in the East, bridled the Persians, and made them frequent visits in their own territories. Twice this general advanced as far as the city of Ctesiphon, seated on the banks of the Tigris, all the countries between Palmyra and that river being under his obedience. On his death, his wife, the celebrated Zenobia, continued to oppose the Persians, and with success, till she was conquered, and made prisoner, by the emperor Aurelian, who vindicated the honour of the Romans on this side, and took ample vengeance for the ill treatment of Valerian. Much spoil, many prisoners, and one of the king's chariots, Aurelian carried with him into Italy, and with them graced his triumph at Rome^a. Sapor, however, continued to enlarge his dominions at the expence of his barbarous neighbours; and, having reigned, with great variety of fortune, thirty-one years, died, and left the kingdom to his son (L).

Yr. of Fl.

621.

A. D. 273.

Hormisdas.

Hormisdas succeeded Sapor; of whom we have little to record. It was during his reign that the Palmyrenians took arms again, in order to free themselves from the Romans, or rather, as other parts of the Roman empire had done, to assert a right of making emperors. They cast their eyes on one Antiochus, whom they arrayed in purple, and saluted emperor: but Aurelian did not leave them long at liberty to carry on this scheme; he returned with his victorious army, reduced Palmyra, and made a dreadful havock of the inhabitants. As for Antiochus, he took no notice of him; and as Hormisdas had not interfered; therefore Aurelian did not invade his country: he had the good fortune, consequently, to die in peace, after having possessed the throne a year and ten days^o.

^a Trebell. Pol. in Vit. Gallien. Odenat. Zenob. & Saturnin.
^o Agath. Schol. Hist. lib. iv. p. 134. Flav. Vopisc. in Vita Aurelian. Zosim. Hist. A. C. 274.

(L) An eastern writer informs us, that Aurelian made peace with Sapor, and gave him his daughter in marriage, in whose train were two Greek physicians, who first brought the writings of Hippocrates

into the East (1). In the reign of this monarch flourished, according to the same writer the famous heretic Manes, whose opinions so long disturbed the church (2).

(1) Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynast. vii. p. 138. (2) Agath. Schol. lib. iv. p. 134. Flav. Vopisc. in Vit. Aurelian. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynast. vii. p. 130.

Of Varanes the first, who succeeded him, we know very little more than that he reigned three years; during which space we find not that he undertook any thing against the Romans, or they against him. In truth, the empire was, at this time, in a very indifferent condition; for, after the death of Aurelian, the Roman forces in Syria and Mesopotamia were very unquiet. At length Saturninus set himself up for emperor, but with no great success; yet, as he was a man of probity, and an excellent commander, he kept the Persians within their limits: so that the prince, of whom we are speaking, never had any opportunity of exerting himself ^P.

Yr. of Fl.
2622.
A. D. 274.
Varanes I.

Varanes the second ascended the throne on the death of the former king of the same name. He had, at first, an intention to invade the Roman provinces; but he soon found that the state of things was changed; for, on the first motion of his troops, the emperor Probus advanced in person into the East. Upon this motion Varanes desisted from his enterprize; and hearing of the emperor's great success, ordered Narses, who commanded for him in Armenia, to send deputies to compliment Probus, to make him presents, and to treat of peace. The emperor received them very haughtily, refused the presents they brought, and wrote an answer to the letter of Narses, to this purpose: that all he had was his; that he wondered how he could send him such trifles: wherefore he had sent them back, as well knowing how to have all that he possessed when the Romans should desire it. However, he granted them peace at this time; and intimidated them so much with his power, that the Persians forbore making their usual excursions for some time ^q. At length Varanes began to think of recovering some of the provinces which his ancestors had lost; but before he was able to do any thing, he found himself disturbed by domestic seditions; and, before these were calmed, Probus, assembling a great army, began his march towards the East. Varanes conceived himself delivered from this misfortune, when he heard that the army, in a sedition, had killed the emperor: but he was mistaken; for Carus, his successor, after subduing several barbarous nations, shortly after entered Mesopotamia, and, carrying all before him, advanced beyond Ctesiphon, as if he intended

Yr. of Fl.
2625.
A. D. 274.
Varanes II.

^P Agath. Scholast. ubi supra. Flav. Vopisc. in Vita Saturnin. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynast. vii. p. 134. ^q Flav. Vopisc. in Vita Prob. Eutrop. Hist. Rom. lib. ix. M. A. Cassiodor. Chron. xxxi.

an absolute conquest of that province. The fears of the Persians were, however, soon over; for the emperor Carus died in the first march he afterwards made, either by an illness under which he had long laboured, or by his tent's being set on fire by lightning. But what was still more happy for the Persians, a notion prevailed amongst the Romans, that fate had assigned Ctesiphon for the bounds of their empire, which they were never to pass but to their hurt. Soon after Numerianus, the son of Carus, was also slain; and the Roman army, under the command of Dioclesian, returned into Italy. Varanes hereby gained some respite, which he employed in strengthening his frontiers; but when, on the news of the disturbances which had happened in the Roman empire, he began to think of invading its provinces, Dioclesian suddenly returned into Armenia, with a great body of forces, and thereby struck such a terror into the Persians, that they were afraid to undertake any thing of consequence. Soon after this transaction Varanes died, after an unfortunate reign of seventeen years, leaving the kingdom to his son^r,

Yr. of Fl.

2642.

A. D. 294.

Varanes
III.*Narfes.**Recovers*
Mesopotamia.

Varanes the third, who reigned no more than four months. He is dignified by historians with the title of Seganfaa (M).

Narfes succeeded next; a prince of high spirit, who meditated no less than the reduction of all the Persian provinces, held at this time either by the barbarous nations, or conquered by the Romans. It is certain that never did a fairer opportunity offer for the execution of this great design, than at the beginning of this prince's reign. The Roman empire was in such distraction, that though there were two emperors, yet they found the weight too heavy for them; and therefore created two Cæsars to share the burden of government. War was kindled in every corner of the empire, when Narfes, with a great army, marched into Mesopotamia, and, in a short time, recovered most of the places which had been in the hands of his ancestors; but it was not long before Dioclesian sent Galerius, one of the Cæsars, with a numerous army, to Antioch, to check the progress of the Per-

^r Flav. Vopisc. in Vita Probr & Car. Zonar. Hist. A. C. 283. Sext. Aurel. Victor. in Car. Agath. Scholast. p. 134. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynast. vii. p. 132.

(M) Agathias tells us, that nified king of the Segani or Seganfaa, or Seganishah, sig- Segestani.

lian. Narfes did not decline an engagement; but his success was not equal to his courage, either in this or in a second battle. Galerius, being conqueror in both, passed the river Tigris, and advanced into the centre of the king of Persia's dominions. Narfes, though he retired, kept a strict eye upon the enemy, beseeching his own troops not to look upon his conduct as timorous, but to be assured, that he would take an opportunity of vindicating their honour, and revenge the loss he had sustained. He did not fail to perform what he promised; for Galerius, elated with success, abating of his usual care and circumspection, Narfes took advantage of his negligence, and falling upon the Roman army while they were upon their march, gave them so total a defeat, that scarce any remains of them could be afterwards collected. Galerius with much difficulty escaped, and took refuge with the army of Dioclesian, who treated him but very coolly, disapproved of his conduct, and, for some time, refused to trust him with another army. At length, however, the zealous importunities of Galerius prevailed; and levies being made with all possible expedition, he was sent with fresh forces against Narfes. The Persian king had, in this interval, made the best use of his victory, retrieving not only the cities and country which he had lost, but also bringing into the field a numerous army, composed chiefly of chosen horse, to maintain the conquests he had made*.

*Is defeated
by Gale-
rius;*

*whom he,
in his turn,
defeats.*

Galerius, taught by experience, now acted with the utmost circumspection, and depended no less on his own conduct than on the courage of his forces. After having viewed the posture of the enemy, he made a disposition for beating up their quarters; and this plan was executed so successfully, that he gained a complete victory. Narfes was wounded, and forced to fly, with a small remnant of his army, into the mountains. His baggage, treasure, papers, all fell into the hands of Galerius, as did likewise his sisters, his queen, his concubines, and children. In vain he endeavoured to repair his misfortune; the spirits of his subjects were effectually damped by this blow, in so much that he found it impossible to collect another army capable of taking the field against the victorious Romans, who were soon after joined by Dioclesian and his army, who, at the time of the engagement, lay encamped at Antioch, in order to have sustained Galerius, in case any sinister accident had befallen him. Overcome

*Constrained
to submit to
the Ro-
mans.*

* Zonar. Hist. A. C. 297. Eutrop. Hist. Rom. lib. ix. Agath. Scholast. ubi supra.

with

with his misfortunes, Narses, to rid himself of these troublesome neighbours, consented to give up five of his provinces; on which condition peace was granted him, and his queen restored; but his sisters, his concubines, and the other persons of quality who were taken in the battle, were carried to Rome, and led in triumph. This misfortune occasioned the death of Narses, when he had enjoyed the regal dignity about seven years¹.

Yr. of Fl.

2649.

A. D. 301.

*Misdates,
or Hormif-
das.*

He was succeeded by Misdates, otherwise called Hormisdas the second, who wore the diadem seven years and five months, but without performing any remarkable action. As he was long in a declining condition, and had no issue, the nobility of Persia were under the utmost concern for the consequences of his decease, without a successor declared. At length it appeared the queen was with child; upon which a council of the magi was summoned; and they were required to inform the nobles, whether the queen was with child of a son or a daughter. The magi answered, "Of a son." Hereupon all the nobility swore allegiance, on the faith of the foregoing prediction, to the son she should bear. The king dying in the interim, the public peace was preserved by this expedient; and, at the end of nine months, the queen was delivered of a son, who was a king as soon as he was born². This was

Yr. of Fl.

2656.

A. D. 308.

Sapor II.

Sapores, or Sapor the second, who governed the dominions of his ancestors long and happily. He was a zealous asserter of the dignity of the Persian diadem, and pursued steadily that design which Artaxares had first set on foot, of uniting all the territories of the ancient Persian kings under his obedience. But he did not pursue this design, as some of his predecessors had done, openly, and at the head of armies; if he had, in all probability he would not have been more fortunate than they; for the Persian militia were by no means able to combat the regular forces of the Romans. This prudent monarch took quite different measures: he encouraged the barbarous people dwelling on the frontiers of the Roman provinces, to ravage and harass them. This conduct he pursued most openly when the affairs of the Romans were in confusion, and with greater secrecy when they were better established. He extended his own dominions towards the east and the north; he increased his revenues, by encourag-

¹ M. A. Cassiodor. Chron. xxxiii. Cedren. Hist. Compend. p. 268. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynast. vii. p. 132. Zonar. Eutrop. Agath. ubi supra.

² Agath. Scholast. lib. iv. p. 134.

ing industry and trade among his subjects ; he disciplined his forces, and, above all things, affected an esteem and veneration for the civil and religious constitution of his country^r.

This last mentioned disposition induced him to persecute the Christians, who were represented to him by the magi, and the Jews settled in his dominions, as men of detestable principles, bad subjects to their governors, and avowed enemies of religion, that is, of its fundamental articles. It is said that he put Simeon, bishop of Ctesiphon, and many other ecclesiastics, to death. One great crime objected to the Christians was, their regard for Constantine, then emperor of Rome. His power was too great for Sapor to think of attacking him openly ; he therefore sent a solemn embassy to Constantinople, to compliment that prince, and to renew the peace which had, for so many years, subsisted between the two empires, directing his ministers privately to enquire into the strength of the Romans, and to purchase a quantity of arms for the use of his subjects. The emperor, though informed of the design of Sapor, received his ministers very graciously, granted their requests, and, at their return, charged them with a letter for their master. Of this letter there are two copies extant, the one more full and correct than the other. The intent of the epistle was, to persuade Sapor to treat the Christians with greater lenity. The arguments made use of are just and natural, delivered in language becoming the writer, and the prince to whom it was addressed (N). In all probability it had its effect ; for we

Persecutes the Christians in his dominions.

* Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xvii. Euseb. in Vita Constant. Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii.

(N) Sozomen hath given us a long account of the cruel persecution raised against the Persian Christians by Sapor ; but even this writer intimates, that the whole was not only excited, but managed also by the magi. Those who are desirous of entering farther into this matter, may find, in the works of this historian, a very copious account, not only of

the general persecution, but of the principal martyrs, their quality and behaviour (1). Eusebius, in his life of Constantine, affords us a concise view of the persecution ; but then he gives us the letter of the emperor at large ; whereas Sozomen gives us only an extract of it. In this letter the emperor gives a short account of his faith, then of his success and

(1) Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 9, 10, 11, 12.

grandeur

*Resolves on
a war
with the
Romans.*

are informed by an impartial author, that Sapor treated the Christians afterwards with less severity.

However, he did not abandon the scheme he had formed of raising himself, and his successors, to the supreme dominion over the East. When he had settled his plan, he generously acquainted Constantine with his intention, transmitting, by his ambassadors, a letter, or rather a manifesto, wherein he expressly set forth his claim to all the dominions anciently belonging to the Persian emperors; affirming, that the river Strymon was the legal boundary of his empire. Constantine returned him an answer full of dignity and resolution; and, though he was now advanced in years, made great preparations for war, assembled a numerous army, and resolved to command it in person. When the season of the year permitted, he joined his forces, and immediately began his march for the Eastern provinces; but Providence prevented his design from taking effect, by removing him out of this life; so that, together with his empire, he left the management of this Persian war to his successors. Sapor did not fail to make use of the advantages afforded him by the disorders which happened in the empire on the death of Constantine: he instantly entered the Roman provinces, and re-annexed to his own dominions what his ancestors had lost (O).

Though

y Zonar. Hist. A. C. 337. Zosim. Hist. lib. ii. A. C. 338. Eutrop. lib. x. Amm. Marcel. Euseb. Sozom. ubi supra.

grandeur, which he attributes wholly to God's blessing: he afterwards expatiates on the folly of idolatry; but without insinuating any thing of his suspicion that Sapor was an idolater. He then very pathetically represents the miseries which had constantly attended unjust and cruel princes, especially persecutors, of whom he particularizes Valerian; whom he asserts to have been happy in all his undertakings until he persecuted the Christians. Lastly, he warmly recommends the Christians in

his dominions to the favour of Sapor; and beseeches him, for his sake, to look upon them as his good and faithful subjects (2).

(O) It is a very difficult thing to give any account of this war from the Greek and Latin historians, notwithstanding the writings of many who lived in those days have come down to our hands, some commending the emperor Constantine as a very martial prince, others upbraiding him with pusillanimity; both endeavouring rather to suit history to

(2) In Vit. Constantin.

Although Sapor reconquered large tracts of country, and was successful in many engagements, he could not prevail against Nisibis, the strongest fortress the Romans had in those parts, though he often besieged it; but was constantly defeated, and constrained, after great losses, to relinquish the enterprize. As to the circumspexion of the emperor Constans when in the field, it might very probably be owing to the situation of those countries which were the seat of war. In a plain country, such as Mesopotamia, the emperor was forced to act with great circumspexion, because the enemy had all advantages, their cavalry having room to extend themselves, to retire, and to return to the charge. We need not wonder, therefore, that the Romans were more industrious in fortifying their camps, than seeking the enemy. In the battle of Singara, which was fought in the night-time, Sapor had at first the advantage, occasioned by the surprize the Romans were under; but, when they had recovered themselves a little, they repulsed the enemy so vigorously, that in the end Sapor was forced to retire, after having lost his son in the engagement, and received a dangerous wound in his own person. Both parties were, at last, tired with the war: the Roman emperor, therefore, leaving the care of the eastern provinces to Gallus, whom he had lately created Cæsar, returned into the western provinces of his empire; while Sapor, who perceived that little was now to be acquired from the Romans, turned his arms against his eastern neighbours, and left the care of his frontiers towards the Romans to his most experienced generals.

Which proves tedious and bloody.

The battle of Singara.

In his expeditions against the Barbarians, he was more fortunate than against the Romans: some he subdued by force, others readily yielded him obedience; and with his most powerful and inveterate enemies, he made a solid and lasting peace. In the midst of this success, he received advice, that overtures had been made to his generals in the West for the conclusion of a peace. To shew, therefore, his readiness in this point, he dispatched one Narfes, a nobleman of great credit in his court, to carry

Overtures for a peace.

their own opinions, than to the truth. By making proper allowances, however, for the visible prejudices of these writers, the truth seems to have been, that in pitched battles, and in defending of towns, the Romans were superior to the Persians; but that, in swift marches, horse-combats, and surprizes, the Persians had the advantage.

his letters to Constans, with the terms on which he was content to enter on a treaty. This minister proceeded to Sirmium, in order to have an interview with Constans. There he presented him with the letters of the Persian king. The purport was, that, notwithstanding Sapor knew himself to have a just claim to all the countries between Persia and the river Strymon, he was content, for the sake of peace, to be satisfied with Mesopotamia and Armenia; which, once yielded up, he would become the friend of the Romans. Narses, perceiving how ill his master's letter was received, endeavoured to pacify the Romans, and to obtain from the emperor an account of his demands; with which request Constans readily complied. He named, on his side, ambassadors to Sapor, who were charged with letters, importing, that while himself was possessed of but a part of the Roman empire, he had, notwithstanding, maintained its ancient boundary in the East; and that now being master of the whole, it was not reasonable to expect that he should yield to such conditions as had been proposed. The Roman ambassadors found the king of Persia at Ctesiphon, where they had many conferences with him, and his ministers, though to very little purpose; for the Persian would remit nothing. However, time was gained, in which Constans came first to Constantinople, and then prepared to set out for the East².

Prove unsuccessful.

Antoninus deserts, and Sapor renews the war.

About this time, one Antoninus, an officer of great credit in the Roman army, being persecuted by some of the emperor's favourites, fled to Sapor, by whom he was received with open arms, treated with the utmost kindness, and immediately admitted into the highest confidence. In the mean time, the emperor had been prevailed upon to remove Ursicinus, who was general of the horse in the East, and to give his command to Sabinian, a very old man, who thought himself very cautious; but was, by others, esteemed timid, and most unfit for supreme command. The Persian king, being informed by Antoninus of the incapacity of the Roman general, determined, with the numerous army under his command, immediately to enter the Roman provinces, and to advance as fast as possible, without embarrassing himself with sieges, or attempting to divide his forces, in order to garrrison towns. Accordingly, he passed the Tigris, and marched, with all imaginable diligence, towards the

² Zonar. Hist. A. C. 350. Zosim. Hist. lib. ii, A. C. 352. Amm. Marcell. lib. xviii. Eutrop. lib. x.

Euphrates,

Euphrates, intending, if possible, to penetrate into Syria, hoping to pillage that fruitful country, which had enjoyed so many years peace^a. But Ursicinus, who had returned into the East with the title of general of the foot, prevented him, by throwing up works on the side of the river, and posting himself, with his troops, behind. Sapor then, by the advice of Antoninus, turned to the left, and, before it was expected, invested the city of Amida. In the neighbourhood of this place, he took several strong castles, and, in one of them, a considerable number of Christian virgins, who had dedicated themselves to the service of God. The Persian treated them not only with humanity, but with great politeness, being desirous to shew, that prosperity softened his disposition, instead of rendering him arrogant. Amida made a long defence, and the siege is said to have cost Sapor thirty thousand men. It was at last, however, taken by storm, after a siege of seventy-three days. The principal officers of the garrison he hanged; the private men he sent into slavery. He afterwards entered Mesopotamia, where he took the town of Singara, and ruined it. He then attacked Bezabda, and, after a siege of some days, took and fortified it. Then he advanced to Virta, which he likewise invested; but, after a siege of some continuance, was obliged to retire. The emperor Constans, in the mean time, passed the Euphrates, and marched to Amida, over the ruins of which he is said to have wept. He then advanced, in hopes of regaining the places taken by Sapor, and proceeded to besiege Bezabda; but to no purpose; for the rainy season, and a scarcity of provision, obliged him to raise the siege, and return into Syria, where he continued all the winter^b.

Amida besieged by Sapor;

and taken by storm.

Several other places taken.

His prudence saves his forces.

Sapor, in the beginning of the next spring, drew together a great army, and made a shew of entering the Roman provinces immediately; which compelled the emperor Constans to prepare also to take the field. As he had, by this time, not only a very great body of forces, but those the best in the empire, his great excellence lying in an exact knowledge of military discipline, in all probability the war would have been both bloody and lasting, if it had not been prevented by the military prudence of the Persians, to whom, when an account was brought of

^a Amm. Marcell. lib. xviii. cap. 5. lib. xx. Butrop. lib. x. Zonar. A. C. 355. Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv.

^b Ammian. Marcell. Zosim. Hist. lib. iii.

the Roman preparations, he instantly determined to put strong garrisons into his frontiers, and then to withdraw the remainder of his forces. The Roman emperor perceiving, that, without a peace, the war was at an end, resolved to follow his example. Having given directions for fortifying the places which were most in danger, he marched away immediately against Julian, who had taken the title of Augustus, and had given just grounds to suspect he aimed at the empire ^c.

His dominions invaded by the emperor Julian;

In this march the emperor falling sick and dying, Julian was raised to be absolute lord of the Roman empire, the whole force of which he intended to make use of, in order to destroy the Persians; that is, to break their power so effectually, that it should be impossible for them ever to trouble the Roman provinces. Full of this great project, he did every thing which might conciliate the minds of the soldiers, raise his own reputation, or by any means contribute to facilitate his enterprize: in which efforts he succeeded so well, that the army discovered an unusual alacrity, and readily followed him into the dominions of Sapor, who contented himself with acting on the defensive, having no hopes of defeating the Romans in a pitched battle, under so martial a prince. In this expedition Hormisdas the Persian commanded the left wing of the Roman army; and, by his advice, the emperor regulated most of his designs. As long as he followed his advice, success attended his arms; some strong places he took by force, others yielded through fear, but most were given up to him by treachery: at length he besieged Ctesiphon, which had been the bulwark of the Parthian empire, without success; for it was well fortified, and had a numerous garrison. Here the Romans began to discover how formidable an enemy they had to contend with ^d.

whom he destroys, by drawing him too far into his country.

The Persians skirmished with him every day; the country on all sides was burnt and destroyed, insomuch that it appeared impracticable to obtain any farther advantages on this side. Julian therefore resolved to remove to the Tigris, on which he had a fleet of transports, laden with provisions. A Persian of quality deserting to Julian, assured him, that the method he pursued would

^c Amm. Marcel. lib. xxi. Eutrop. ubi supra. Zosim. ubi supra. Soz. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. Cedren. Hist. Comp. p. 113. ^d Eutrop. lib. x. Amm. Marcel. lib. xxiii. Zonar. A. C. 363. Socrat. Hist. Comp. p. 307. Zosim. lib. iii.

be equally prejudicial to his fame, and to his affairs : that hitherto he might be justly styled, the Conqueror of the Persians ; and that he might still better deserve this title, if he would follow his advice ; which was, to quit the side of the river, burn his fleet, and march through a broad open road, into which he promised to conduct him, where, after three or four days march, he would find an end put to all the difficulties which he actually struggled with, or even apprehended. Hormisdas, when the emperor consulted him upon this project, told him, that it was impracticable ; and that he would be undone, if he pursued it. Julian, however, was inflexible : he ordered his soldiers to furnish themselves with twenty days provisions ; and commanded the fleet to be set on fire, notwithstanding the solicitations of his friends, who, while it was in a flame, assured him that he was betrayed. He now ordered the Persian nobleman, and his attendants, to be put to the torture. This order was executed upon the servants ; but their lord was fled. It therefore served only to increase the emperor's disquiet ; for the men readily acknowledged, that they came on purpose to mislead him. Notwithstanding this confession, Julian, as if he had lost his senses, threw himself, and his army, into that road which had been pointed out to him by his enemies. For three or four days they met with little or no interruption ; but afterwards Sapor, with the whole force of Persia, skirted them in their march ; and, at the beginning of the night, continually set upon their rear-guard. The weather proving intensely hot, water scarce, and provisions failing, Julian saw plainly, that his obstinacy had brought him into difficulties almost unsurmountable. He still continued to bear up against them with great constancy ; and the soldiers, encouraged by his example, repulsed the Persians with much slaughter, as often as they were attacked. At length, on the twenty-fifth of June, in the evening, a mighty cloud of dust arose, occasioned by the advance of the greater part of the Persian horse. On this occasion the Persian noblemen gave testimony of their valour, making such an impression on the left wing of the Roman army as obliged the emperor to repair thither in person ; there he received an arrow in his body, whether from the enemy, or from one of his own soldiers, could never be known ; of which wound he died next night. This event threw his army into consternation, although they had been victorious in the

*Julian
killed.*

fight the day before, slain many thousand Persians, and amongst them fifty persons of quality ^e.

*Makes an
advanta-
geous peace
with the
Romans.*

Sapor, as soon as he was informed of the emperor's death, made proclamation, that he would give a great reward to the man by whose hand he fell; which, however, was never claimed. At the same time, to shew his desire of peace, he sent deputies to Jovian, who had succeeded Julian. In four days a peace was concluded, whereby the five provinces in dispute were for ever yielded to the Persians, together with the strong fortress of Nisibis, which had so long been the bulwark of the empire. As soon as the treaty was concluded, Sapor furnished the Romans, for their money, with provisions, and also gave and received hostages for the due performance of the treaty; which was exactly executed, though with much reluctance, by the Romans: yet of the powerful army led by Julian into Persia, scarce a tenth part remained; and even these returned, by the favour of this peace, which they so much decried ^f.

*Turus his
arms a-
gainst other
enemies.*

During the rest which so advantageous a treaty afforded to the Persians, their monarch neglected no opportunity of settling effectually the bounds of his empire towards Tartary and India. This plan employed him some time, and served to exercise his soldiers; but after the death of Jovian, the Roman emperor, when the affairs of that people were again disordered, Sapor did not fail to make a new irruption, in breach, as the Latin writers say, of the peace subsisting between the two empires. The issue of this war is no less obscure than its commencement. All we know of it is, that at the beginning Sapor had great advantages in Armenia, having slain Arsaces, who then reigned in that country, where he also reduced a large territory under his obedience; but on the arrival of Arinthus, he was constrained to abandon a great part of his conquests. However, being intent on aggrandizing the Persian dominions on this side, he still remained in arms, and transferred the imperial seat to Ctesiphon, the old capital of the Parthian empire, that he might be always at hand to improve such opportunities as might offer. It does not, however, appear, that after this time he gained any great victory; and all we know farther is,

^e Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxiv. xxv. Cedren. Hist. Comp. p. 303. Zonar. ubi supra. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynast. vii. p. 140. Zosim. lib. iii. A. C. 363. ^f Amm. Marcel. ubi supra. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. Cedren. Hist. Comp. p. 303. Eutrop. lib. x. Agath. Scholiast. p. 135.

that

that in the beginning of the reign of Gratian, this restless and ambitious monarch ended his days, after having reigned seventy years, or, as some say, seventy-two, with great variety of fortune ^z.

Yr. of Fl.
2728.
A. D. 3701

To Sapor succeeded Artaxerxes; but who he was is a question (P). The European historians tell us nothing more concerning this prince, than that he maintained the peace with the Romans, and governed his dominions quietly four years ^b.

Artaxerxes.

To him succeeded his son Sapor, the third of that name, who reigned five years; but what he did in that space we find not in any Greek author, probably because, adhering to the peace made with his grandfather, he did not disturb the Roman empire, then governed by Theodosius the Great.

Yr. of Fl.
2733.
A. D. 385.

Sapor III.

Varanes, or, as the Greeks write it, Vararanes, the fourth of that name, succeeded his father Sapor. He is also known by the surname of Cerman Saa, of which we have little or no account, as to its meaning; elsewhere, however, this difficulty will be cleared up, and the title shewn to be Kerman-Shâh, which province of Kerman was, in his reign, added to the Persian empire. He also maintained the peace with the Romans, being otherwise employed; and therefore the Greek historians say very little of him, any more than of his predecessors, though he reigned eleven years.

Yr. of Fl.
2738.
A. D. 390.

Varanes IV.

Istdigertes succeeded Varanes; a monarch deservedly renowned for his many virtues. He was contemporary with Arcadius, emperor of the East, with whom he lived not only in terms of peace, but of friendship, insomuch that, at his death, the emperor Arcadius declared him protector of his son Theodosius the second, and of the Roman empire. Of this bequest when Istdigertes was informed, he sent Antiochus, one of his eunuchs, a person of great wisdom and experience, to take care of his pupil's education; and by him declared to the senate of Constantinople, that he would turn the whole force of the Persian monarchy upon whosoever should attempt to disturb the young prince's administration. As Theodosius

Yr. of Fl.
2749.
A. D. 491.

Istdigertes.

^z Agath. Scholast. ubi supra. Cedren. ibid. p. 312. Zosim. lib. iv. Paul. Diacon. lib. xi. Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxvii.
^b Agath. Scholast. lib. iv. p. 137. Zonar. A. C. 340. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynast. vii. p. 143.

(P) Some writers are positive, that he was the son of his predecessor; others assert, that he was his brother.

grew up, the ties of friendship became stronger between the two empires, and embassies were more frequent than in former times. Among other ministers whom Theodosius made use of, Marathas, a Mesopotamian bishop, was one; a person equally remarkable for the innocence of his life, and for the pleasantry of his conversation. His stay in Persia quite altered the state of the Christian church in that country, where hitherto the Christians had been looked upon not only as heretics, but as very bad subjects, on account of their inclination to the Roman emperors, who were of their own religion; Marathas so fully informed him of the true doctrines of the Christian faith, that he began to entertain just ideas of the innocence and loyalty of its professors.

Marathas returned to Constantinople, and was employed a second time in an embassy to Persia, where he had not been long before a new opportunity offered for raising his credit with the king. The prince of Persia was thought to be possessed. This pious prelate, assisted by Abdas, whom he had consecrated bishop in Persia, joined their prayers to God for the prince's recovery: which soon after happened, to the joy of the whole court, and to the honour of the Christian religion. Isdigertes governed, in the whole, twenty-one years; and, during that space, lived in perfect peace and friendship with the Romans, as also with the Christians in his own dominions, whom he treated not only with lenity, but indulgence¹.

Yr. of Fl. 2769. *Varanes, or Vararanes, the sixth, succeeded his father*
 A. D. 447. *Isdigertes; and seems, notwithstanding what the Greek*
writers affirm, to have had, in his own disposition, a great
tenderness for the Christians. He had not, however,
Varanes V. been long upon the throne before he found himself pro-
voked to such a degree, as constrained him to lay aside all
indulgence, and openly to persecute them with great se-
verity. Abdas the Persian prelate, in a high and unwar-
rantable fit of zeal, burnt a fire-temple to the ground.
The king sent for him; and, having a great respect for
his person, reprov'd him gently, and advis'd him to re-
build it; but he reject'd this advice. The magi resent'd
this matter so warmly, and, by their clamour, so incens'd
the people, that the king was oblig'd to proceed to extre-
persecut'd the Chris-
tians. mities, to order all the Christian churches to be demolish-
ed, and to put bishop Abdas to death. After this execu-
tion a furious persecution began, on the pretence, that

¹ Agath. Scholast. lib. iv. p. 137. Paul. Diacon. lib. xvi. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynast. vii. p. 146.

those who differ in religion from their prince cannot be loyal to his government. As for persons of quality, they were deprived of their places and estates, but were indulged in life and liberty, in hopes of their coming over. Hormisdas, a man descended of the ancient race of Achæmenes, after being stripped of his fortune, was reduced to keep camels for his bread; another nobleman had his wife taken from him, and given to his slave: but these methods wrought no conversions. The meaner sort of people were delivered over to the mercy of the magi, and consequently subjected to an inexpressible variety of deaths and torments ^k.

These proceedings quickly occasioned differences between the Persian and Roman monarchs, especially as reasons of state concurred with the interest of religion. Theodosius, in the days of Idigertes, had lent a certain number of miners, who were to be employed in working some silver and gold mines, which had been long neglected in Persia. These miners Varanes had refused to send home; and therefore, as well on this account, as because multitudes of Christians fled from Persia to the dominions of Theodosius, both parties began to prepare for war. The king of Persia made choice of Narses for his general, and sent him to his frontiers, where he expected to have found a numerous army: but he was mistaken; the troops were not come to the place of rendezvous. Before they could be assembled, the Roman general Ardaburius, marching through Armenia, fell into Azazene, a Persian province, and began to waste it with fire and sword. Narses no sooner received advice of this irruption, than he instantly marched to give him battle with the forces he had about him. The consequence was, that the Persian was worsted; but, being an able captain, made a good retreat. He saw, that it was impossible to prevent the destruction of Azazene by force; and therefore, returning back to the place of rendezvous, whither, by this time, the Persian troops were come, he, at the head of a very numerous army, made an irruption into Mesopotamia, a Roman province; which obliged the Roman general to return, and block up Nisibis, the principal fortress which the Persians had on that side. Narses, finding himself disappointed (for he conceived, that the Romans would immediately have given him battle a second time), resolved, if it was possible, to provoke them to fight. With this

*War breaks
out with
the Ro-
mans.*

^k Theodorit. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. cap. 39. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. 20. Evagr. lib. i. cap. 19.

view he sent a message to Ardaburius, telling him, that, if he would appoint a day, he would be ready to meet him in the field. But Ardaburius wisely answered, that the Romans fought when they pleased, and not when their enemies thought it for their advantage.

The Persians are joined by the Saracens.

Varanes, in the mean time, had solicited the Saracens to break with the Romans; and they readily complied, their captain Alamundarus being naturally an enemy to the Romans. This man, having raised a prodigious army, promised the Persian king to perform wonders, at least to reduce Antioch and Syria under his power: neither meant he to perform less than he promised; for, passing the Euphrates, he broke, like a torrent, into the Roman province; but, beginning to plunder without mercy, the people recovered their spirits, and, joining the Roman army, fell upon Alamundarus in his march, and cut to pieces a hundred thousand men; a disaster which forced the remainder of the Saracens to fly with shame into their own country. When these tidings reached the ear of the Persian monarch, with this farther circumstance, that Nisibis was so closely pressed, that it could not long hold out, he determined to put all things to the risk, and to march to the relief of that city, with the whole force of Persia. This resolution once taken, Varanes instantly put it in execution, directing all his troops in the frontier provinces to rendezvous at a certain time; he marched immediately, with an army he had collected from the nine provinces of Persia, together with his elephants, that his presence might influence all the necessary preparations. His design succeeded perfectly well; for, by that time he entered Mesopotamia, all his generals were arrived; so that he advanced towards Nisibis with a prodigious army. The Romans, hearing of his approach, the number of elephants he brought with him, and his strength in cavalry, were seized with a panic, and, without staying for his coming, raised the siege, and fled. Varanes, thinking the worst was now over, retired to his capital, and left his generals to manage the war. Herein he acted incautiously; for the Romans, recovering their spirits, defeated the Persians in a pitched battle, repulsed the Saracens a second time, and, under the command of Ardaburius, defeated the Persian forces, with the slaughter not only of a great number of men, but of seven generals.

Obliges the Romans to raise the siege of Nisibis.

The Persians defeated.

Nevertheless, Varanes continued the war; and, being a prince of great firmness, and much military skill, found means to make even victories disadvantageous to the Romans;

Romans ; for, by keeping a court on the frontiers, repairing his armies by constant supplies, and preserving his magazines in good order, he kept the enemy still on the defensive ; and, as they found it difficult to recruit, all actions were favourable to the Persians, though they were beaten.

The emperor Theodosius, perfectly sensible of the situation of things, sent Helion, a person of great distinction, with a large body of troops to reinforce his army, directing him to enter into a negociation with Varanes, and to conclude a peace, if possible. Helion, pursuing his instructions, and finding the Roman army intrenched, sent Maximin, the colleague of Ardaburius, to offer Varanes peace, on certain conditions. Varanes ordered Maximin to be conducted to the tent of one of his principal officers, and, in the mean time, held a council of war, wherein it was resolved immediately to attack the Romans in their camp ; and, in case they were repulsed, to accept the terms offered by Maximin. There was in the Persian army a corps of troops, distinguished by the title of Immortal, because their number was continually kept up to ten thousand men, by draughts out of other corps. This body took upon themselves this dangerous service, which, however, they reckoned would prove the less so, if they could take the Romans unprovided. They formed themselves in two divisions ; and while five thousand attacked the entrenchments, the other five thousand lurked behind a hill, waiting there for an opportunity to attack the Romans in flank. But their enterprize miscarried ; for Procopius, a Roman general, observing the troops that were formed behind the hill, marched round with a great body of forces, and getting between them and those who attacked the Roman camp, charged them on all sides with incredible fury ; so that the victory was quickly determined on the side of the Romans, with a prodigious slaughter of the Persian soldiery.

The Romans treat of a peace.

The Persians again defeated.

Varanes then condescended to hear Maximin. When that officer had explained to him his master's demands, he told him, " That, for his sake, he would be content to make peace on those terms, and to put an end to the severities exercised upon the Christians." An accident, however, happened, which carried this matter much farther, and contributed, more than the peace between the two empires, to the re-establishment of Christianity in Persia. It was this : when the province of Azazene was savaged by the Romans in the beginning of the war, seven thousand Persians were brought prisoners to the city

Peace between the two empires.

of

*Influences
of true
charity in
the Chris-
tian clergy.*

of Amida, where they fell into extreme want. Acafer, bishop of that place, having assembled his clergy, represented to them, in the most pathetic terms, the misery of these unhappy prisoners. He then observed, that as the Almighty preferred mercy to sacrifice, he would certainly be better pleased with the relief of these his creatures, than being served in gold and silver vessels in their churches. The clergy entertained this motion not only with readiness, but with applause; sold all the consecrated vessels, and having maintained the Persians during the war, sent the whole seven thousand home, at the conclusion of the peace, with money in their pockets. Varanes was so much astonished at this generosity, that he sent to invite the bishop to his capital, where he received him with the utmost reverence, and did the Christians many favours at his request. After this accommodation Varanes enjoyed peace as long as he lived; and having reigned twenty years, died, beloved and honoured by his subjects¹.

Yr. of Fl.
2790.

A. D. 442.

*Varanes
VI.*

To Varanes the fifth succeeded Varanes the sixth, or, as he is called by some authors, Isdigerdes. It is not probable that he ever broke the peace made by his father with the Romans; because we meet with nothing concerning him in any of the Greek historians farther than that he was contemporary with Theodosius the second, and his successor Martianus; and that he reigned seventeen years and four months².

Yr. of Fl.
2796.

A. D. 448.

Peroses.

Peroses succeeded his father Varanes, or Isdigerdes. He was a prince of a restless and turbulent spirit, and was exceedingly enraged that the Huns, who began to be terrible, as well to his subjects as to those of the Constantinopolitan emperors, should encroach, as they daily did, upon his dominions. Those who disturbed him were distinguished by the name of Euthalites, or White Huns, and were much more civilized than the rest, as living in cities, and under a certain form of government. To rid himself of those troublesome neighbours, Peroses marched at the head of a great army, after having carefully settled the affairs of his empire, and endeavoured to secure peace in his absence. Gonza was the capital of the nation he attacked, and lay directly north of Persia. Peroses marched thither, hoping to put an end to the war by a general engagement. But the Euthalites, or Nephelites, as some authors call them, were wiser: they knew

¹ Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. 17—23. Zonar. Hist. Roman. A. C. 435. Agath. Hist. lib. iv. p. 137.

² Agath. ubi supra.

that a wasted country was not lost ; and therefore, retiring continually, they drew Peroses, and his army, so far into their territories, as to cut off their retreat, and, at the same time, to hinder them from receiving provisions. The distress of the Persians was so great, and the soldiers were so enfeebled and dispirited, that they were compelled to accept any conditions that were offered. The king of the Euthalites being informed of their situation, sent to acquaint Peroses, that if he was disposed to deliver himself and his army, he might do it on these terms ; to wit, " Swearing never to invade the Euthalites, and coming to do homage to him as his lord." To the first of these Peroses readily yielded ; but the last seemed intolerable. At last the magi, who were about his person, proposed to him an expedient which removed all difficulties. This expedient was, that he should pay his compliments to the king of the Euthalites at sun-rising, when his prostrating himself would be understood by that king as an act of submission ; but, by himself, would be conceived to be no more than an act of reverence to the sun. This expedient was approved, and carried instantly into execution ; the king of the Euthalites was satisfied ; and Peroses, with the remainder of his army, returned into Persia.

*Reduced to
great
straits by
the Hunns.*

When he had settled his affairs, the Persian monarch, unmindful of his oath, prepared for a second expedition against the Hunns. He took, however, more prudent measures than before ; he not only raised a very numerous army, but likewise took care to be well furnished with provisions ; he also settled his domestic concerns ; and leaving the prince, his son, regent of the kingdom, began his march a second time towards the northern frontiers of his empire. The Euthalites, supposing that Peroses would expect to penetrate, as he did before, into the heart of their country, carried off their effects, but concealed their forces behind certain mountains, from whence issuing suddenly on all sides of the Persian army, they totally routed it, and, at their leisure, killed, or made prisoners, almost all the soldiers of whom it was composed, amongst whom Peroses himself perished, when he had worn the Persian diadem twenty years^a.

*Is killed,
and his
army cut
off.*

When the Persians received advice of the disastrous death of their king, they made choice of his brother Obal-as, or, as he is usually called by the Greek writers, Valens, not caring to trust so young a person, as Cavades

Yr. of Fl.
2830.
A. D. 482.

Valens.

^a Procop. de Bell. Persic. lib. i. cap. 24. p. 10. Agath. Hist. lib. iv. p. 138. Creden. Hist. Comp. p. 355.

then

then was, with the reins of government, though his father had left him regent. This Valens proved an excellent prince, tender, compassionate, just, and desirous of assuaging, as far as he might, the misery of his country, almost wholly subjected by the Euthalites, to whom, for two years, he had paid tribute, and with whom, for two years more, he maintained a bloody war. At length, worn out with cares, he died, after a short and troublesome reign of four years, the less regretted by his subjects, on account of his being a man peaceably disposed, and therefore very unfit to restore the ancient lustre of the kingdom * (Q).

Yr. of Fl.

2834.

A. D. 486.

Cavadas.

*Subdues
the Eutha-
lite Huns.*

Cavadas, or Cabades, ascended the throne on the demise of his uncle. He was a prince of a high spirit, who loved war, and understood it; ready to undertake any thing for the extending his dominion, and jealous, to the last degree, of his authority, and the glory of the Persian name. At first these qualities were extremely useful to his subjects; for, in all probability, had they not been governed by so warlike and enterprising a prince, they had never recovered their independency, but had sunk under the weight of those continual invasions made upon them by the Euthalites, whom no tribute could content, and no treaties restrain. Against these enemies Cavadas acted with great resolution; making use of the same policy which they had used towards his father, he drew them, by small bodies, in hopes of plunder, far into his country, and, in their return, cut them off. When, by these means, they were cured of their practice of invading, he then turned his arms against them, but warlike sustaining one body of troops by another; wintering sometimes in their country, till at last he quite broke their spirits, and obliged them to own him for their sovereign whom they thought to have had for their subject.

This war being happily finished, Cavadas, from being terrible to his enemies, became no less so to his subjects. His enterprising restless genius, incapable of brooking restraints, impelled him to alter the constitution of his kingdom, and deprive all the nobility of those privileges

* Cedren. Hist. Comp. p. 356. Agath. Hist. lib. iv. p. 138.

(Q) We learn from the oriental historian, Mirkhond, that these people, called Hailithis, possessed a large tract of country between the Indies and Persia, till they began to make encroachments on the last country, and made choice of Balkh for their metropolis.

and prerogatives which they had enjoyed under his predecessors. He likewise became intolerably proud; would not allow any of them to enter his palace, or advise him in his affairs; but acted in such an arbitrary manner, as would have given a very bad colour to his proceedings, had they been really just. At length he carried his extravagancy so far, as to publish an edict, whereby all the women in the empire were declared common to all the men. The Persian nobility, alarmed at this strange decree, which favoured much of insanity, instantly assembled in council, seized the person of the king, deposed, and imprisoned him, after he had reigned eleven years P.

*Is deposed
by his sub-
jects.
Yr. of Fl.
2845.
A. D. 497.
Zambades.*

Zambades, otherwise called Blases, and Lamases, by some said to have been the son, by others, the brother of Perofes, consequently the uncle or brother of Cavades, was elected king in his stead. The first step the new king took, was to assemble a general council of the nobility, in which he desired they would consider and determine what should be done with Cavades. The people had before declared, that they considered the person of their prince as sacred: however, the council were very much divided, especially when Gusanaftades, who was possessed of the highest office in the kingdom, drew a little knife out of his pocket, with which he used to pair his nails, and, when he had made them take notice of the smallness of its blade, "This (said he), properly applied, will do what twenty thousand men will not be able to perform, if you lose the opportunity." At last it was unanimously determined, that the king should, for his unworthy administration of the government, suffer perpetual imprisonment, and be for ever forgotten by his people, whose allegiance from thenceforward was to be transferred to Zambades. This prince had, indeed, all the qualities necessary to give lustre to a crown justly attained: he was equally wise and indulgent, desirous of restoring order, and of making the people happy: he applied himself, with great industry, to remedy those evils which had taken birth from his predecessor's conduct and example. But while he was thus employed, a new storm arose, which, after throwing the whole kingdom into violent convulsions, at length produced a second revolution.

The keeper of the castle in which Cavades was imprisoned, became enamoured of his queen, who alone re-

*The deposed
king
escapes.*

† Agath. Hist. lib. iv. p. 139. Procop. de Bell. Persic. lib. i. cap. 5. p. 16. Cedren. Hist. Comp. p. 356. Theophylact. Hist. p. 99.
‡ Agath. Procop. Cedren. Theoph. ubi supra,

mained

mained attached to him in all his misfortunes, and who failed not to bring him necessaries with her own hands, though she was not permitted to see him. With much difficulty, however, she procured leave to write to him; and having acquainted him with the situation of affairs, Cadaves, by letter, directed her to soothe the passion of his gaoler, in order to get admittance to him. This injunction the lady complied with so effectually, that she had access to her husband when she pleased, and thereby an opportunity of acquainting him, that he had still one friend left, who was ready to undertake any thing for his service. The name of this man was Sefoses, a person of quality, who had a great number of dependents, among whom he collected a troop to attend the king wherever he should think fit, when he should be once safely out of the castle. The care of his escape the queen took upon herself; for, staying, as she often did, late in the evening, she dressed the king in her cloaths, and he went out in this disguise unquestioned, while she remained in his attire. As she pretended to be sick, and kept her bed for some days, the cheat was not discovered; so that Cavades had time enough to save himself, by retiring with Sefoses and his friends, who conducted him through Persia into the territories of the Euthalites, whose king received him with great honour, and readily granted him protection. As for the queen, there is nothing said of her fate with certainty: however, historians intimate, that more of resentment than of pity was shewn in the treatment towards her. As for Cavades, the king of the Euthalites entertained him splendidly, treated him as his friend and ally, and gave him his daughter in marriage. In the sequel, the Persian king began to hold correspondence with some of the nobility; and finding, or believing he found, in his people an inclination to receive him once more as their sovereign, he persuaded his father-in-law to furnish him with an army. This favour being readily granted, he no sooner saw the troops in readiness, than he put himself at their head, and marched into Persia.

Yr. of Fl.

2849.

A. D. 301.

*Cavades
restored.*

Cavades entered first into the province, of which Gafanastades, who had threatened his life, was governor, where he instantly caused proclamation to be made, that this man, as a rebel, was unworthy of his charge; and that himself would confer it on the person who should first pay his duty to him, on a day assigned. His friends re-

* Procop. de Bell. Persic. lib. i. cap. 6. Agath. Creden. ubi supra.
presente

presented to the king, that this step was innovating the established laws, which fixed the governments of provinces in certain houses. Cavades, however, affected to remain firm; but, at the day, conferred the office of governor upon Adergudunbades, a young nobleman next of kin to the deprived governor, who, as it was concerted, paid his compliments to him first. He afterwards proceeded to the capital of Persia, and repossessed himself of the throne almost as easily as he had been ejected. His conduct, upon this extraordinary change in his affairs, was suitable to the fierceness of his temper: Zambades he deprived of sight, and imprisoned, after he had for four years worn the royal title. Gusanaftades he put to death; and, that his restoration might be adorned with one act of generosity, amidst so much severity, he erected a new office for his friend Sefoses, whom he made lieutenant-general of his kingdom*.

It was not long before the king of the Euthalites pressed his son-in-law to repay the great sums of money he had lent him. Cavades found he could not comply with his demand, and therefore desired Anastasius, then emperor of the East, to accommodate him with the sum he wanted, offering to pay interest for it; but his request was refused. Cavades readily conceiving, that there was now no way to avoid breaking with his father-in-law, but by making war upon the Romans, chose this as the lesser evil of the two; and, having a considerable body of forces near him, made a sudden irruption into Armenia, preventing, by the quickness of his march, the very report of his expedition. By this method he answered his purpose; for the inhabitants having no time to withdraw their effects, he raised excessive contributions: after which he besieged Amida, the principal fortress in those parts. As the province had for many years enjoyed profound peace, the city was unprovided of garrison or magazines: however, the citizens refused to open their gates, and prepared to make an obstinate defence. Cavades, who delighted in war, and who understood it perfectly well, practised all the methods then in use for reducing fortified places, but in vain: at length, however, when he and his principal commanders were almost in despair, a tower was surprised, by the supine negligence of certain monks, on the eightieth day from the commencement of the siege. At first Cavades suffered his soldiers to put the inhabitants to

*Invasions
the Roman
provinces.*

*Amida be-
sieged;*

and taken.

* Theophylact, lib. iv. p. 100.

the sword: a citizen thereupon told him, it was unworthy of a hero to put those to death, who were unable to resist. "Why then, said the king, did you pretend to treat me as an enemy?" "Because, said the citizen, it was the will of God to deliver Amida, not to your power, but to your valour." Cavades, charmed with this compliment, ordered the citizens to be spared. Some time afterwards, he restored to them their privileges; directed the walls and public buildings to be repaired; and leaving Glones, a Persian nobleman, with a garrison of a thousand men, he treated it afterwards rather as a benefactor than a conqueror[†].

*Defeats
several
Roman
generals.*

As soon as the news of this invasion reached Rome, the emperor took the necessary precautions for assembling an army; and orders were given to march to the frontiers with all imaginable expedition. The Greek writers tell us, that there never were better forces sent against the Persians, than this army was composed of, or generals of greater reputation. Cavades, on his side, took the field early; and being informed, that the Roman officers differed among themselves, and had divided their forces into several independent bodies, he resolved to attack them without delay. He first fell upon Ariobindus, who, on the approach of the Persians, shamefully abandoned his camp, and fled to an adjacent city. Eight hundred Euthalites, who were the forlorn hope of Cavades' army, in their next march fell in with a considerable body of Roman troops, commanded by Hypatius, and were by them entirely cut to pieces, on the side of a river, the stream of which they dyed with their blood. It was not long before the Persian monarch arrived on its banks, where guessing by the colour of the water what had happened, he immediately conceived, that he should find the Romans secure and unprovided. Instead of making a halt, he hastened on with his cavalry; and, as he conjectured, finding the Romans eating, drinking, and washing themselves in the river, he severely revenged the death of his friends, by putting almost this whole body to death, without any resistance[‡].

Soon after this victory, he received advice that the Hunns had broken into the northern provinces of his empire; upon which he was obliged to return with his whole army into Persia, whence he happily expelled those barbarous invaders. After the departure of the army,

[†] Procop. de Bell. Persic. lib. i. cap. 7. p. 20. Cedren. H. C. p. 159.

[‡] Procop. de Bell. Persic. lib. i. cap. 8.

the Romans, in several bodies, drew nearer to Amida, in order to straiten its garrison, and to prevent its receiving provisions. They likewise found means to draw Glones, the Persian commander, into an ambuscade, wherein himself and two hundred horse were cut to pieces. This was not only a very unfortunate accident for the garrison, but also fatal in its consequences, on account of its restraining them from making any excursions, in order to fill their magazines. The command devolved upon the son of Glones, a young man, but an excellent officer, who acquired a greater reputation by losing this city, than his master had done by gaining it. After a long blockade, in which, though the Romans did little, the Persians suffered much, being constrained to feed on the vilest and most nauseous things to satisfy their hunger, while the provisions in their magazines remained untouched, in order to answer another purpose; hopes of succour being lost, the governor entered into a treaty with the Romans for the delivery of the city. During this treaty, large distributions were made from the magazines; whence the Roman officers conceiving that the besieged had still plenty of provisions, they agreed to let the garrison march out, and to carry with them all that they had; giving also to the governor a sum of money for surrendering a place, which, in a few days, must have fallen into their hands. Some time after this event, a truce for seven years was concluded between the Romans and Persians, and hostages given on both sides for its being duly kept; so that Cavades had leisure to pursue his wars against the Hunns *.

Amida retaken by the Romans.

Peace between the Persians and Romans.

Proposes the adoption of his son to the emperor.

In these he had his usual success; yet all his foreign victories could not secure peace or tranquillity in his family. He had three sons, Caoses, Zames, and Chosroes; the last of whom he designed for his successor. Caoses, the eldest, is said to have been a prince of merit; neither are we told why his father at first disliked him; however, he resolved to deprive him of the succession. Zames had the misfortune to be blind of an eye; on which account, by the laws of Persia, he was incapable of reigning. Chosroes very much resembled his father in temper, fierce, warlike, and ambitious: he was continually contriving great schemes, and exerted incredible diligence and activity in executing what he had projected. On this young prince Cavades reposed his hopes; and being desirous to

* Cedren. H. C. p. 170. Agath. Hist. lib. iv. p. 139.

establish him in the most glorious situation, entered into a negotiation with Justin, who had succeeded Anastasius in the empire, in order to induce him to adopt Chosroes. At first this motion was well entertained at Constantinople; but, by degrees, the emperor was persuaded that it might be injurious to his family and his subjects; it was therefore declined. However, commissioners met on both sides, to treat of a lasting peace, and to settle the boundaries of the two empires. For this important business, Cavades made choice of Sefoses, whom he had raised to the principal offices in his kingdom, and Mebodes, a military officer of great experience. On the other hand, the emperor Justin sent Hypatius, the nephew of his predecessor, and Rufinus, a man of great quality. After frequent conferences; disputes arose; and it being proposed to adopt Chosroes, in a new and particular manner, as a Barbarian, that prince conceived such displeasure at that epithet, as inspired him with an irreconcilable hatred to the Romans. The conferences being broken off, Mebodes, at their return to court, charged Sefoses with having contributed to the miscarriage of their negotiation. He was likewise accused of having buried his wife, contrary to the law of Persia, whereby all dead bodies were exposed to the fowls of the air. On these pretences he was tried, and adjudged worthy of death. Cavades expressed great sorrow for his friend; but was grown so tender of the laws, that he would not hinder their course. In this manner died Sefoses, and with him that high office, which had been created on purpose to gratify him for his services.

*Breaks
with the
Romans
afresh.*

Justinian having succeeded Justin in the empire of the East, pursued also his policy, in causing all the frontiers towards Persia to be surveyed, the old fortresses repaired, and others erected, as the situation of the country required. With this view he sent instructions to those who commanded on the frontiers of Mesopotamia, to fortify Mindone, the nearest place in the Roman territories to Nisibis; and a body of troops under the command of Cutzes and Buzes, brothers, were sent to protect the workmen. The Persians, who could not but look with an evil eye on the progress of this structure, took an opportunity, when the Roman forces did not observe strict discipline, to fall upon, and cut most of them to pieces, together with many of the workmen, demolished the place, and sent the prisoners into Persia, where Cavades employed them in his buildings. This occasioned a new war,

for

for the carrying on of which the Persians took the field, with a very numerous army, commanded by Perofes, who had under him several generals of reputation. On the other hand, Belifarius had the command of the Roman forces. After some preparatory motions, the armies came to a general engagement, in which, after a very obstinate resistance, the Persians were defeated, with very great slaughter: yet the Romans gained little ground by this victory; for the Persian generals, being supplied with fresh forces, continued to keep the field; only they contented themselves with slight excursions, and did not pretend to give the Romans battle a second time *.

*Carries on
the war
with in-
different
success.*

In Armenia, Mermeroes, who commanded the Persian forces in chief, was twice defeated by Doritheus, the Roman general. Two castles, and certain districts dependent upon them, submitted to the Romans; and in these districts were the gold mines belonging to the king of Persia. The Tzani, a free and barbarous people, were the chief occasion of these losses; for they now embraced the party of the Romans, and possessed themselves of the gold which belonged to the Persian king, who was constrained to be content, his forces not being numerous enough to reduce them. Besides, his generals Narfes and Aratius deserted; and, with all their families, and much wealth, retired to Constantinople. This situation of affairs did not at all discourage Cavades, who, when Rufinus, the Roman ambassador, came to treat with him of peace, adhered to his first demands; and when the ambassador had his audience of leave, insinuated to him, that if ever he departed from them, it must be in consideration of a large sum of money. To retrieve his military reputation, he set several new armies on foot, disgraced Perofes, and gave the command of the army which he intended to send into the Roman territories, to Azarethas, a valiant man, who well understood the duty of his charge. This general made an irruption into the country bordering on the Euphrates; and, finding himself superior in force to Belifarius, wasted all before him with fire and sword. The Roman soldiery saw this with indignation; and, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, and other disadvantages, clamorously urged Belifarius to give the enemy battle: he declined it as long as he could; but at length, by the near approach of the enemy, and

* Procop. de Bell. Persic. lib. i. cap. 11. p. 30. Cedren. Agath. ubi supra. Evagr. lib. iv. cap. 12.

the obstinacy of his own troops, was forced to fight. The Persian general knew exactly the advantages he had, and improved them to the utmost; so that the Romans were defeated, with very great slaughter. However, Belisarius, with the remains of his army, so well covered the country, that the Persians were not able to take any place of importance; so that Azarethas, on his return to court, notwithstanding his victory, fell into disgrace ¹.

Makes another peace.

The war still continued: Mermeroes had the command of the Persian army; and as Belisarius was recalled, in order to be employed against the Vandals, he found it not so difficult to deal with his successors. After having amused the Roman generals with marches and counter-marches, he at last invested the city of Martyropolis, a place of the last importance to the Roman empire; and, in sight of their armies, carried on the siege in form. Sittas, who commanded for the emperor Justinian, finding that himself and his colleagues were able to do little by force, began, with better success, to practise some of the frauds of war. Having found a person fit for his purpose, and thoroughly instructed, he sent him into the Persian army, where, coming privately to Mermeroes, he acquainted him, that the Massagetæ, whom Cavades had hired to fall into the Roman territories, had accepted a sum of money from Justinian, and were on the point of invading Persia. This false intelligence greatly intimidated Mermeroes, engaged him first to turn the siege into a blockade, and afterwards to consent to a truce with the Romans; which was the reason that the Massagetæ, who remained firm to the Persian interest, made only a short incursion, and returned, without doing much good to themselves, or hurt to the Romans ².

In the mean time Cavades, who was oppressed with years, and whose activity had drawn upon him, in his declining age, many infirmities, began to feel the approach of death (R). Upon this he sent for Mebodes,
his

¹ Procop. de Bell. Persic. lib. i. cap. 15. p. 43. Evagr. ubi supra.

² Procop. de Bell. Persic. lib. i. cap. 16. p. 47.

(R) It is evident from this part of the Persian history, that this people were at that time not only numerous and warlike, but prudent also and polite. The Roman authors (for so, after the oriental custom, we call those who treat of the Roman empire) are not fond of owning this; but affect to attribute all the success of the Persians to their vast armies,

his confident and minister, to whom having explained the reasons why he desired to have Chosroes for his successor, he put his will into his hands, conjuring him to use his utmost endeavours to see it executed. Thus died Cavadès, after having reigned thirty years from the time of his restoration, forty-one in the whole, and forty-five, if we take in the time of his imprisonment and exile. As soon as he expired, Caoses, his eldest son, took upon him the title of king; but Mebodes interposed, representing, that the crown of Persia was never to be acquired by fraud; that an assembly of the nobles was necessary to recognize his title; and that, until this was acknowledged, his subjects could not lawfully obey him. An assembly was called accordingly, but whether by Caoses, or Mebodes, does not appear. In this assembly the will of the king was produced and read; and such a regard was paid by the nobility to his memory, that the claim of Caoses was set aside; and Chosroes, in virtue of his father's designation, declared monarch of Persia^a.

Provides for the succession of his younger son. Dies.

Chosroes, being settled on the Persian throne, received an embassy from Justinian, composed of several persons of distinction, at the head of whom was Rufinus. The intent of this embassy was not only to compliment the king on his accession, but also to treat of peace. Chos-

Yr. of Fl. 2879.

A. D. 531.

Chosroes I.

^a Procop. de Bell. Persic. lib. i. cap. 21. p. 65. Agath. lib. iv. p. 140. Cedren. p. 369.

mies, their sudden incursions, and the little respect which their monarchs had to treaties, and to oaths. One thing, however, is certain, that the Roman emperors constantly paid certain subsidies to the Persian kings; and this seems to be a strong proof of the prowess of those monarchs. This was one of the great causes of the wars which so frequently happened between these empires. As often as the Roman empire was in disorder, or had a pacific prince upon the throne, the Persians received these subsidies; but when the Romans were in a good condition, or a

martial prince was at their head, then they were stopped, and, of course, the Persians began their incursions, till either they were beaten by the Roman armies, or bought off again with Roman money. On the other hand, it must be owned, that when ambitious and turbulent princes wore the Persian diadem, scarce any thing could content them. They knew, that the Constantinopolitan empire could not, for any length of time, support a war with Persia, because of the immense expence to which it was put, by keeping a great army on the frontiers.

roes, who was a prince of quick parts, received the first kindly, and entered readily into the second; but, when they came to adjust the articles of the peace, he discovered his true intention, by insinuating, that a sum of money should be given him; that the pretensions of the Persians and Romans should be thoroughly canvassed, and finally settled; all places taken on either side restored, and this peace declared to be perpetual. Some delays happened in the negotiations; and a report being spread, that Justinian had put Rufinus to death, who, at the request of the Persian king, had returned to Constantinople for instructions, Chosroes instantly took the field with a powerful army; which struck such a terror, that the inhabitants began to retire from the villages in all the frontier provinces, supposing that the war would become more bloody than ever. But before Chosroes proceeded to hostilities, Rufinus arrived, and perfected the treaty; the Persians retired, and the inhabitants of the frontier provinces returned to their habitations ^b.

*Discovers
and defeats
a conspira-
cy against
him.*

The Persian nobles, perceiving that Chosroes was possessed of the same spirit which had made Cavades terrible to his subjects when he ascended the throne, determined to secure their own safety at the expence of the king's, by deposing him, and setting up in his stead one more tractable. This was Zames, the brother of Chosroes. The law incapacitated him from being king; but it was easily evaded: he had a son, whose name was Cavades, who was extremely like his grandfather. Him they intended to proclaim king, and to vest the regal authority in Zames, as his tutor and protector. Zames readily came into this scheme, and promised the conspirators to act in all things according to their counsels. As Chosroes made it a rule to spare no expence for intelligence, it was not long before he was informed of all these machinations. He suffered them, however, to proceed, that he might by this connivance discover who were, and who were not, devoted to his service; for, as he had the troops entirely at his command, and knew every step his enemies took, he was not in pain for his own safety. When things grew ripe for execution, he seized the conspirators at once; and had no sooner seized than he put them to death. His executions extended to the whole conspiracy: he had no idea of reconciling traitors; but every man, who had the least share in it, paid the forfeit of his life ^c.

^b Procop. de Bell. Persic. lib. i. cap. 22, 23.
^c Procop. de Bell. Persic. lib. i. prope fin.

^c Procop. de

*The history
of Cavades
the young-
er.*

Young Cavades alone escaped, and that only by accident. He was not in the king's power immediately, being brought up by Adergudunbades; to whom therefore Chosroes dispatched orders to put him to death. This injunction extremely grieved the good old man, who had educated him as carefully as if he had been his own son; but the royal orders, and the royal safety, were things not to be trifled with. But when he came to acquaint his wife with the command he had received from court, she, who had nursed Cavades, forgot all concerns but for his safety; and, as her husband was naturally inclined to pity the unfortunate child, she prevailed upon him to think of concealing the youth in her house, and to dispatch a messenger to court, to inform Chosroes, that his order had been exactly complied with. This scheme was happily executed for Cavades, who thereby escaped a death he no way deserved. It was no less prudently conducted by his wife and generous protector, who entrusted none with the secret but his eldest son, and an old servant. When Cavades was grown to the years of discretion, Adergudunbades furnished him with a considerable sum of money, advised him to retire from Persia, and to be careful of his safety, and his own. Some time afterwards, Varrhames, this nobleman's eldest son, discovered this secret to Chosroes, and produced the servant who was privy to it. The king, who was then employed in an expedition against the Huns, sent instantly for Adergudunbades to attend him. That excellent man, being now far advanced in years, fell, through weakness, from his horse, as he hastened to attend Chosroes, and broke his thigh. The king, being informed of the accident, ordered him to be sent to a certain castle, under pretence of taking care of his cure, but, in truth, to have him privately murdered: he was accordingly dispatched, and his office given to his son Varrhames. As for Cavades he retired to Constantinople, where he was treated, by the emperor Justinian, with all the respect due to his birth^d.

*Chosroes
resolves to
make war
upon the
Romans.*

As the peace with the Romans was, at first, very convenient to Chosroes, he faithfully observed it. When he was informed of the victories obtained by Belisarius in Africa, he sent ambassadors to congratulate Justinian upon his success; and by way of raillery, directed them to tell the emperor, that he had a right to share the spoils of his enemies, since, had he not been at peace with Persia, he

^d Procop. ubi supra.

could

could not have either forces or leisure to make these conquests in Africa. Justinian received these ambassadors kindly, assured them of his great affection for their master, and, on hearing his message, presented Chosroes with a considerable sum of money. But this friendly correspondence did not last long: the Saracens, encouraged by the Persian king, made several incursions into the Roman territories; of which when Justinian, by his ambassadors, made loud complaints, Chosroes returned for answer, that he believed what they alleged was not altogether without foundation; but that he could scarce conceive his brother Justinian took this amiss, because they were arts of empire himself had taught, he having practised not only on the Saracens, but the Huns, to invade Persia, as he could prove by his own letters: so that he had only turned his own weapons upon him, as he was obliged to do, to preserve his subjects. For a time, however, he suffered himself to be pacified; yet not without making the necessary preparations for carrying on a war, whenever he thought fit. To this he was principally excited by Vitiges, king of the Goths, who sent an embassy on purpose to represent the formidable power of Justinian, and how much it was the interest of Chosroes, as well as himself, to see it reduced. Soon after came an application from the Arsacidæ, or petty princes of Armenia. They set forth many grievances, under which they laboured from the Roman power: they described the methods taken by Justinian for attaining universal empire in the strongest light; and besought Chosroes to consider not so much their case, as his own. This remonstrance determined the Persian monarch to break the peace, and to surprise Justinian before he was at leisure to attack him. The season of the year did not permit this resolution to be executed as soon as it was formed; but it influenced Chosroes to assemble such an army as might be able to act in the beginning of the spring, notwithstanding he was advised of the death of Vitiges, and the absolute ruin of his kingdom. Justinian, being informed of the preparations made in Persia, found himself under a necessity of providing for what might happen: yet, not willing to have recourse immediately to arms, he wrote letters to Chosroes, wherein he described the bad consequences which would attend a hasty and unjust breach of the peace subsisting between them. To which letters Chosroes, being already fixed in his resolution, returned no answer, but went on with his military

military preparations as openly and as vigorously as if there had been a war declared^e.

In the beginning of the spring Chosroes, at the head of a great army, entered the Roman territories. He did not, as it was generally expected he would, fall into Mesopotamia; but, on the contrary, made the provinces of Syria and Cilicia the seat of the war. The first place of consequence which he reduced was Sura, seated on the Euphrates, a place of great strength, rich, and populous; yet Chosroes quickly mastered it, rather by fraud than force, and behaved to the inhabitants with rigour, notwithstanding that he married a woman from among the prisoners taken there, for whose sake, it might have been expected, he would have treated her country with lenity.

His great success in his first war.

Reduces Sura.

From hence he moved on, using severity where any resistance provoked him, and great clemency towards the inhabitants of such places as readily submitted, imposing, however, heavy contributions upon all. At length, finding no Roman army in the field, he proceeded to Antioch, and encamped in its neighbourhood, on the banks of the river Orontes. Thence he sent to acquaint the Antiochians, that, if they paid him a large sum of money, he would spare them, and retire from before their city. As it was very strong, its fortifications newly repaired, and a numerous garrison in it, the populace were so elate, that they not only rejected the Persian monarch's proposition, but also maltreated those he sent, throwing out abusive reflections on Chosroes and his family. This insolence irritated him so far, that, quite contrary to his intention, he invested the place; and, against the ordinary rules of war, and even the dictates of reason, stormed the city, before the walls were at all battered, making use of machines to raise the soldiers against them. This was a rash and desperate attempt; and, notwithstanding the presence of Chosroes, who used every method to encourage his soldiers, they were beaten off with great slaughter.

Advances to Antioch.

Attempts to storm the city, but is repulsed.

When they returned to the charge, a worse accident happened; for the besieged, encouraged by their former success, attacked those who had the keeping of the machines; and having cut the ropes and chains, precipitated them, and all who were upon them, from the top of the walls over the craggy mountains, on which they were

erected,

^e Procop. de Bell. Persic. lib. ii. Anecd. lib. i. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 149. Zonar. Annal. lib. iv. p. 67. Evagr. lib. iv. cap. 17. Jornand. de Regn. Success. in Vita Justinian.

*Antioch
taken.*

erected, into the distant plain underneath. This incident proved the destruction of the city; for the dreadful noise of the rolling machines, and the horrid cries of the dying soldiers, being heard in the city, and the cause not known, the garrison caused the gates to be thrown open, supposing the walls on the other side had fallen down; and, without staying for better information, hastily riding over women and children, they abandoned the place. Those on the walls seeing this tumult, apprehended that the Persians had made some other attack, and thereupon quitted their post, to retire into the market-place. Chosroes did not neglect so fair an opportunity, but drawing fresh forces out of his camp, scaled the undefended walls, and, after a bloody struggle in the market-place, inflicted all the severities that could be expected from an incensed enemy on the miserable inhabitants of Antioch. While the Persian army remained at Antioch, ambassadors came from Justinian, to expostulate with Chosroes on this breach of peace, and to treat of an accommodation. The Persian monarch received them with much civility; he heard them patiently, and seemed to pay a great regard to what they said. When they had done speaking, he began to answer them with tears in his eyes: he made a more pathetic description of the miseries induced by the war, than they had done; he declared it was with the utmost reluctance he had taken arms; that he was compelled to it by the nobility of Persia, who could no longer see, with patience, Justinian raising up enemies against them on every side, and encouraging his subjects to treat them, on all occasions, with contempt. He delivered this harangue with such a solemn sadness in his countenance, with such vehement gestures, and with expressions so calculated to excite the passions, that the ambassadors were quite confounded, openly confessing, that the eloquence of Chosroes was more dreadful to the Romans than his arms. In the end, however, he began to intimate, that a considerable sum of money advanced, and an annual tribute, would send him back into Persia, and fix the peace between the two empires.

*The city of
Antioch
burnt, and
several
others
taken:*

As the ambassadors demurred a little at this demand, Chosroes, to quicken their deliberations, burnt the city of Antioch to the ground, and, not long after, concluded a peace very advantageous to himself, as well as very ignominious to the Romans. However, he did not even keep this; but, influenced by a mistaken desire of accumulating wealth, proceeded to take city after city, raising contri-
butions

butions wherever he came. He did not indeed pretend to keep, but, on the contrary, slighted, all the places he took, after he had extorted contributions; but by these means he alarmed and terrified the Romans, raised the courage of the Persians, and filled his coffers. The last city he besieged was Dara, a place of great importance, which he was very desirous of having in his power; but whether he intended to keep or demolish it, is uncertain. The citizens, however, weighing within themselves the treatment which other cities had received from the Persians, and considering also the strength and advantageous situation of the place, determined to defend themselves to the utmost; in which resolution they succeeded so well, that Chosroes, finding his troops fatigued, his forces diminished, and the season far advanced, raised the siege, and returned, loaded with wealth, into his own territories †.

As he had now answered all the ends he proposed in the war, he was inclined to let peace take place; to which end he endeavoured to renew the negotiations, and to establish things on the plan of the treaty he had concluded. But Justinian, by this time, had quite altered his opinion; and having recalled Belisarius, determined to make the Persians feel the weight of the Roman power, since, without such exertion, there seemed no probability of preserving peace for any length of time.

The seat of the war was now suddenly transferred to Colchis, much to the disadvantage of the Romans, and yet entirely through their own mismanagement. This region was at that time inhabited by the Lazi, a rude and barbarous people, who had, for a long course of years, adhered steadily to the Roman interest. This attachment was the result of choice; for they had never been subdued: they were neither charged with any taxes, nor obliged to admit any new magistrates as a conquered people. Only the emperor of Constantinople, on the death of any of their princes, appointed his successor, and thereby manifested a kind of superiority, rather honourable than of any great consequence. But the emperor Justinian, having thoroughly considered the importance of that district which those people inhabited, and which, as it lay upon what is called the Black Sea, was a kind of frontier to his empire, and, at the same time, covered his

Drives the Romans out of Colchis.

The Lazi, inhabitants of Colchis, disabliged by Justinian.

† Procop. de Bell. Persic. lib. ii. Evagr. lib. iv. cap. 25. Cedren. Hist. Comp. p. 371. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 152. Zonar. Annal. lib. xiv. p. 68.

metropolis,

metropolis, resolved to make some farther provision for his security on that side, lest this nation should, at any time, prove unfaithful.

*Invite
Chosroes;*

To this end, he recommended it to one Tzibus, whom he named a prince of the Lazi, to build a city, well fortified, and secured by a strong citadel, on the coast of the Euxine Sea, that it might be a check on the Lazi, if they should ever attempt to revolt. This commission Tzibus very faithfully executed, his countrymen assisting him to the utmost of their power, rejoicing to behold so large and fine a city built in their country at the expence of the Romans; but when they found to what end it was erected, and saw that Tzibus had received into it a Roman garrison, they began to be of another opinion: and thus all the pains and expence employed about this city and fortrefs, turned to no other account than producing that effect which they were erected to prevent; for the Lazi instantly dispatched their deputies into Persia, to invite Chosroes to their assistance. This embassy they dispatched in the name of Gubazes, the greatest of their princes, who besought him to take under his protection a free people, whom Justinian was attempting to enslave. There wanted not much intreaty to induce so enterprising a monarch to undertake an expedition so visibly for his interest: he therefore accepted the proposal of the deputies; and, having propagated a report, that the Hunns were about to invade the frontiers of his kingdom, he suddenly assembled an army, with which he marched towards Iberia; but, turning short when it was least expected, he entered Colchis through a thick, and, till then, impenetrable forest, which he caused to be cut down before him. As soon as he descended into the plain country, Gubazes met and paid his compliments to him, acknowledging him for his sovereign; and, joining his army with a considerable reinforcement, they marched together toward Petra. Tzibus, with the Roman garrison, made at first a gallant defence; but finding, at last, that the place would be infallibly taken, they made their escape by sea, and left to the enemy not only the city and fortrefs, but all the treasures, and valuable merchandize, which had been there deposited.

*who takes
Petra.*

*Belisarius
checks his
success.*

While Chosroes was victorious on his side, the Roman general Belisarius assembled an army, and laid siege to Nisibis; but to little purpose: for Nibades, the Persian

Procop. ubi supra. Cedren. Hist. Comp. p. 372. Theophyl. Chronogr. ubi supra. Zonar. ubi supra.

governor

governor, made so brave a defence, and so many vigorous sallies, that Belisarius was, in a short time, obliged to raise the siege; and to console himself for that misfortune, to march farther into Persia; where, ravaging the country, taking a few inconsiderable places, and carrying off some spoil, he sent advice to Constantinople, that he had triumphed over the Persians; though, in fact, his expedition was rather honourable than advantageous. When Chosroes had intelligence of this incursion, he made haste into Persia with his army, that he might, early the next year, be ready to make an irruption into the dominions of the Romans. This he accordingly performed; and having wasted a great part of the frontier country, and raised great contributions, he at last entered Comagene, intending to march from thence into Palestine, there to sack and plunder the city of Jerusalem. In this design, if we consider the terror and confusion of the Romans, we must allow, that he had a fair prospect of success; but Belisarius having, with incredible diligence, posted athwart the empire to the banks of the Euphrates, there unexpectedly assembled an army, which checked the progress of Chosroes, and forced him to have recourse to his old method of negotiating, since nothing was to be acquired by force. Another reason concurred to drive Chosroes into Persia; the pestilence, which had wasted Egypt, passing over into Asia, made such a havock in the Roman territories, that the Persian king retired hastily out of Assyria, and directed his march towards the North. At first, the Romans conceived, they were entirely rid of this formidable enemy; but it quickly appeared, that their hopes were vain; for, having recruited his army in the northern provinces, he began to discover his true design, which was to fall upon Armenia. Justinian, being informed of his design, ordered an army to assemble on that side, and sent likewise ambassadors to endeavour, by all means, to engage Chosroes to think of peace ^h.

In the mean time Narfes, being appointed general of the Roman forces, and finding the Persians not yet in the field, determined to make himself master of Anglon, a little town of great strength, in which Nabades, a Persian general, had taken up his quarters with four thousand men. Full of this conquest he marched, contrary to the advice of many of his officers, with the utmost diligence

His general, Nabades, beats the Romans under Narfes.

^h Procop. de Bell. Persic. lib. ii. Creden. Hist. Compend. p. 372. Theophan. Chronogr. p. 186. Zonar. lib. xiv. p. 68. Glycas Ann. lib. iv. p. 167. Evagr. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 26.

to the place. When he drew near it he sent out parties to make prisoners; and these reporting that Nabades was retired, Narfes, reproaching his officers with timidity, pushed on to take possession of the place. The vanguard of the Roman army consisted of a body of the Heruli, lightly armed. These, entering the skirts of Anglon, and receiving the Persian army regularly drawn up, and ready to charge them, broke even before they were attacked, and fled. The Persians made the best use of this advantage, following them close; and charging the Roman forces vigorously, disordered them also, and soon after compelled them to a precipitate flight, in which numbers fell, and more would have been slain, if the Persians had not been apprehensive of the ill consequences that might attend their pursuing them too far. With this action ended that campaign; for Chosroes, having changed his views, did not endeavour to penetrate any farther on that side; and the Romans, taught by their misfortunes, forbore also the siege of this place¹.

*Chosroes
repulsed at
Edeffa.*

Next year Chosroes made his fourth expedition into the Roman territories, and, if we may credit Procopius, upon a very extraordinary account. He had, in his first expedition, besieged the city of Edeffa, and though he had taken much stronger, and more considerable places, was constrained to raise that siege. This was said to be owing to the particular favour of Jesus Christ to that city, whose letter to their prince, Abgarus, was inscribed over the principal gate of the place. This report so irritated Chosroes, that he made this expedition not so much against the Romans, or against Justinian, as against the God of the Christians, who had been said to have driven him from Edeffa. His army was very numerous; and it is certain, that though he might have done many things more for his glory, and the advantage of the Persian empire, he chose, after ravaging the open country, to encamp in the neighbourhood of Edeffa. In that camp, however, having either formed some new project, or doubting the event of this, he sent deputies to demand of the inhabitants of Edeffa a large sum of money, on payment of which he offered to turn his arms another way; but as what he demanded was not in their power to comply with, Chosroes was forced to carry his first design into execution, though now against his will. We have, in the memoirs of Procopius, a long and circumstantial

¹ Procop. de Bell. Persic. lib. ii.

account of this siege, which was by far the warmest that any Roman city had sustained; and, after all, though it was not either succoured or relieved, the vigorous defence made by its citizens so diminished the Persian army, that, as the season advanced, Chosroes lost all hopes, and was compelled, notwithstanding the boast he had made of turning Edessa into sheep-cotes, and placing all its inhabitants in the heart of Persia, shamefully to raise the siege, and retire into his own dominions (S). Thither he was quickly followed by the Roman ambassadors, whom he drew into an insidious treaty, more destructive to their master than an open war^k.

Things, however, did not remain long in this situation: Chosroes was too active a prince to indulge his neighbours with much quiet. He had discovered, that his new subjects, the Lazi, were become already disaffected; and, upon examining the reasons, he found cause to apprehend, that their discontents were such as could never be removed. The country they inhabited stood in need of corn, of salt, and of wine; with these, on account of the badness of the roads, they could not easily be furnished from Persia; whereas the Romans easily supplied them by sea, and at a moderate price; an intercourse which preserved an intimacy between the two nations. On the other hand, the Lazi, who were zealous Christians, endeavoured to convert the Persians who dwelt among them; by which means they became obnoxious to the magi, who did not fail to insinuate, that difference in religion would everlastingly hinder them from being good subjects to the Persian crown. Chosroes thereupon formed a project of transporting them from their own country of Colchis into the heart of Persia, and to settle a colony of Persians in their stead. Previous, however, to the execution of this project, he determined to build a navy in the port of Petra, which might be able to guard the coasts, and prevent an intercourse between the Lazi and the inhabitants of the Roman provinces: but

Chosroes disobliges the Colchians;

^k Procop. de Bell. Persic. lib. ii. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 186. Cedren. Hist. Comp. p. 372. Evagr. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 27.

(S) As to the miracle which was wrought at the siege of Edessa, by the print of our Saviour's face, we shall refer the reader to the Ecclesiastical History of Evagrus, lib. iv. cap. 27. in which he will find it recorded with all its circumstances.

*who recur
to the Ro-
mans for
protection.*

*Petra be-
sieged by
the Romans
and the
Lazi.*

*The Per-
sians pass
the
streights,*

knowing that this scheme could not be accomplished if the people were timely acquainted with it, he caused great quantities of timber to be sent to Petra, under pretence of repairing the fortifications, and building military machines. However, Gubazes, king of the Lazi, taking offence at these preparations, and doubting the safety of his person, besought the protection of the Romans. This was quickly afforded him; and the emperor Justinian immediately dispatched a considerable army to his relief. This army was commanded by Dagistheus, a young man, very indifferently skilled in the art of war. Gubazes, as soon as the Roman forces appeared, joined them, and compelled the Persians to shut themselves up in Petra, the only fortified place in the kingdom.

The reduction of this place, therefore, was the sole point in question; for this once effected, the war was at an end. Gubazes quickly invested it on one side, as the Romans did on the other, to whom Gubazes earnestly recommended the custody of the streights, called Chisuræ, through which only the Persians, if they sent an army, could enter, in case they attempted the relief of Petra. The Roman general, having viewed these difficult passages, conceived them to be so strong in their nature, that he left but a hundred men to guard them. When Chosroes was informed of this strange turn in his affairs, and that Petra was blocked up, he ordered Mermeroes, one of the best officers in Persia, to march with an army to its relief. This march took up much time, and the Persian garrison was reduced to the last extremity; nay, the Romans actually entered the city, and might have taken it; if the governor of the citadel had not drawn them into a treaty for surrendering that fortress, at the same time with the city, into their hands. Mermeroes, from the time he entered Colchis with his army, directed his march according to his own private intelligence, avoiding any correspondence with the Lazi, who pretended to be in the Persian interest; so that he arrived at the mouth of the Chisuræ before he was expected; and finding how small a guard the Roman general had left there, he caused it to be repeatedly attacked, till, with the loss of a thousand men, he carried the pass; and then, without halting, marched directly to Petra. There he found, of five thousand men, only nine hundred remaining, and of these three hundred and fifty disabled. The dead bodies they had piled up against the narrow walls of the citadel, that the Romans might not be acquainted with their loss,

and

and from thence be encouraged to storm the place. The Romans conceived that this was but a slight reprieve, the walls being every where broken, and the place, as it were, in ruins: Mermeroes, however, repaired it in the best manner he was able; and leaving a fresh garrison in it, he withdrew his troops from thence, having made a truce with the Lazi, though the Roman forces still continued the war.

*and re-
force the
garrison of
Petra.*

When the place was put into a state of defence, Mermeroes drew his troops towards Iberia, whence he hoped to receive such supplies of provisions as might be necessary for the occasions of his army, as well as of Petra. Here, encamping with a rapid river behind him, he conceived his forces to be in safety; but Gubazes devised a method of passing this river; and having conveyed proper information to the Romans, and also furnished them with bridges, they attacked the Persian army, and made a dreadful slaughter. Mermeroes, however, repaired this mistake, by encamping more cautiously for the future, and kept the war alive, notwithstanding the great disadvantages he laboured under. It would oblige us to extend this history to an extraordinary length, if we should relate all that passed in this Colchian war, of which we have very copious memoirs in Procopius and Agathias. We shall content ourselves therefore with observing, that, in the end, the Romans were successful, by means of their having the empire of the sea, which enabled them to supply their armies with provisions and recruits; whereas the Persians were obliged to make long and fatiguing marches by land, and bring all their provisions in carriages. Mermeroes, so long as he lived, preserved the superiority of the Persian power, and, a little before his death, gave the Romans a signal defeat: but the imprudent conduct of his successor, Nachoraganus, was one of the great causes of the success of the Romans; therefore Chosroes, on his return into Persia, ordered him to be flayed alive; and perceiving that his affairs were in a declining condition on this side, resolved to make peace with the Romans. With this view he sent an ambassador to the court of Justinian, who received him graciously, and entered readily into a treaty with his master; by which it was provided, that each party should keep what they were possessed of in Colchis, at the time of its conclusion. Thus the Lazi were deprived of their liberties, by soliciting the assistance of their powerful neighbours, Gubazes having been assassinated some time before, who was extremely careful of his sub-

*The Col-
chian war.*

*Peace con-
cluded be-
tween the
two em-
pires.*

*Chosroes
renews the
war on the
Romans
with suc-
cess.*

*Occasion of
this war.*

jects, and who, in all the changes of his fortune, constantly laboured for their advantage¹.

Towards the end of the reign of Justinian, Chosroes fell sick of a dangerous distemper; and, depending more on the skill of the Roman physicians than his own, he requested, that some should be sent him from Constantinople; which demand was readily complied with. On the accession, however, of the emperor Justin, new troubles arose. The inhabitants of the Greater Armenia, subjects to the king of Persia, were by this time become generally professors of Christianity; and therefore rather inclined to put themselves under the protection of the Romans: Justin having privately encouraged them to revolt, the Armenians, under the command of Varanes, one of their petty princes, suddenly took arms, and, having murdered all the Persians among them, declared themselves allies and dependents of the emperor of Constantinople. Chosroes immediately complained of this outrage; and the emperor Justin pretended to colour his conduct by his zeal for the Christian religion. Being deceived by the intelligence which the bishop of Nisibis sent him, he gave orders to his general Marcian to enter the Persian territories with an army, and to lay siege to that city. The Persian governor, incensed at the folly and rashness of the action, did not even shut the gates, but contented himself with relieving the guards twice a day, the Roman army not being numerous enough to invest the place. In the mean time, Chosroes passed the Euphrates, and marched towards Nisibis, having first made a great detachment under Adermanes, who laid waste the Roman provinces with fire and sword. The Roman army before Nisibis, being dissatisfied with the emperor, whose conduct seemed to argue a disordered brain, broke up, and retired: whereupon Chosroes took and sacked all the great cities in Mesopotamia and Syria, and gave the plunder to his soldiers. He also besieged and reduced Dara, a fortress that had always been a curb upon his subjects, and in the fortifying of which the emperor Justinian had expended vast sums. Into this place he put a strong garrison, knowing its importance, and resolving to make use of it for a barrier against its old masters. But, while he was meditating new exploits, Trajan, a senator of Rome, presented to him letters from the empress Sophia, whose husband, Justin, was now certainly disordered in his

¹ Procop. de Bell. Persic. lib. ii. Agath. Scholast. lib. iii. & iv. Cedren. &c.

senses. In these letters, the empress pathetically described the misery of the Roman empire, beseeching Chosroës to remember the kindness of former emperors, particularly the sending him physicians; the uncertainty of all worldly greatness; and the little glory that would result to him from conquests made from a headless nation, and a helpless woman. Chosroës, having read the letters, immediately withdrew his troops from the frontiers of the Roman empire, consenting to a truce for three years, Armenia, however, being excluded ^a.

Chosroës grants to the empress a three years truce.

This respite was very favourable to the Romans, who soon saw their affairs re-established by the diligence and prosperous success of Tiberius, the successor of Justin. He was not only an active and vigilant prince, of a martial disposition, but well skilled in the art of war. The first thing he did was to discipline the cavalry, knowing, that the eastern provinces of the empire were better defended by them than by foot; and, as he found the treasury full, through the extortions of his predecessors, it was no difficult matter to make quick levies. Chosroës, who had not the least suspicion of these changes, prepared early next spring to enter Armenia, resolving to penetrate through Cappadocia, to make himself master of Cæsarea, and such other cities in those parts as were of any consideration. The Roman emperor, foreseeing the consequences of such an intrusion, sent ambassadors to dissuade Chosroës from this expedition, and to engage him to make a solid and lasting peace; but, at the same time that he sent these ambassadors, he dispatched Justinian, with directions to assemble all the forces in the eastern provinces, in order, if it was necessary, to repel force by force. When the Roman ambassadors arrived at the camp of Chosroës, he refused to give them audience, commanding them to follow him to Cæsarea, where he should be at leisure to hear their proposals. Not long after, he was informed, that the Roman army was at no great distance, and that they designed to give him battle. He looked upon this as an act of rashness, and as an accident favourable to himself; and therefore continued his march with the utmost expedition, that he might not lose this advantage; but, when he drew near them, and saw their cavalry extremely numerous, disposed in excellent order,

Tiberius improves this respite.

Chosroës refuses to make a peace with the Romans.

^a Agath. Scholast. lib. iv. p. 140. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 208. Evagr. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 7—13.

The Persians defeated.

They defeat a body of Romans.

Chosroes dies.

*Yr. of Fl.
2927.
A. D. 579.*

*Hormisdas
II.
His character.*

and the soldiers eager to engage, he fetched a deep sigh, shewing, by the heaviness of his countenance, how very much his mind was affected by this disappointment. On this account therefore he would, in all probability, have retired into some convenient camp, instead of fighting immediately, if Curtius, a Scythian, who commanded the right wing of the Roman army, had not charged the left of the Persians, where Chosroes was in person. The combat was sharp and bloody; but, at last, the Persians were defeated, the royal treasure, and the sacred fire, before which the king worshipped, were taken in his sight. Things would have gone still worse, had not the night come on, which gave the Persians an opportunity to retire.

Next night, or rather evening, Chosroes, having intelligence that the Romans were encamped in two separate bodies, attacked one of them at midnight, routed them with great slaughter, and, having taken and set a village on fire that was behind their camp, marched directly to the Euphrates, that, by repassing that river, he might winter in his own dominions. But Justinian, the Roman general, penetrating his design, followed him so closely, that he was himself forced to pass the river on an elephant, and many of those about him were drowned. After this transaction, the Romans wintered, for the first time, in the Persian provinces; and Chosroes, retiring to Seleucia, was so much affected by his defeat, that he died of discontent, when he had reigned forty-eight years. As he had lived, so he died, like a great prince, after having given his son wholesome instructions for the government of his people, for the management of foreign wars, and for his private conduct ^a.

Hormisdas succeeded his father in his dominions; but had neither his abilities, nor his fortune. Hasty in his temper, haughty in his behaviour, cruel in his disposition, obstinate in all things; he no sooner put on the diadem, than he appeared to be unworthy of it. He was always addicted to a silly curiosity as to future events. His diviners having suggested to him, that his subjects were not well affected, he began to conceive suspicions of most of the great men in the kingdom, and to treat them as if suspicion and conviction were the same thing. As to foreign princes, he kept no measures with them: he never notified his succession to the emperor Tiberius, but left him to learn it from common fame. When that monarch

^a Theophylact. lib. iii. cap. 16.

sent ambassadors to compliment him, and to renew the peace, he treated them disdainfully, and refused to grant their request, unless he had a sum of money given him by way of tribute: a demand most unreasonable; and which therefore opened afresh those wounds, which had been lately healed up; and equally disposed both Romans and Persians to enter on a new war, that, in the end, proved very disadvantageous to both (S). At first the military operations were not of any great consequence: an action happened near the river Nymphium, in which neither party had any great advantage. The Persians, soon after, besieged a fortress called Aphumum; and the Romans invested another fortress called Acbas, which siege, however, was raised by the Persian general Cardariganus; but, when the Roman army had received the recruits from Constantinople, and Philippicus, whom the emperor Maurice sent to command, arrived on the frontiers, the Persians were obliged to withdraw into the mountains, and leave the open country at the mercy of the enemy. Philippicus gratified his soldiers with the plunder of all the places he could take; but, the thirst of spoil having drawn them too far into the Persian dominions, they were in the utmost danger of being destroyed, without so much as seeing an enemy, for want of water. This distress inspired them with the inhuman resolution of putting all the men and women they had made prisoners to the sword, reserving only the children, whom they intended to sell for slaves; but they died in the march, and thereby escaped miseries worse than death.

War between the two empires.

The Roman army in great distress.

Next year, Philippicus defeated Cardariganus in a pitched battle, from which he escaped with a handful of men, rather through the inadvertency of the Romans, than any courage or conduct of his own; with these, he fled to Dara; but the citizens shut their gates upon him; and the Romans, at the close of the campaign, again made incursions into Persia, burnt the villages, and plundered

The Persians defeated.

(S) It is to Theophylact we owe the account given in the text of the character of Hormisdas, and his conduct in the beginning of his reign. This author was an Egyptian by birth, and a man of letters. He begins his memoirs with the succession of the emperor Maurice, by virtue of his pre-

decessor's nomination, and consequently a good deal later than the times of which we are now treating. But in the end of his third book, he goes back to the succession of Hormisdas, that the remaining part of his history might be rendered clear and perspicuous.

*The war
pursued
with va-
rious suc-
cess.*

the people. In the course of the ensuing spring, the Persians gained some advantage; upon which Philippicus was removed, and Comentiolus sent to command in his place, who managed the war rather worse. At length Philippicus was sent to restore the ancient Roman discipline; but the army was so far corrupted, that they refused to obey their general, and, having chosen Germanus against his will to command them, they threw off all obedience to the orders sent them from Constantinople. The Persians receiving intelligence of this mutiny, attempted to take Martyropolis; but the Romans, under the command of Germanus, having penetrated their design, marched directly, and gave them battle; whereby they saved the city for some time. However, it soon after fell into the hands of Mebodes, the Persian general; for he, having an intelligence with Sittas, an architect in the place, by his advice, sent four hundred men thither, who pretended to desert from the Persian army, and were thereupon readily admitted. These men, by the direction of him who received them, surprised the place; and the Romans, making a quick march to recover it, were engaged and defeated by Mebodes; whereupon Philippicus was again removed, and Comentiolus was once more entrusted with the army. This man soon lost his reputation; for, coming to a battle with the Persians, he fled at the very beginning of it; but Heraclius, who commanded under him, managed so well, that the Persians were entirely defeated, with the loss of Aphraates and Nabades, two of their best generals.

*The Persians under
Varamus
defeated.*

In the mean time, the Persians were engaged in war with the Turks, now first mentioned by the Greek writers, and, under the conduct of Varamus, had been very successful. To him therefore orders were sent to pass the river Araxes, and to fall on the Roman territories on that side. To oppose him, the emperor sent Romanus; but, before he could assemble an army sufficient to take the field, Varamus had done incredible mischief. At length, however, Romanus found himself in a condition to give the Persians battle. Varamus, presuming on his former success, desired nothing more ardently than an engagement. This proved fatal to his master's affairs; for, the Persian cavalry being defeated, Varamus, with all his skill, could scarcely make an indifferent retreat. When

* Theophylact. lib. i. ii. iii. Evagr. lib. v. cap. 20. Theophan. Chronogr. p. 217. Cedren. Hist. Comp. p. 396. Zonar. Annal. lib. xiv. p. 74.

Hormisdas received advice of this disaster, he gave a signal proof of his incapacity for government. He sent to Varamus, instead of a vest of honour, a woman's garment, and threatened the troops with decimation. This affront exasperated the general, and attached the soldiers to his interest. Varamus wrote a letter to Hormisdas, in which he used always the feminine gender, as if he had been writing to a female slave; and prepared, at the same time, to take measures for his own safety. Hormisdas, who perceived his error, sent Sarames, a man of quality, to take upon him the command of the army, ordering him to pacify the soldiers at any rate, and to send him Varamus in chains. As soon as Sarames arrived in the camp, and declared the nature of his commission, Varamus ordered him to be thrown down from his elephant; and by provoking the beast, caused it to trample him to death. He spent the winter in preparing for the execution of his purposes, and, at the same time, took all the care he could to hinder the progress of the Roman arms. The garrison of Nisibis declared for him, and the mal-contented began to commit such disorders, that, when Hormisdas was informed of them, and saw how unable he was to repress them, he broke out into such furious fits of passion, as alarmed all who were near him, and contributed no less to increase his misfortunes, than the arts of his enemies. Pheroctanes commanded the troops which were still faithful, and seemed inclined to reduce Varamus to his duty by force; but, when the two armies were near each other, Varamus sent deputies to inform the king's army, that his revolt, far from having any tendency to the destruction of the Persian empire, had no other motive than its preservation; that Hormisdas was not worthy to rule over them; and that he endeavoured only to forward such a revolution, as the ill conduct of that prince had made necessary for the safety of the state. The general himself made no answer to these representations; but the army, easily seduced, began visibly to waver: so that, in the night, Zoanab, who was of the guard to the general, fearing that he would head the defection, stabbed him in his tent, and gave the plunder of it to the soldiers.

Hormisdas having intelligence of this fact, and not knowing what consequences it might produce, retired out of Persia Proper to Ctaphon, where he kept his court. The people, in the mean time, revolted in all the royal

The people every where revolt from Hormisdas.

† Theophylact. lib. iv. Evagr. lib. vi. cap. 14. Theophan. Chronogr. p. 221. Creden. Hist. Comp. p. 396.

cities,

*Hormisdas
deposed by
Bindoes.*

cities, and plundered the palaces; a circumstance which afforded the nobility an opportunity of rescuing their relations from prison; and, amongst those who were at this time released, was a person of the royal blood, named Bindoes, whom Hormisdas, for a slight offence, had loaded with chains. This man, hastening to the troops formerly commanded by Pherocanes, was by them received for their chief. In three days they reached Ctesiphon, whither they no sooner came, than Bindoes, well attended, entered the royal palace, and forced himself into the presence of the king. It was after dinner, and Hormisdas was sitting in the hall, in his robes of state, with his tiara on his head. As soon as he saw Bindoes, he asked him, how he escaped out of prison; and wherefore he came thither. He answered by the most injurious language, upbraiding his master with his ill conduct, and exciting all who were present to renounce their allegiance. Hormisdas ordered some of his servants to seize Bindoes; but they were afraid to execute his commands. On the other hand, Bindoes, taking the king by the arm, drew him out of his chair, took the tiara from his head, and ordered some of his soldiers to conduct him to prison; an order which they forthwith obeyed. In the midst of this tumult, Chosroes, the son of Hormisdas, made his escape out of the palace, apprehensive, that his own life was not safe; but Bindoes having intelligence where he was, dispatched a person to assure him, that he was so far from having any intentions against his person, that his design was to set him upon the throne. Upon this intimation Chosroes returned, and they took their measures together; but while they were consulting, Hormisdas sent a message from his prison, requesting, that a great council of the nobility might be called; and that he might have the liberty of speaking to them freely.

*Hormisdas's speech
to the Persian lords.*

When the Persian lords were acquainted with this demand, they instantly assembled at the palace; and ordered, that Hormisdas should be brought from his prison, and have liberty given to say what he thought proper. The king, after looking several times on the assembly, made a long and pathetic speech, in which he deplored his own calamity much, but the misery of the people more; inveighing bitterly against the authors of this anarchy and confusion, exhorting them to save the state from that destruction with which it was threatened, and to beware of establishing a tyranny, while they endeavoured to avoid it. He then conjured them not to think of making Chosroes his

his successor, because he knew him to be of a haughty, turbulent, and cruel nature, prone to all sorts of vice, and equally careless of his own honour, and the public good. His other son, however, he recommended as a young prince of a mild and tractable temper, and one who was inclined to think right, and do well. Lastly, he entered into a detail of the services he had himself rendered his country, in subduing many provinces, and in reducing several of their barbarous neighbours; to pay them tribute. When he had finished all he had to say, Bindoes made a long insulting answer, exhorting the people not to regard his words, but to act in such a manner as might best insure their own safety. This language suited the genius of the people, ever prone to slavish submission, or licentious insolence: they followed implicitly the directions of their leader, who caused the young prince, whom Hormisdas had recommended, to be murdered in his presence, and afterwards to be cut to pieces. Then they sacrificed the unhappy woman, his mother, in the same manner; and, that fortune might never restore Hormisdas to his former dignity, they ordered his eyes to be put out with a hot iron. This end had the reign of Hormisdas, when it had continued twenty-one years ^P (C).

His son inhumanly murdered, with the queen, his mother.

His eyes put out.

Yr. of Fl.
2940.
A. D. 592.

Chosroes II.

Chosroes, as soon as these objects of popular cruelty were removed, was seated on his father's throne; whence rising up, he came and stood under a golden arch, according to the Persian custom. Having received the homage of the principal persons present, the rest, with loud acclamations, celebrated the accession of their new king, and made vows for his felicity. At first he treated his father with the utmost lenity, sent him diet from his table, ordered him proper attendants, gave him many amusements; but Hormisdas reproaching his son with his barbarity and unnatural baseness, Chosroes caused him to be cudgelled to death. Then supposing himself firmly seated on the throne, he gave sumptuous entertainments,

Puts his father to death.

^P Theophyl. lib. iv. cap. 6. Theophan. Chron. p. 223. Evagr. lib. vi. cap. 16. Cedren. Hist. Comp. p. 397.

(C) Authors are not agreed about the fate of Hormisdas. Some say his son, provoked by his reproaches, ordered him to be beaten to death. Others affirm, that Hormisdas refusing food, Chosroes directed him to be slain. However it was, the people detested the cruelty of their new king, and he had the mortification to see himself abandoned by those who had lately saluted him with the loudest acclamations.

and

and distributed very profusely the royal treasures amongst those he thought most capable of assisting him : he likewise bestowed largesses upon the people, and ordered the prison-doors to be every where set open, that the fame of his lenity and liberality might effectually secure the hearts of his subjects. On the sixth day after his accession he wrote letters to Varamus, and sent him also magnificent presents, promising to make him the second man in his kingdom, if, in compliance with his duty, he would acknowledge him for his sovereign. Varamus refused his presents ; and, by a haughty letter, in which he called himself the friend of God, the glorious conqueror, and the scourge of tyrants, he rejected his proposal, ordering him to lay down the crown, to come immediately, and pay his respects to him ; on which condition, he should have a government. Chosroes, however, wrote a second letter, exhorting him, by his future conduct, to redeem his credit, and not to persist in his design of making his country a field of blood. But Varamus prepared for war ; and Chosroes, since it could not be avoided, advanced to meet him. They met near Nisibis, the king's army occupying the city, while Varamus encamped before it. Here a negociation was begun, but it proved ineffectual ; and Chosroes, suspecting some of the nobility about him, put them to death, without hesitation : shortly after, when Varamus attacked the suburbs, and put part of the army quartered there to the sword, the rest presently joined him, and shewed a strong disposition to treat Chosroes as they had done his father : to avoid which fate, he fled, as privately as possible, exceedingly dejected under his misfortune ; and the more so, because he had no friends he could trust. His women, menial servants, and a few of his guards, about thirty persons in the whole, fled with him they knew not whither. He had thoughts of retiring among the Scythians, or concealing himself in the mountains.

*Is driven
from the
throne by
Varamus.*

*Flee into
the Roman
territories.*

At length, committing himself, and his affairs, wholly to chance, he came to a frontier post in the Roman dominions, at a late hour in the night. Probus, who commanded there for the emperor, received him, and all who were with him, permitting the king to write immediately to the Roman general, who as readily consented to his sending an express with his letters to the emperor. In these he besought Mauritius, who then possessed the

^q Theophyl. lib. iv. cap. 7. Theophan. Chron. ubi supra. Evag. lib. vi. Cedren. Hist. Comp. ubi supra.

imperial dignity, to assist him against his rebellious subjects, preserving, in the midst of a most pathetic supplication, all the dignity of a king. While Chosroes was in this distress, Varamus entered the city of Ctesiphon in great splendor. Bindoes he seized, and threw into prison, treating all such as had shewn any affection to the royal family with great severity; but towards the rest of the Persians he affected the greatest humanity and condescension. He did not fail to issue his orders for apprehending Chosroes; but finding he was out of his reach, he turned his thoughts to the securing the frontier garrisons, and the most considerable cities in Persia; in which endeavours he had better success. He likewise gave great feasts, and very bountifully bestowed that treasure he had so easily obtained; yet, in the midst of all this pomp and splendour, he saw, with concern, that the nobility were greatly dissatisfied, and the people not to be relied on. He could not, however, either extinguish or restrain his ambition. On a religious festival, when there was a grand assembly of the nobility at the palace, he assumed the royal ornaments and furniture, with all the state of a monarch, though he forbore taking the title. The Persian nobility, perceiving what he intended, and disdaining to become the subjects of one born their equal, began to concert measures for emancipating themselves and their country, and for restoring the ancient lustre of the Persian empire. In their conferences upon this subject, it was unanimously agreed, that Bindoes was the most proper person to conduct an affair of this kind; and therefore they immediately delivered him out of prison, and acknowledged him for their chief. By his advice they came to a resolution to attack the palace in the dead of the night. This design they executed with great courage; but Varamus, and his attendants, defending themselves gallantly, the engagement was very obstinate, and, at last, the nobility were vanquished, many of them slain upon the spot, and the rest thrown to the elephants; only Bindoes, with a few who fought about his person, escaped, and, marching towards Media, endeavoured to raise forces for Chosroes.

Varamus enters Ctesiphon.

Assumes the royal ornaments.

The nobility conspire against him.

After this victory Varamus sent ambassadors to solicit the friendship of the Roman emperor Mauritius; but they were sent back without answer, the emperor having

Chosroes enters Persia in conjunction with the Romans.

¹ Theoph. Chron. p. 223. Evagr. Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. cap. 17. Cedren. Hist. Comp. p. 397. Zonar. Annal. lib. xiv. p. 77. Glyc. Annal. p. 274.

Gains several advantages over the rebels.

Yr. of Fl.
2941.
A. D. 593.

Defeats the rebels, and settles himself on the throne.

already made a treaty with Chosroes, and having ordered the governors of his frontier provinces to furnish him with whatever might be necessary for his restoration. These timely supplies had a proper effect; for the Persians, seeing their king in a condition to protect them, began almost every where to acknowledge him, and to open their gates to receive his forces. Amongst the rest, Nisibis submitted to the king, and Martyropolis was recovered by the Romans, to whom likewise Chosroes himself delivered Sittas the architect, who had betrayed the place to his father Hormisdas, for which traiterous act he was now burnt alive. On the other hand, Varamus continued to raise forces, determined, at all events, to maintain the dignity he had usurped. Zadesprates, one of his commanders, having attempted to enter the quarters of one of the lords who had declared for Chosroes, was defeated, and put to death, and his head, with the spoils of his army, sent to the king. The same fate had Anathonus soon after. With these successes Chosroes acquainted the emperor, by Sarames, one of the principal lords of his party, signifying, at the same time, that Comentiolus was very backward in assisting him in the recovery of his dominions; whereupon the emperor, discharging Comentiolus, appointed Narfes to command in his room*.

Early next spring, Chosroes, with his own forces, and those lent him by the emperor, under the command of Narfes, marched into Persia, with an intent to decide the war at once. Most of the frontier places, on his approach, opened their gates to him, as did the great and strong city Dara, formerly the chief bulwark of the Romans on this side; which he therefore delivered up to the emperor, who honoured him with the title of his son. In the mean time, the Persians, in great multitudes, quitted the service of Varamus, and went to serve under the banners of their prince, who now sought to bring Varamus to a battle. In the mean time, several skirmishes happened, and, among the rest, one, in which Beyzacius, a great officer in the army of Varamus, was taken prisoner, and put to death. Not long after, Seleucia, and most of the great cities near the river Euphrates, submitted to the king. The Roman officers could scarce restrain the ardour of Chosroes, who was for attacking the enemy, though on disadvantageous terms. At last, however, an opportunity offering, he attacked, with the consent of the

* Theophyl. lib. v. cap. 1. Evagr. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. 19.

Romans, the army of Varamus, defeated it, and took six thousand prisoners, most of whom he ordered to be put to the sword, or to be thrown to his elephants. After this victory, he sent to the church of Sergius the Martyr the golden cross, set with jewels, which he had vowed, and with it another formerly taken by Chosroes, the son of Cavades, together with a letter, which is still extant, in the history written by Theophylact. Chosroes also married a Christian woman, whose name was Sira, and honoured her with the title of queen, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Persian laws; shewing, on all occasions, such favour to the Christians, that many were of opinion he was inclined to change his faith; though, in a few years after, he gave the strongest demonstrations, not only of his zealous attachment to the religion of his ancestors, but of his peculiar aversion to the faith of Christ^t.

*Alters his
conduct en-
tirely.*

From the moment he was settled on his throne, he laid aside the foreign customs he had made use of to ingratiate himself with the Romans, and assumed the state and behaviour of a Persian prince, as if he had never experienced what adversity was. The Roman general Narfes intimated to him, before he left his dominions, the obligations he was under to the emperor Mauritius, and to the Roman people, whose power that general highly magnified, and spoke of them as lords of the universe. Chosroes modestly answered, that he was very sensible of the kindness shewed him by the emperor; but as to the Roman power, he foretold so exactly its declension and destruction, that the Greek writers were of opinion that Chosroes was a great astrologer, and drew his knowledge of future events from the skill he had in that science. As to his own subjects, Chosroes treated them with great rigour: he prosecuted, without mercy, all such as had any share either in the favour of Varamus, or in the administration of that usurper. By this method he extinguished that faction; and, by restoring the ancient Persian constitution, he became formidable to his neighbours: whence it happened that the barbarous prince, with whom Varamus had taken shelter, and who had thoughts of lending him troops to invade Persia, began to grow so apprehensive of the vengeance of Chosroes, that he ordered his competitor to be poisoned^u.

^t Theophylact. lib. vi. cap. 5. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 225. Evagr. Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. cap. 21. Zonar. Annal. ubi supra. Cedren. Hist. Comp. p. 404. Glycas, Annal. ubi supra. ^u Zonar. Annal. lib. xiv. p. 80. Theophylact. lib. v. cap. 7. Theophan. Chronogr. p. 243. Evagr. Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. cap. 23. Cedren. Hist. Comp. ubi supra.

When

*Is with
difficulty
hindered
from mak-
ing war
on the Ro-
mans.*

When the Persian monarch found things quiet at home, and himself at leisure to seize any advantages that might offer, he began to threaten the Roman provinces, on account of the excursions made by the Saracens into his dominions, by the encouragement, as he pretended, of the Roman generals who commanded on the frontiers. When the emperor Mauritius, whose affairs were already in a very bad condition, was informed of this intention, he sent ambassadors to Chosroes, to set the matter in a true light, and to prevent a war on this side, which he knew, as things were circumstanced, could not but be fatal to the empire. On the arrival of the Roman ambassadors, Chosroes suffered them to remain a long time at court without an audience. At last, he who was at the head of the embassy took an opportunity of speaking to the king; and, after a short recapitulation of the favours done him by the Romans, he proceeded to shew the weakness of the grounds Chosroes pretended to have for making war, and the injustice of such a proceeding towards his benefactor: which free representation so affected Chosroes, that, far from taking it amiss, he told the ambassador, whatever causes he might have for the measures he meant to take, he would, for the present, lay aside his resentment for his sake; and thus, for some time, war was prevented.

Yr. of Fl.
2955.
A. D. 605.

*Invades
the Ro-
man ter-
ritories.*

It was not long, however, before another opportunity offered for gratifying the ambition of the Persian. This was the murder of Mauritius, the emperor, by Phocas; an impiety which filled the Roman empire with bloodshed and confusion, and gave, at the same time, Chosroes a fair opportunity of taking arms, under colour of revenging the death of his protector and father, for so he was wont to call the emperor Mauritius. In vain did Phocas, by his ambassador Bilius, endeavour to appease him with large presents, and larger promises: he regarded neither; but, having returned a provoking answer to the letters of Phocas, by a messenger of his own, threw the ambassador into prison, making the necessary preparations for entering the Roman frontiers. At first he declared, that he had no other view than revenging the murder of Mauritius, and restoring the empire to his family; but this soon appeared to be only a pretence, since he refused to send assistance to Narses, who at this time had taken arms against Phocas. In his first campaign, he met with some resistance, the Roman troops making the best defence in their power; but their general being slain, and themselves indifferently supplied, he at length triumphed over them,

them, and laid all the frontiers under contribution. In the seventeenth year of his reign, he continued the war, and reduced several fortresses. In the course of the eighteenth he recovered the strong city of Dara, plundered all Mesopotamia and Syria, and carried off immense riches. In his nineteenth year, he passed the Euphrates, ravaged Syria, Palestine, and part of Phœnicia, wasting all places wherever he came with fire and sword. The year following, his general Cardareganus ravaged Armenia and Cappadocia; defeated the Roman army with great slaughter; and then, meeting no opposition, destroyed Galatia, Paphlagonia, and all the country, as far as Chalcedon, burning cities, and putting the people to death, without any respect to sex or age *.

In the twenty-second year of his reign, Chosroes took Apamea and Edessa, and blocked up Antioch. This blockade induced the Romans to hazard a battle, though they were much inferior in strength: but they were defeated; and the slaughter was so general, that few were left to mourn the death of their companions. The year following he took Cæsarea, and carried away great numbers of people into captivity. Syria had, in the next campaign, the same fate that Cappadocia felt in this. In his twenty-fifth year, Chosroes made himself master of Damascus, whither the emperor Heraclius sent ambassadors to sue for peace; but the Persian did not even condescend to return them an answer. The year following he conquered Judæa, took and plundered the city of Jerusalem, carried away the cross on which Christ suffered, and the patriarch Zacharias, into Persia. In this campaign he sold ninety thousand Christians for slaves, to the Jews in his dominions, who put them all to death. These conquests served only to increase the ambition of the Persian, and to swell his imagination with ideas of his own power; insomuch that, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, he made an expedition into Egypt. Having divided his forces, with one part of his army he took Alexandria, and subdued all the country towards Libya; while the other was employed in the reduction of the Upper Egypt; wherein he pushed his conquests to the frontiers of Ethiopia, adding the empire of Africa to that of Asia, and executing, in the space of a few years, what all his ancestors, from Artaxerxes, had been so long endeavour-

Makes a rapid conquest of its principal provinces.

* Cedren. Hist. Comp. p. 410. Zonar. Annal. ubi supra. Theophylact. lib. viii. cap. 3. Glyc. Annal. ubi supra. Theophan. Chronogr. p. 245.

ing in vain. The year following, he once more turned his forces against the Constantinopolitan empire, and that with such success, that he reduced the city of Chalcedon, which he had long blocked up. The remaining part of that year, and all the next, were employed in thoroughly subduing and regulating the government of the conquered provinces. As for the emperor Heraclius, incapable of resisting, and at the same time extremely afflicted at the sight of the horrible cruelties every where practised by the Persians, he resolved once more to make an effort towards obtaining peace. With this view he sent deputies to Chosroes, with instructions to lay before him the miserable condition of Asia, the deplorable consequences of continuing the war, and the earnest desire he had to purchase quiet, upon any terms. But Chosroes, elated with success, and aiming at nothing less than the utter destruction of the Roman name, returned the ambassadors the following answer: "Let your master know, that I will hearken to no terms, till he has, with all his subjects, renounced his crucified God, and adored the sun, the great god of the Persians *." Heraclius, by this impious and insulting answer, awaked, as it were, from a lethargy, concluded a peace with the other Barbarians; and putting himself at the head of a powerful army, marched against Chosroes, defeated him in several pitched battles, and recovered all the provinces he had seized.

His answer to the ambassadors of Heraclius.

Yr. of Fl.
2974.
A. D. 616.

His unhappy end.

Chosroes, being greatly weakened by age, fatigue, and sorrow, began to think of settling the succession; and appointed his younger son, Merdasas, to succeed him. But his eldest son, Siroes, provoked at being, without reason, set aside, put himself at the head of some malcontents, and, with the assistance of the Roman captives, whom he set at liberty, seized on his father, and, threw him into a dungeon, where he caused the unhappy monarch to be inhumanly murdered, with Merdasas.

Siroes.

Siroes, thus raised to the throne, concluded a perpetual peace with Heraclius, set at liberty all the Roman captives, and, among the rest, Zacharias, patriarch of Jerusalem; restored three hundred ensigns, and, with them, sent back the wood, which was supposed to have been part of the cross on which our Saviour died, and had been carried by Chosroes, in triumph, from Jerusalem into Persia. But Siroes did not live long enough to reap the advantages arising from the union now subsisting between

* Theoph. Chronogr. p. 272. Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi supra. Cedren. Glyc. &c.

the two empires. He died, or, as some writers inform us, was murdered by one of his generals, when he had reigned little more than a year.

He was succeeded by his son Ardeser, or Arhesyr, who was assassinated, in the seventh month of his reign, by Sarbas, commander in chief of the Persian forces, who, presuming on the affection of the troops, placed himself on the throne. But a civil war being kindled between the usurper and Barahanes, a prince of the blood royal, the Persians, upon the death of the latter, murdered Sarbas, and raised Isdigertes, or, as some writers call him, Hormisdas, to the royal dignity. He was nephew to Siroes, being the son of that brother, who alone had the good fortune to make his escape when Siroes put his father to death. His reign was short and unhappy; for when the domestic feuds of the late factions in Persia were thoroughly quelled, a new and most formidable enemy overran his dominions. These were the Saracens, under the command of the successors of Mohammed. Some authors represent Hormisdas, or Isdigertes, as an effeminate and indolent prince; while others assert, that he defended his country with intrepidity, till, after various defeats, the spirits of the Persians were entirely broken; nay, some say, that he was himself killed in the field. However, there appears to be no cause for censuring the courage or conduct of this prince. He was the last of the line of Artaxerxes who sat upon the Persian throne; and with him fell that empire, which had subsisted with so much glory for upwards of four hundred years ^r.

*Ardeser, or
Arhesyr.*

Isdigertes.

S E C T. II.

The Persian History according to the Oriental Historians.

THE wide difference between the histories of eastern nations, as written by European authors and by their own, obliged us, originally, to divide the history of Persia into two sections; the first according to the former; the second, consonant to the memoirs furnished us by the latter. When we last treated of this subject from the Oriental authors, we ended with the conquest of the Persian dominions by Ascander, or Alexander the Great. In order, therefore, to connect this period with the former, it is

^r Theophan. Chronogr. p. 278. Cedren, Zonar.

necessary, previous to our account of the kings, who succeeded Ardshir-Babegan, or Artaxerxes, to speak of those who reigned in the intermediate space between the death of Alexander and the accession of the before mentioned Artaxerxes. The former part of our history contained the succession of the Persian kings of the two first dynasties; and the third dynasty is called, by the Oriental writers, Molouk al Thaouaif, that is, *the kings of the nations*. Some of the writers of the Persian history divide this dynasty into two, and consequently call them the third and fourth dynasties of the Persian kings; the first they distinguish by the name of Afchkaniens, the latter by that of Afchganides². To the first they allow twelve kings, who, according to them, reigned, in the whole, one hundred and sixty-five years. Of the second race, they say, there were eight kings, and that they reigned successively one hundred and fifty years. The truth seems to be, that these two dynasties were invented to fill up the time between the death of Alexander and the commencement of the fifth dynasty. Our opinion therefore is, that the Afchkaniens and Afchganides are, in fact, one and the same succession, and no other than that called by the Latin writers Arfacidæ; Afchek, whom the eastern writers make the first monarch of this house, being, as we believe, no other than Arfaces, the first of the Parthian kings. But as the proof of this proposition, and the shortest detail possible of the princes of this family, would exceedingly embarrass the thread of our narration, we will pass on to the proper subject of this section, the history of the fourth dynasty of the Persian kings, distinguished by the name of Sassaniens.

A Table of the Fourth Dynasty of the Persian Kings, called Sassaniens, or Khosronians, according to the Persian Historian, Khondemir.

| | Years. | Mon. |
|--|--------|------|
| 1. Ardeschir Ben Babek, or Babegan, who reigned after the defeat of Ardevan, the last king of the third dynasty, | 14 | |
| 2. Schabour Ben Ardeschir, | 31 | |
| 3. Hormouz Ben Schabour, | 31 | |
| 4. Baharam Ben Hormouz, | 3 | 3 |
| 5. Baharam Ben Baharam, | 70 | |
| 6. Baharam Ben Baharam Ben Baharam, | 30 | 4 |
| 7. Narfi Ben Baharam, | 9 | |

² D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. tit. Afchkaniens

| | Years. | Mon. |
|---|----------|------------|
| 8. Hormouz Ben Narfi, - - - | 7 | 5 |
| 9. Schabour Dhoulakthaf, - - - | 72 | |
| 10. Ardeschir, grandson to Hormouz Ben Narfi, - - - | 4 | |
| 11. Schabour Ben Schabour Dhoulakthaf, nearly - - - | 5 | |
| 12. Baharam Ben Schabour, surnamed Kerman Schâh, - - - | 13 | |
| 13. Jezdegerd' al Athim, or <i>the Wicked</i> , - - - | 21 | |
| 14. Baharam Gour Ben Jezdegerd, - - - | 23 | |
| 15. Jezdegerd Ben Baharam Gour, - - - | 18 | |
| 16. Hormouz Ben Jezdegerd, - - - | 1 | |
| 17. Firouz, brother of Hormouz, - - - | 28 or 30 | |
| 18. Balasch Ben Firouz, nearly - - - | 14 | |
| 19. Cobad Ben Firouz, - - - | 43 | |
| 20. Noufchirvan Ben Cobad, - - - | 48 | |
| 21. Hormouz Ben Noufchirvan, - - - | 12 | |
| Baharam Tchoubin, who held the sovereign power some years, and is therefore, by some, reckoned amongst the kings. | | |
| 22. Khofrou Perviz Ben Hormouz, - - - | 32 | |
| 23. Schirouich Ben Khofrou Parviz (B), - - - | 6 or 8 | |
| 24. Ardeschir Ben Schirouich, - - - | 1 | 6 |
| 25. Scheheriar, who was not of the royal family, - - - | 2 | 0 20 days. |
| 26. Touran Dokht Benat Khofrou Parviz, - - - | 2 | |
| 27. Azurmi Dokht, sister to the last mentioned king, - - - | 1 | 4 |
| 28. Farakhzad Ben Khofrou, - - - | | 1 |
| 29. Jezdegerd Ben Scheheriar Ben Khofrou Parviz, according to some writers was the last king of this dynasty ^a , and reigned | 20 | |

Though we have followed Khondemir exactly in this table of the Persian kings, we do not conceive ourselves obliged to submit always to his authority in our subsequent history. We have followed him in the table, because he is more consistent and exact in his list of kings than any other writer; but in respect of facts, we must take the liberty of dissenting from him, as often as probability, and better authority than his, shall require us so to do.

Ardeschir, or rather, agreeable to our orthography, Ardeschir Babegan, according to the most ancient histories, was the grandson of Sassan, the brother of a certain queen of Persia; who, seeing himself excluded from the throne, and being apprehensive that his life was not safe, thought fit to travel. Having spent many years abroad, he died at

*Ardeschir
Babegan.*

^a Khondemir in Khelassat. Alakhbar.

(B) There is a tradition in as this king was, survive not the East, that parricides, such their parents above six months.

last in exile, and left, among other children, the father of this Ardshir; who, having a curiosity to see his native country, returned thither privately, and entered into the service of Babec, who was governor of a province for Ardavan, or, as the Greeks call him, Artabanus, the last monarch of the Parthians. This nobleman, perceiving in this youth the evident tokens of an extraordinary genius, resolved to fix him in his family, and, with that view, gave him his daughter in marriage, by whom he had Ardshir, who, in gratitude to his mother's family, took the surname of Babegan.

*His adventures
at the
court of
Ardavan.*

He was educated by his grandfather in all the learning of the Persians; and was also taught, by his father, all the exercises becoming a person of quality: being equally assiduous in acquiring both, he became, while a youth, the wonder of the province, and his fame reached the ears of Ardavan, who sent for him to court, where he became a great favourite, until his accomplishments excited the jealousy of the king. Then he was sent to command the forces in a distant province, where he remained till the death of his grandfather Babec, upon which he returned to court, in hopes of procuring his government, but had the mortification to see it bestowed on the king's eldest son.

*His flight
from
thence.*

This misfortune was soon followed by another: the king was much disturbed by a dream; and, on consulting the most eminent diviners in his court, they told him it portended, that a certain fugitive from his court would deprive him of his life and crown. There happened to be, in the king's seraglio, a woman who was passionately in love with Ardshir; she, being apprehensive that this interpretation might prove fatal to him, immediately gave him notice of it; upon which he instantly retired with all imaginable secrecy. His flight alarmed the king, who never thought of him before; but it was too late, for Ardshir was gone into Persia Proper, the province of which his grandfather had been governor. He was met at the city of Esthecher, or Persepolis, by a croud of the nobility of the province, who were all devoted to his family, and who readily offered him their service. In all probability, the interpretation of the king's dream, was what first inclined Ardshir to attempt the recovery of the kingdom of his ancestors: wherefore, taking counsel from ambition on the one hand, and a just sense of the extreme danger he was in on the other, Ardshir began to set before the eyes of the Persian nobility the advantages that would
accrue

accrue to them from an entire revolution; and he was so fortunate in his applications as to bring them over to his interest. From the moment he entered the province, the young prince, who was governor of it, conceived a jealousy of him, but before he could obtain any satisfactory information of his designs, Ardshir took the field with a considerable army. The prince presently drew together his father's forces, in order to oppose him; but, after several engagements, there happened one which was decisive, his army being totally defeated, and the prince slain upon the spot. The like fate soon befel Ardavan himself, who, entering into the province of Fars, with all the forces of his empire, was there defeated and slain by the victorious Ardshir, who now assumed the regal dignity, and, soon after, the pompous title of shâh-in-shâh, or *king of kings*^b.

This monarch, in the beginning of his reign, very artfully tempered the severity of a conqueror with the mildness of a native sovereign. Wherever he found resistance he put all to the sword; but to such as submitted to his government, he shewed all imaginable kindness, without any respect of persons. On this account he spared all the family of Ardavan, and even married the eldest daughter of that prince. She, however, conceived such a hatred towards him, for depriving her family of the empire, that, within a very short space after her marriage, she attempted to poison him, in order to set the imperial crown on her brother's head. Being detected in the fact, Ardshir gave orders to his prime minister to cause her to be put to death. When the unhappy lady was made acquainted with her sentence, she declared herself with child; upon which the minister, without acquainting his master, concealed her privately, and caused the son, of which she was delivered, to be brought up with the utmost care, giving him the name of Schabour, that is, *king's son*, the same name as the Greek Sapor. The vizir waited a long time for a favourable opportunity of divulging this secret to his master. At length, observing the king one day in good humour, he brought forth the young prince, introduced him to his father, and, not without some apprehension, entered into the whole detail of his preservation. Ardshir received the young prince with the utmost tenderness. After having reflected severely on himself for his rashness,

Acquires a son and successor by the prudence of his vizir.

^b Tarikh. Kozideh. & Bina Kiti ap. Khondemir. Mirkhond. sect. 24. Gregor. Abul-Phar. H. D. dynast. vii. p. 126.

he highly commended the prudence of his minister; and, having caused Schabour to be conducted to the palace, declared him his heir, and took all imaginable pains to instruct him in the arts of government^c.

His character as a legislator.

The Oriental historians agree in affirming, that the character of Ardshir was that of a complete hero, no less distinguished for knowledge and virtue, than for valour and military skill. From the moment he was seated on the throne, he conceived the important design of regaining all the dominions which had belonged to his predecessors in the Persian throne. By arms he recovered large provinces from all his neighbours; and, when he had retrieved them, he took care to make the people very sensible of the difference between his government and that which they had been under before. He erected new cities wherever he found inviting situations; he fortified all the considerable towns on his frontiers; he divided the inhabitants of his empire into several classes or tribes, according to their professions; and not only appointed magistrates to govern them, but also counsellors, whose business was to instruct them in their true interest, to procure for them the redress of their grievances, as also such grants and privileges as might be for their service. Ardshir likewise abated the severity of the law, taking away the excessive use of capital punishments, in order to make way for milder chastisements, pursuant to his favourite maxim, "That the sword was never to be employed, where the cane might do as well." But the greatest of his performances, as a lawgiver, was in the literary way: he composed a book, intitled, *Adab Alaifch*, that is, *Rules for attaining a happy Life*. In this treatise he laid down the maxims necessary to conduct a man in every station, from a monarch to a mechanic; and this task he performed with such penetration and perspicuity, that Nouschirvan, the wisest and greatest of his successors, caused the book to be solemnly published throughout all his territories, obliging every family in Persia to have a copy^d.

He dies in peace and glory.

The wisdom, moderation, and success of Ardshir Babegan, as they made him almost adored by his subjects in his life-time, caused his character to be regarded as a model by those who succeeded him in his throne, which he left vacant, after a reign of fourteen years.

^c Lebtarikh. Akhiar.

^d Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Raoudhat. a

Schabour, or Shâh-Pour, whom the Greeks call Sapor, succeeded his father, having been preserved by the tenderness of his prime minister. He was very young when he came to the throne; and therefore the nobility thought it necessary to give him a guardian or protector, who was his uncle by the mother's side, and might consequently have pretended to the crown. This nobleman not only executed his charge with integrity and reputation, but when the Persian nobility solicited him to assume the title of king, he received the proposal with disdain, giving up the government to his nephew when he was of an age capable of ruling his subjects. Schabour was so well educated, that, after he came to the exercise of the sovereign authority, he did not pretend to use his uncle as a counsellor, but chose to consult him as a parent; and whenever he had occasion either to take the field against the Romans, or to make a progress into any distant province of his dominions, he left his uncle in possession of the royal authority; so that the Persian historians have actually accounted him one of the kings of Persia.

Schabour I.

*His great
works.*

There cannot be any thing more different than the character of Schabour, drawn by the Oriental historians, and that of Sapor in the Latin and Greek writers. We have seen what the latter say; our business at present is with the former. They report, that Schabour was a prince of a magnificent disposition, who sought, above all things, to adorn his country with fine cities, and stately public buildings. With this view he made frequent visits to all the provinces of his empire, that he might be the better acquainted with their situation, their trade, and manufactures, and consequently have it more in his power to confer upon them real benefits. In the province of Khouhistan, which we call Susiana, he built a fine city, restored its ancient capital to its pristine beauty, and caused a stupendous dike to be erected, to bear the weight of a river, which he brought to run over it, for the sake of supplying the adjacent country with water. In the province of Fars, or Persia Proper, he built the city of Naoubendgian, in one of the finest plains in the universe; which city, in gratitude to its founder, was, for a long time, called Casbach Schabour; but the most famous, and by far the greatest city of all he built, was that of Nischabour in Korassan. It seems, the king was marching his army through that province; and, by accident, encamped near the ruins of an ancient city, which had been destroyed by Alexander the Great, the remains of which were almost every where
over-

overgrown by rose-bushes. The king, charmed with the situation of the place, returned thither again as soon as the campaign was over: after having ordered all the rose-bushes to be pulled up, he cleared away the ruins; and, by sending regular detachments from his army to work upon the houses, he, in a short space, saw it in such forwardness, as invited all the inhabitants of the adjoining country to settle in his new city. On account of the rose-bushes, he called it Nischabour, that is, *the rose of Sapor*, Nei signifying, in the Persian tongue, *a rose*. As the Latin and Greek writers are very silent as to his victories, the Persian historians say as little of his vices, and not a syllable of his ordering the emperor Valerian to be slayed alive*. Mirkhond is the only writer who gives us any account of his death, which, according to him, happened in a very surprising manner. His severe justice so much alarmed some rapacious courtiers, that they took the opportunity offered them by a stormy night, to enter the royal tent, where they murdered Schabour and his attendants; which, when they had perpetrated, they set it on fire; so that the guards apprehended his tent had been destroyed by lightning. There are different accounts of the years of his reign; but the best writers agree, that he held the sceptre thirty-one years†.

Hormouz I.

Hormouz, whom the Greeks call Hormisdas, succeeded his father Schabour, and was a most generous prince; in so much that most of the ancient historians call him Hormouz al Horri, that is, Hormisdas the Liberal. He was one of the handsomest princes of his time, and exceedingly beloved by his subjects; though it does not appear that he was a very martial monarch, or that he made any conquests (W). He died before he had reigned two years,

* Khondemir. Lebtarikh.

† Mirkhond. sect. 25. •

(W) It is said, that he shewed a great deal of favour to the famous heretic Manes; and that he built for him, on the borders of the province of Sufiana, a castle or place of retreat, called Dascarah: and it is farther reported, that he embraced his opinions. This, we apprehend, ought to be understood in a limited sense, and be construed only as to the notions that hereſiarch had in phi-

losophy; for though it be true, that Manes, or, as the Orientals call him, Mani, held very pernicious tenets in theology, yet it is as true, that he was a very great mathematician, and, by constant practice, attained such a facility of drawing geometrical figures, that he would strike circles of any given diameter with a pencil only, without the assistance of compasses.

with

with the reputation of having been an excellent prince, equally tender of his subjects welfare, and of the prerogative of the crown ^g.

Baharam, the son of Hormouz, succeeded him. This is the name which the Greeks endeavour to express by the several appellations of Varanes, Varharanes, and Vararanes (X). He was a prince who laboured for the welfare of his people, as we may infer from this saying of his, "That humanity was not to be defined, because in it were comprehended all the other virtues." He reigned, with great applause, three years, and three months, at the end of which he was murdered in a base manner: a tumult happening in his capital, he went in person to appease it; when a kinsman of his took advantage of the crowd and confusion to let fly an arrow, which struck the king to the heart, to the great grief, as well as to the great loss, of his subjects ^h.

Baharam.

Baharam II. succeeded his father Baharam I. Some writers say, he was only the adopted son of the last king. He acted with such austerity, haughtiness, and cruelty, at the commencement of his reign, that the people gave him the surname of Khalef, that is, *the Unjust*. The nobility of Persia, who were never over complaisant to tyrants, began to think of ridding themselves of so bad a master,

Baharam II.

^g Khondemir. Lebtarikh. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. art. Hormouz. ^h Mirkhond. sect. 26.

(X) At the beginning of his reign he affected to treat Mani with greater deference than ever his father did, and even suggested to him a design of settling his opinions as the national religion of Persia; in order to which he invited him to a conference with his magi, that the people might be the better convinced of their monarch's caution in so important an affair. Vanity engaged Mani to comply with the king's request; so that, leaving his fortrefs, he went without the least apprehension, to court, in order to dispute with such learned men as he supposed would be

assembled there. On his arrival, Baharam ordered him to be seized; shortly after he caused him to be flayed alive; and his skin being stuffed with straw, he ordered it to be set on the top of a high hill, with a strong guard, as a signal to the Manichees of his kind intention towards them. This execution had the proposed effect; for all the disciples of Mani retired immediately out of Persia; and, not believing themselves safe even on its frontiers, they fled into the heart of the Indies, and some of them as far as China (1).

(1) D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Mani.

by

by deposing him at least, if not by putting him to death. The magi, however, checked his design in its birth, offering to risk their own safety for the good of the people, by remonstrating to the king on the folly of his conduct. This task they performed with such warmth, and, at the same time, with such an evident display of loyalty, that Baharam acknowledged them for his counsellors and protectors, changed the whole tenor of his conduct, and from being a very bad, became a most excellent prince, during the remainder of his reign. Most authors agree, that this prince reigned seventeen years ¹.

*Baharam
III.*

Baharam III. succeeded Baharam II. During his father's life-time he was governor of the province of Seistan; which is the reason that the Greek writers call him Segansaa. He reigned thirteen years, without performing any thing extraordinary; or, if he did, the Oriental historians, as well as the Greeks, have treated him unjustly; for we find little said of him, even in their most copious authors; and Mirkhond says nothing of this prince (Y).

Narfi.

Narfi Ben Baharam, that is, Narfi the son of Baharam, succeeded Baharam III. his brother, though, from his surname, some authors have taken him for his father; but, in truth, he was the son, not of Baharam III. but of Baharam II. He was a prince of a mild temper, gracious to his subjects, and desirous, as far as was in his power, of making them happy; but he had the misfortune to attack the Romans when they had many great generals and several potent armies in the field; by whom he was defeated, and lost all his frontier provinces: for grief at which, it is said, he broke his heart, when he had reigned nine years ².

*Hormouz
II.*

Hormouz, the son of Narfi, or, according to the Greeks Hormisdas the son of Narfes, succeeded his father. All the Oriental historians agree, that he was a prince endowed with all the virtues capable of adding lustre to a crown. Among these his justice was by far the most conspicuous. He saw, with regret, the ill use that many of the nobles

¹ Lebtarik. Ebn Batrik. in Chron. Orient. artic. Narfi.

² D'Herbelot. Bib.

(Y) Hence it is apparent, that the Oriental writers are not so fond of fiction, as they are generally represented to be; for, if they were, they would not certainly suffer such chastity in their histories, but rather to fill them up with inventions of their own, as some of our northern writers have done.

made of their great power and riches, in oppressing the meaner sort of people, and thereby discouraging industry and trade, the chief supports of all well-governed kingdoms. To eradicate so dangerous an evil, he instituted a particular tribunal, or court of justice, wherein the meanest man in Persia might be heard against the greatest; and that neither interest or authority might beget partiality, he frequently presided in person. He likewise devised many new laws and regulations for the benefit of the middling sort of people, and for the encouragement of trade; in regard to which, he was extremely careful of the maritime coasts, and of all the ports of Persia (Z). He is said to have extended his dominions very considerably, and to have been no less fortunate in war than he was wise and temperate in peace. The province of Susiana was peculiarly favoured by this monarch, insomuch that he built several cities there, and repaired such as were fallen to decay. More he would probably have done, if he had reigned longer; but, having sat on the throne nine years he died ¹ (A).

¹ Lebtarikh. Khondemir. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. art. Hormouz Ben Narsî.

(Z) He likewise built, in the province of Kerman, which the Greeks call Caramania, a very famous city and port, which he called by his own name Hormouz, or, as we pronounce it, Ormus. It was seated conveniently along the sea-shore, and, towards the land, was shaded by groves of palm-trees; so that, in process of time, it became equally remarkable for its being a trading city, and also the market for the commodities of a multitude of industrious people, who cultivated the fertile plain behind it. In the end, however, its riches proved its ruin; so that the inhabitants, finding themselves exposed to continual ravages, abandoned it, and transported themselves into an island in the Persian Gulf, almost over against their

old place of residence; where they built a new city, which they likewise called Ormuz, the same that was afterwards conquered by the Portuguese.

(A) The Oriental writers differ among themselves as to the foundation of the city of Hormouz on the continent, some attributing this to Hormouz the first, the son of Schabour; but we incline to think it was erected by this prince, because the most accurate historians are of that sentiment (2). A learned critic suggests, that the planet Mercury, in the Persian language, was called Hormouz (3): but we are of another opinion; for we apprehend it to have been an attribute or name of the Supreme Being (4).

(2) Khozideh. Lebtarikh.

(3) Schikard. Tarikh. p. 112.

(4) Hide Relig. Vet. Pers. cap. 11. p. 177.

*Schabour
II.*

Schabour II. surnamed Dhoulactaf, i. e. *Schabour of the Shoulders*, succeeded his father before he was born, the crown being placed on his mother's belly, and the nobles swearing to acknowledge for their sovereign the child she should bring forth. In his nonage the Persians were exposed to many disasters, more especially to the insults and ravages of the Arabs, who, under their king Thair, broke in vast numbers into Persia, and spread desolation wherever they advanced. They plundered the royal cities, and carried off the sister of the late king Hormouz, and the aunt of Schabour, into captivity. When the young king attained the age which qualified him for martial exploits, he determined to revenge the injuries that had been done him, and his subjects, during his infancy. For this purpose he, with a body of troops, made a quick march, and surprised Thair in one of his frontier provinces. The place was indeed invested before the Arab prince had any notice of it; but it was so strong, and the garrison so well provided, that, in all probability, Schabour must have abandoned his enterprize, if Malekah, whom some call the sister, others affirm to have been the daughter, of Thair, had not betrayed the place to Schabour, with whom she fell in love, and put the king, the nobility, and the garrison, into the hands of their mortal enemy. Schabour took this opportunity of revenging the cruelties committed by the Arabs in Persia, by putting Thair, and all who were with him, to the sword; assigning as his reason, that, if a king would so far forget his own dignity, as to turn robber, he ought not to expect, that his enemies should consider him in any other light. This prince was sovereign of Yemen, which province Schabour immediately over-ran, putting numbers of the inhabitants to the sword, and causing the shoulder-bones of all, who were able to bear arms, to be broken; whence he had the surname of Dhoulactaf.

*Takes the
king of the
Arabs, and
puts him to
death.*

Schabour, as we have already seen in the former period, was at continual enmity with the Romans; and though, during the reign of Constantine the Great, he durst not attempt any thing very considerable, that consideration did not hinder him from taking all the necessary steps to act effectually, whenever an opportunity should offer. He was so desirous of being thoroughly acquainted with the state of the Roman empire, that he went in person to Constantinople, under colour of being an ambassador from Persia. He had not, however, been long there, before he was suspected, and imprisoned; during which
time

*Goes to
Constantinople
under the dis-
guise of an
ambassador.*

time the Romans made several incursions into the Persian provinces, and treated the people with great severity. At length Schabour having corrupted a lady of the court, she not only procured him his liberty, but fled with him. They were obliged to travel with great circumspection; and, not without difficulty, through many dangers, they arrived at a little hermitage in Media; which place hath ever since been called Schahbouran. It is not very clear, whether the religious Persians, who resided here, were of the Christian, Manichean, or Magian religion; but, whatever they were, their chief was very loyal, acquainted the king with the present situation of things, and took pains to execute whatever he directed; so that, by degrees, Schabour assembled a very considerable body of troops, and with them so opportunely attacked the Roman forces, that they were entirely defeated. His stay in Media procured him an opportunity of observing the situation of that country, and the improvements of which it was capable. These observations determined him to build a new city not far from the hermitage, where he had reposed himself after his return from Constantinople, hoping, that, when it was thoroughly peopled, it would serve as a barrier, and protect the open country from the insults of neighbouring nations ^a.

As soon, therefore, as the circumstances of the times would permit, Schabour laid the foundations of the city of Cazvin, which we call Casbin. When he began this work, he found himself excessively annoyed by the Delemites, who began to be jealous of his undertaking. Schabour, who was a very wise prince, perceiving that it was not in his power to carry on the building of his city and a war with these people at the same time, resolved to purchase their connivance, which he bought accordingly, with considerable gifts for the present, and promises of future benefits. When Casbin was finished, and the Delemites renewed their incursions, Schabour, who was by this time at peace with the Romans and the Arabs, turned his whole force upon that people, and easily subdued them, adding the province of Deilem to his empire. It had been an ancient and independent kingdom till then, and retrieved its independence after the Arabians had made themselves masters of Persia. This monarch also beautified and enlarged Scheustar, in the province of Khouhistan, where he likewise re-edified another ancient

Builds the city of Casbin.

Subdues the Delemites.

^a Khondemir. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Schabour Ben Hormouz,

city called Corkh, which he afterwards called by his own name. He was one of the greatest and most fortunate monarchs of this dynasty, and, during his long reign of seventy-two years, not only made great conquests on all sides of his dominions, but also wonderfully improved his territories, by building cities, and encouraging the trade of his subjects " (B).

Ardshir II. Ardshir succeeded Schabour, and governed the Persian kingdom twelve years. One author assures us, that he was uncle, by the mother's side, to the last king; another says he was only his cousin; and a third affirms, that he was brother, by the mother's side, to Schabour Dhoulaclaf. However it was, he assumed the government at first only as tutor or protector to Schabour III. though afterwards the nobility prevailed upon him to take the title of king. The Persians were afraid of nothing so much as of being governed by a child; which was the true cause, that they were desirous of conferring the regal dignity on him, whose birth and abilities made him the most proper for discharging its essential functions.

Schabour III.

Schabour III. the son of Schabour Dhoulaclaf, governed the kingdom of Persia five years, and four months, in great tranquillity. He was contemporary with Theodosius the Great, with whom he made a strict alliance, and lived in the greatest friendship during his reign. As he was a very pacific prince, and sought nothing so much as to keep his kingdom from feeling the plague of war, that

* Khondemir. D'Herbelot. artic. Hormouz. Schabour Dhoulaclaf.

(B) The learned Schikard (1) takes a great deal of pains in rectifying a mistake in the version of Mirkhond by Teixeira (2). The surname of the Persian king is there written Zabel Ketaf, which, the judicious critic rightly conjectures, should have been Dhul Aktaf; but then he is in a great mistake himself; for he attributes this surname to Schabour I. to whom it did not belong. He is, however, perfectly just in his censure of Reineccius (3), who had condemned Nicephorus, an ancient writer, for calling Schabour I. Chosroes, since that was no mistake, as the kings of this dynasty preserving this appellation. The history of Schabour's being crowned in his mother's belly is not only to be found in the Oriental writers, and in the Greek historians, but also in the writings of the rabbins, and therefore, though the fact is an odd one, yet it cannot be called incredible.

(1) Tarikh p. 110. Arfacid.

(2) Lib. i. cap. 26.

(3) De Gen.

his subjects might have leisure to repair their former losses. The account we have of his reign is very succinct, and amounts to neither more nor less than what we have recorded °.

Baharam IV. succeeded his father Schabour, whom he very much resembled in his disposition. He had, in his father's life-time, been governor of the province of Kerman, and, according to the privilege of the royal family, was styled Kerman-Shâh. This title the Greek writers converted into a surname; which is the reason, that, in their histories, he is called Varanes Cermanfaa. He governed the kingdom eleven years, in which time the Persians grew so extravagantly rich, that their pride inclined them to frequent revolts; in one of which the king appearing suddenly amongst the rebels, and expostulating with them on the folly and madness of their behaviour, was basely shot with an arrow in his back, and died upon the spot P.

*Baharam
IV.*

Jezdegerd succeeded his father Baharam, and proved a very bad prince. Equally cruel and avaricious, he distressed his subjects alike in their persons and their properties. This tyranny was the more grievous to the Persians, because, in the life-time of his father, he had affected so much modesty, humanity, and condescension, that never any monarch promised more at his accession, or performed less during his administration: hence he was surnamed al Athim, that is, *the Wicked*, or *the Abandoned*. He had the misfortune to see all his children die within a month after they were born. Deeply affected by this misfortune, he consulted not only the Persian physicians, but all the travellers who visited his dominions, as to the wholsomest air they were acquainted with, in order to try, whether, by removing a child as soon as possible thither, he might not continue the succession in his family. The result of this enquiry was, that the province of Hirah was recommended to him, as that where the best air was to be found. This country was a part of Chaldæa, which, when Alexander the Great's successors disagreed among themselves, an Arab prince had seized. Having built a city there, he called it Hirah, and made it the capital of a little principality, which became tributary to the Persians. The name of the possessor of this small sovereignty was Nooman; for whom Jezdegerd sent, as

Jezdegerd.

*He sends
his son to
be educated
by an Arab
prince.*

° Khondemir. Lebtarikh.
Ben Schabour.

P D'Herbelot. art. Baharam

soon as his son Baharam was born. When he came to court, the king put the child, who was then about a month old, into his hands, acquainted him how unlucky he had been in the rest of his children, and told him, that what he expected from him was the education of his son, in all those exercises which usually increase the strength of the body, and render men healthy and robust. Nooman, on his part, promised to take all imaginable care of the child, whom he immediately carried home with him; and Jezdegerd, being now at ease, governed his dominions according to his own maxims, though little to the satisfaction of the magi, twenty-one years. At last, as he one day amused himself in viewing a favourite horse, the beast suddenly struck him with one of its hind feet on the stomach, with such force, that he immediately fell down dead. This accident delivered the discontented part of his subjects from a master, whose government they hated, and whom yet they were not able to depose. The disaffected party, taking advantage of the absence of the prince his son, to transfer the regal dignity to another family, fixed on Kerfa, a nobleman of excellent qualities and great fortune, whom, after having drawn from him many advantageous concessions in their own favour, they saluted king, and actually put him in possession, not only of the royal robes and ornaments, but also of the royal treasure. They likewise procured the consent and submission of the forces then on foot, and of the greatest part of the provinces of that extended empire^a.

His death.

*Kerfa
placed on
the throne
by the dis-
affected.*

*Baharam
V.*

Baharam V. surnamed Gour, was, as we have seen, sent in his infancy to the court of an Arab prince, for the sake of establishing his constitution; which end was perfectly answered by the care his guardians took of his education. Nooman Ben Mondir, to whose care he was committed, caused two palaces to be built for his reception, in the capital city of his dominions. These were built by the greatest architect of the East, whose name was Sennamar. Nooman most bountifully rewarded Sennamar for his care and skill; but that unfortunate person having indiscreetly boasted, that he could have performed still greater things, if he had expected to be paid in such a manner, Nooman began to doubt his fidelity, and therefore ordered him to be thrown from the top of one of the palaces to the bottom. In process of time

^a Lebtarikh, Mirkhond, sect. 27. Khondemir.

Nooman

Nooman, the tutor of Baharam, became a convert to the Christian religion. In consequence of his conversion, he thought fit to retire from the world, and spend the rest of his days in an hermitage in the desert, resigning the crown, and the care of the young Persian prince, to his son Hendu. This prince was no less careful of Baharam than his father had been : he provided for his health, both in body and mind ; he took care to have him taught all the exercises, and to be instructed in all the learning, with which a person of his high quality ought to be acquainted : he gave him lessons in the art of reigning ; and, at the same time that he discharged the duty of a governor, shewed himself, on all occasions, his friend, in the circumstances of private life, as he was his constant companion in all his diversions. By these means Baharam, who had an excellent genius, grew one of the most accomplished princes of his age, and had a sagacity and resolution almost incredible, considering his tender years.

When the news of his father's death reached Hirah, the young prince could not help expressing not only his amazement at the conduct of the Persian nobility, but his resolution not to part with the crown on such easy terms. He therefore addressed himself to Hendu, and besought him to furnish him with some troops, that he might endeavour, by force, to recover what was undoubtedly his right. The king of Hirah, who owed him his allegiance, as being dependent on the Persian empire, promised him all the assistance in his power. When he was thus embarked in the business, he thought proper to invite all the Arabian princes his neighbours to a council, wherein he explained the right of Baharam to the Persian throne, and the indignity offered them in his exclusion, on account of his being bred up among them. The petty princes to whom he addressed himself, easily received the impressions he sought to make upon their minds, and, with great alacrity, promised to support the pretensions of his pupil with their utmost force. This point being gained, Baharam, at the head of ten thousand Arabian horse, entered the Persian territories ; and was followed by Hendu, and the confederate princes, with thirty thousand more. The Persian nobility, obstinate in their rebellion, drew together a great army, in order to maintain the cause of the prince whom they had set upon the throne. Things being in this situation, a general and de-

Enters Persia at the head of an army.

Gains the crown by an expedient without bloodshed.

cisive battle was daily expected, the armies being within half a day's march of each other; but, by the wisdom of Hendu, a negotiation was set on foot. Both parties were desirous of deciding the business without blood, and yet neither of them would recede in the least from his pretensions. In this critical juncture Baharam proposed an expedient, which was instantly accepted. It was this: that the crown of Persia should be placed on a cushion, between two hungry lions; and that the prince who would fetch it should wear it, without farther dispute. On the day appointed the experiment was made, and the crown placed between the lions. Then Baharam, turning to his competitor, said, "Kerfa, why do not you go and fetch the crown?" "I need not (answered he): I am in possession of it already; you desire it; therefore do you go, and take it." Baharam instantly fell upon the lions, killed them both, and took up the crown. Upon which Kerfa immediately ran towards him, embraced him, and did him homage. His example was followed by all the Persian lords. And thus this controversy, which had armed all the East, was determined without bloodshed, to the satisfaction of all parties. The Persians were charmed with the generosity and valour of their new king; and Hendu and his Arabian confederates were no less pleased with the success of their undertaking, and with the presents, and other marks of gratitude, which were given them by Baharam at parting.

The Turks invade the Persians with a prodigious army.

Baharam, on taking possession of the throne, treated his subjects with such lenity, and excused them from so many duties and taxes, that the Oriental historians say, he effected a prodigious change in the disposition of the whole nation, insomuch that, computing the hours between sun-rising and sun-set, they divided these into equal parts; the first for business, the second for diversion. The king sent for twelve thousand musicians from India, not only to divert his subjects, but to prevent their becoming fiddlers and dancers in their own persons; and it is said, that those who now follow this profession in Persia, are descended from these Indians. The khacan (so the Orientals call the sovereign) of Turkestan, having intelligence of the merry disposition the Persians were in, conceived that a better opportunity would never offer for invading that rich and fertile country. He, therefore, without any previous declaration of war, assembled a very

* Lebtarikh. D'Herb. Bibl. Orient. art. Nooman. Ben Mondir.

powerful army, with which he broke into Persia like a torrent, spreading fire and sword, destruction and desolation, wherever he came. Baharam, when he had intelligence of this invasion, knowing that it was impossible for him to raise forces sufficient to repel the enemy, left his capital, and, with a thousand chosen horse, fled to the mountains, leaving the government in the hands of his brother Narfi. The Persians instantly concluded that the king had abdicated the government, and endeavoured to make the best terms they could with the conqueror. They therefore sent deputies to acquaint the khacan with the desertion of their prince, and to implore his mercy. The khacan did not, however, take things upon trust: he sent out parties to observe the motions of Baharam and his horse; and these, on their return, having reported that they had followed the Persian king two days march into Armenia, their master concluded, that he had fled into the Roman territories, and that Persia was absolutely subdued[†].

*They are
defeated
and de-
stroyed.*

Baharam, in the mean time, hastened, with his thousand horse, through the streights of Derbent, and keeping close by the Caspian Sea, marched quite round into Turquestan. Having there refreshed and remounted his troops, he suddenly and silently entered Persia, surprisèd, in the night, the forces of the khacan, who no longer kept any discipline; advanced in person to that monarch's tent, where he struck off his head without any resistance; and the Persians rising every where upon the flying army, not a man of this numerous multitude returned into Turquestan. This exploit wonderfully raised the reputation of Baharam; his subjects began to look upon him as a person inspired; and he, on the other hand, being better satisfied with his brother's administration than his own, resolved to travel for a time, and leave to him the resettling the affairs of Persia (C). Accordingly he travelled, in the

[†] Khondemir. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. art. Baharam.

(C) This surprising inconsistency of disposition in so great a prince cannot be accounted for any other way, than by considering where he received his education. This roving temper is the very character of an Arab chief; and, indeed, all the accounts we have of this monarch shew, that his man-

ners were exactly those of that nation. As for instance, the word *jur* signifies a *wild ass*; and this prince was called Baharam *Jur*, because he spent the greatest part of his time in hunting that creature; a diversion he had learned among the Arabs.

habit of a private person, to the court of an Indian prince, where he quickly distinguished himself so far as to merit the notice of the king, whose favourable inclinations towards him he greatly improved, by killing a monstrous wild elephant, which had done a prodigious deal of mischief. At length the king sent him, at the head of an army, to oppose a very potent neighbour, who, notwithstanding he had offered him tribute, invaded and plundered his country. This prince Baharam was so fortunate as to defeat; and he made so prudent a use of his victory, that he put it out of the enemy's power to think of renewing the war for a considerable number of years. On his return to court the Indian king thought himself obliged to promote him to the office of prime vizir, and actually gave him his daughter in marriage, with an immense fortune^u.

*He returns
into his
own domi-
nions from
India.*

But as the favours of kings usually produce envy in the minds of their subjects against those on whom they are conferred, so here the promotion of Baharam drew upon him the hatred of the Indians, though he had rescued them from oppression, and, by his wise administration, procured them as great felicity as a people could enjoy. When, therefore, he perceived this their disposition, he resolved to bear no longer with their ingratitude, especially when he found their whispers had reached the king's ear, and inclined him to alter his conduct, though, on his side, not the least occasion had been given. This resolution once taken, Baharam soon after discovered himself to the king, who was exceedingly alarmed, when he knew that the person to whom he was so much indebted was the king of Persia, his potent neighbour, whose ancestors had deprived him of a part of his dominions. The Persian monarch, to free him from all apprehensions, acquainted him with his resolution of returning into his own territories; and that, as well out of tender affection for his wife, as in return for the many favours he had received, he was content to yield up the places in dispute. The Indian king received this declaration with the utmost joy. Baharam conceiving that no time was to be lost, quitted his court immediately, and returned with his wife and family, and all the immense riches he had acquired into Persia. His subjects received him with all demonstrations of loyalty, and the king promised to apply himself more assiduously to public affairs than his wavering disposition had hitherto allowed him to do^w.

^u Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. sect. 29.

^w Khondemir. Lebtarikh.

The first step of importance he took after his return, was to send his brother Narfi, with a great body of troops, into Rumeftan (so the Persians call the dominions of the Greek emperor); and being informed that his forces met with no great opposition on that side, he ventured to make an expedition in person into Arabia, where he reduced the kingdom of Yemen, with all its dependencies. After this excursion he returned into Persia, and reigned the rest of his life in peace, beloved by his subjects, and revered by the neighbouring kingdoms (D).

*Turns his
army on
the Greeks
and Ara-
bians.*

Jezdegerd II. succeeded his father Baharam Gour. As he had been chiefly educated by his uncle Narfi, he became a prince of great knowledge and experience, though but a young man when he ascended the throne. He followed his father's example in placing his uncle at the head of all his councils, yet without neglecting business himself, or deserting any branch of it, to give himself up to another more agreeable to his temper. He was strict in doing justice, especially between the great and such as depended upon them. He restored the excellent constitutions of his ancestors, which, in time, were become obsolete; where he found these insufficient he framed new laws, by the advice of his council. His army he rendered more affectionate to him than they had ever been to any of his predecessors; for he caused his soldiers to be regularly paid; and though he took care to preserve discipline, yet,

*Jezdegerd
II.*

(D) Authors differ very much concerning the manner of his death. Some say, that being addicted to hunting, and passing full speed through a wood, his horse fell with him into a deep pit, where he was stifled (1). Others affirm, that being engaged in a war with a neighbouring prince, and having defeated his army in battle, Baharam, in the pursuit, was so unlucky as to plunge his horse into a morass, whence being unable to extricate himself, he was either suffocated or perished with hunger. The reason this point remains so full of doubt and uncertainty, is this; the body of Baharam was never found, and consequently all accounts of his death must be conjectural only (2). It is however generally agreed, that this accident befel him in the twenty-third year of his reign; and that, notwithstanding the many irregularities in his conduct, he left behind him the character of being one of the most brave and generous, as he was one of the most fortunate princes that ever swayed the Persian sceptre (3).

(1) Lebtarikh. (2) Mirkhond. ubi supra.
tarikh. Khondemir. Mirkhond. ubi supra.

(3) Leb-

when he was obliged to punish, he did it so gently, and with such visible reluctance, that he acquired the surname of Sipahdost, or the *Lover of his Soldiers*. There is, however, but one expedition of his mentioned, and that is against the Greeks, who, in his opinion, had broken the terms of their alliance with the Persians. In order to convince them of the folly of this proceeding, Jezdegerd marched, with a very numerous army, into the Roman territories. Far from suffering his troops to live as in an enemy's country, he obliged his soldiers to pay for every thing they had, to treat the inhabitants with the greatest civility, and to behave rather like strangers who came to see the country, than like enemies disposed to destroy it. The Greek emperor, fearing the consequences, in case his subjects should come to change their opinion as to the Persian government, sent to acquaint Jezdegerd, that he was ready to accept the terms he had formerly refused; and that he would pay the arrears of the tribute which he demanded. Upon which the Persian retired, with his forces, into his own country, without committing the smallest disorder *.

*Makes
choice of
his younger
son for his
successor.*

This great prince had two sons, the eldest called Ferouz, and the younger Hormouz. The latter was the favourite of his father, who took all imaginable care of his education, and also very assiduously promoted his interest with the nobility, that, upon his own demise, he might succeed him in the throne. This preference naturally produced great disturbances in the kingdom, the elder brother taking all possible measures for defeating the project of his father, in favour of the younger. To cool these heats, as also to pave the way to his own designs, the king thought fit to make his eldest son governor of Nimrouz, an ancient province of the Persian empire, comprehending the greatest part of those countries which are now called Sigistan and Makran, obliging him also to reside in his government. This step had a fair appearance; but was so far from answering the purpose of Jezdegerd, that it proved the means of defeating all the other precautions he had taken; but he did not live to see his designs frustrated; for the good king, after a reign of eighteen years, died suddenly, to the great grief, as well as to the inexpressible loss of his subjects, who saw themselves plunged into a miserable situation, out of which they were not extricated

* Lebtarikh. Khondemir. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. art. Jezdegerd.

till they had felt almost all the various calamities by which Providence chastises offending nations ¹.

Hormouz III. who was upon the spot, having a great interest through his father's solicitations, and being himself a person of so great merit as to have deserved the name of Firzaneh, i. e. *the Sage*, seated himself upon the throne, and was acknowledged by almost all the nobility. As he reigned but a very short time, most of the Persian historians are silent as to his character. One of them, however, assures us, that his conduct, after his accession, was very unlike his behaviour during the life-time of his father; for that, as soon as he found himself possessed of the sovereign authority, he began to tyrannize over his subjects, and to treat the nobility with equal contempt and severity, though his title to the crown depended, in a great measure, upon their choice. However it was, he did not long enjoy that dignity which had cost him so much pains to acquire. His brother Ferouz no sooner heard of his accession, than he determined not to lose tamely what he looked upon to be indubitably his right. The province of which he was governor lay on the frontiers of the country of the Haiathelites, who, in the works of the Greek historians, are called Nephtalites, and, by the translator of Mirkhond, Euthalites. To the king of this nation, whose name was Khaschnaouar, he applied himself, offering him a part at least, if not the whole, of his province, if he would assist him in taking the crown from his brother's head to set it upon his own. This proposition was readily accepted, and he furnished Ferouz with a body of thirty thousand horse. With these auxiliaries he entered Persia, and was joined by such as had a good opinion of his title, and had not been well received at his brother's court. Hormouz was no sooner acquainted with this step taken by his brother, than he immediately marched towards him with all his father's forces; but part of the Persian army being disaffected, and the other part afraid of the Barbarians Ferouz had brought with him, they made but a faint resistance; so that, without much difficulty, the situation of affairs was entirely changed, and Hormouz not only thrust from the throne, but also put into chains, and committed to prison, when he had reigned but one year ².

*Hormouz
III.*

*Is driven
from the
throne by
his brother.*

Ferouz, being now exalted to the regal dignity, could not think himself safe while his brother lived, though in a

Ferouz.

¹ Khondemir. Mirkhond. sect. 29.
belot. Bibl. Orient. art. Hormouz.

² Ibid. sect. 30. D'Her-

prison;

Puts Hormouz to death.

prison; and therefore the first act of his reign was the cutting off the head of Hormouz, together with those of his three chief counsellors. His conduct afterwards corresponded with this extraordinary severity; nor was it long before the Persians perceived that heaven punished them, as well for their own offences as for those of their prince. The rod by which they were chastised was a most severe drought, all the brooks and small rivers being dried up, the earth parched, and its fruits withered. It lasted six years; and destroyed such multitudes, and brought the surviving inhabitants into so miserable a situation, that we are told the king and the nobility consented to do open penance to avert the wrath of the Almighty. After this mark of humiliation heaven seemed to be appeased: in the seventh year all the seasons were wonderfully mild and pleasant. The scourge being removed, Ferouz and his people returned to their usual manner of living; that is to say, the king ruled according to his will, and his subjects plunged themselves into all sorts of excesses. The obligations conferred upon the Persian monarch by the king of the Haiathelites were so great, that one may easily judge of the disposition of Ferouz by his behaviour towards his benefactor. The people were no sooner recovered from that misery and consternation which had been spread amongst them by the late famine and drought, than Ferouz was for turning his arms against him who had set him on the throne (D).

Invades the country of the Haiathelites.

Ferouz was not long in executing his project: he drew together as numerous an army as the circumstances of the Persian affairs would allow; and then marched northwards, in order to invade the country of the Haiathelites. The king of that people was under the greatest amazement, when he heard of the preparations Ferouz had made. An officer in his troops, as some historians say, but, as others affirm, his grand-vizir, took upon him to revive his courage, by promising him a victory without

(D) It is true that some Persian authors allege, that the subjects of this prince entered the frontiers of Persia, and plundered them in a hostile manner; but there is little reason to believe this, because the same writers confess that

the Persians were then, beyond comparison, more powerful; and that the misfortunes they afterwards met with could not possibly have befallen them, but by their own temerity and ill-conduct (4).

(4) Lebtarikb. Nirkhond. sect. 31. Khondemir.

fighting,

fighting, if he would listen to his advice. This man, according to some authors, had lost a hand, by an accident prior to this event; but others assure us, that when his master had promised him to be entirely guided by his counsels, he cut off his nose, his ears, and otherwise dreadfully mangled himself. In this condition he was laid in a wood, through the skirts of which he knew that the Persian army must pass. When the vanguard of Ferouz's army reached him, they carried him to their king, who, struck with the miserable condition of the man, received him kindly, asking him who he was, and by whom he had been so cruelly mangled. The artful Haiathelite readily answered, that he had been thus treated by his king for having exhorted him to give any kind of satisfaction to the king of Persia, rather than engage in a war, the more because he was so excessively hated by his own subjects. Ferouz, rejoiced at this account, enquired strictly into the strength of the enemy, and where the king of the Haiathelites was encamped. The wounded man answered, that the king had with him the flower of all his people; and that they lay in ambuscade behind certain mountains, which were but a few days march from thence, if the king took his road through the woods: but if he continued in that wherein he now was, he would be obliged to pass on the other side of those mountains, and thereby give the Haiathelites an opportunity of attacking his rear. Ferouz, not in the least suspecting the fidelity of his wounded guide, readily listened to the advice he gave him; and turning out of the ordinary road, suffered himself to be led, sometimes through thick woods, at others through wild deserts, till, at length, his army was on the point of being famished, for want of necessary provisions. Then the Haiathelites appeared on all sides, and in such numbers, that Ferouz, seeing it impossible to defend himself, or to escape, surrendered, with the small remains of his army, throwing himself entirely on the mercy of his injured benefactor. The king of the Haiathelites, supposing that this disastrous expedition would prove a sufficient warning to Ferouz, offered to send him, and those that were with him, safely back into their own country, provided they took an oath never to invade his dominions again. They forthwith complied; and were permitted to return, without the least injury.

*Is taken by
their king
with his
whole ar-
my; but
set at liber-
ty.*

The first thing Ferouz projected, after his return into his own kingdom, was the attacking the Haiathelites a second time, in breach of the solemn oath he had so lately taken.

*Invades
the Hai-
thelites a
second time.*

The

The chief reason, which induced him to apprehend, that he should be more successful in this expedition than in his first, was, the observation he had made of the number of forces about the king of that people, when he had assembled the whole power of his nation. The Persian army appeared to Ferouz capable of defeating twice the number of Haiathelites he had seen, if they had not been circumvented by the policy of the wounded vizir. This fault he determined to repair, by marching directly into the heart of the country. As soon as the necessary levies could be made, he appointed Saouk, a prince descended from the ancient kings, regent in his absence; and, with a prodigious army, marched once more against the people, by whose assistance he had been seated on the throne. There is no need of repeating here the same story which hath been already inserted in the history of this prince's life, under the name of Peroses, in the former period. Let it suffice, that he, and his army, were, by a new stratagem, buried in a pit, and the Haiathelites delivered from all apprehensions of suffering any more by the incorrigible disposition of Ferouz. According to the best of the eastern historians, Ferouz reigned thirty, though some say not above twenty-seven years *.

Balafsch II.

Balafsch succeeded his father Ferouz, or Firouz, and was not his brother, as the Greeks affirm. His accession to the throne was very grateful to his subjects; but his younger brother Cobad was so dissatisfied, that he instantly retired from court, and fled to Turquestan, with the son of Saouk, who was his friend and counsellor. It does not appear, that Balafsch either ordered his brother to be pursued, or attempted to take away his life; but, on the contrary, left him at full liberty to live abroad at his ease, since he would not live at home. This indulgence, however, had no effect upon Cobad: his heart was full of ambition, and his head fraught with sinister contrivances. His friend had prevailed upon him to marry his daughter, who is represented by the Persian historian, from whom we have these particulars, as a woman of exquisite beauty, and extraordinary talents. By her Cobad had a son, whom he left with his mother, that he might return again to the court of the khacan, in order to solicit his assistance against his brother. Having prevailed, and orders being issued for raising an army, at the head of which he was to make an irruption into Persia, Cobad made a visit to his

* Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. sect. 31. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. art. Firouz.

father-in-law's family, in order to have his sentiments of this expedition. While he was there in order to receive intelligence from his friends in Persia, he was informed, that his brother was so extremely beloved by his subjects, that any attempt to dethrone him would be vain. While he was afflicting himself with the thoughts of being defeated in all his schemes, he received another courier, who brought him advice, that Balasch had died suddenly; and that there needed no army to place him on the throne, his subjects being ready to receive him with open arms. Upon this intelligence he set out, with his father-in-law, his wife, and young son Noufchirvan, to receive that crown by succession which he sought by force, or to have acquired by his intrigues. Authors are not agreed how long Balasch reigned; some say fourteen years, and others little more than four ^b.

Cobad ascended the throne with all the advantages possible. He was, in his person, one of the handsomest men in Persia, very expert in his exercises, of a generous disposition, and of quick parts; but as to his morals, they were exceedingly depraved: moreover he had imbibed, in his exile, such notions of government, as served only to make himself uneasy, and to oppress his subjects. The first wrong step he took was the putting to death Saouk, his wife's grandfather, because, under Cobad's father and brother, he had directed the administration. Cobad supposed he would expect to have the same influence during his reign, which, considering Saouk's great power, he thought it might not be safe to allow. He therefore made use of one Schabour, a soldier of fortune, who offered him his service on his accession to the throne, and to whom he gave orders to take off Saouk in such a manner, as might least reflect upon his government. Having this commission, Schabour payed his respects to Saouk; and, in the course of their conversation, assassinated him. In the tenth year of the reign of Cobad, a certain impostor appeared, whose name was Mazdek ^c (E). Cobad readily embraced his

^b Mirkhond. sect. 32. Lebtarikh. ^c Sharifani de Relig. Orient. Megjidi in Vita Kobad. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. artic. Mazdak.

(E) Mazdek followed the multitude of people by his specious pretences, persuaded them of his having revelations from heaven. The drift of these pretended revelations tended

his doctrine, which was better suited to his vicious inclination, than the established religion of the Persians. This step accomplished his ruin; for the Persian lords looked upon it as certain, that he would now trample upon their most valuable privileges. Coming, therefore, in great numbers to court, with such of their dependents as they could trust, they seized the person of the king, committed him to prison, and appointed one Giamasp, a person of great wisdom and integrity, regent of the kingdom. As to the impostor Mazdek, they would likewise have secured his person, but he was too circumspect to put it in their power. His disciples were very numerous, and he failed not to keep a sufficient number of them about him, to repel any attempt of this sort; he likewise took care not to trust himself in cities or fortresses where the nobility might shut him up as in a cage^d.

*Recovers
the king-
dom.*

The account the Oriental writers give us of the manner in which Cobad escaped from his prison, differs so little from that given by the Greeks, that we shall repeat nothing of it here. The eastern writers assure us, that it was some time before the king of the Haiathelites could be prevailed upon to raise forces to re-establish Cobad on his throne. At length he sent thirty thousand horse to the frontiers of Persia to try the disposition of the people; and it appearing that they were well affected to Cobad's interest, that prince followed in person, and was shortly after peaceably restored, Giamasp readily resigning all title to the imperial throne; which submission procured him a very favourable reception from Cobad, who treated him with much respect as long as he lived. After his restoration, it is said, he reformed his conduct, and became an excellent prince, equally careful of extending his empire by arms, and of improving it by the encouragement of arts. Authors are not agreed as to the length of his reign. The best historians, however, assert, that he reigned forty-three years, with great variety of fortune; and that he died beloved at home and revered abroad, after having

^d Mirkhond. sect. 33. Khondemir. Shariifani de Relig. Orient. Megidi in Vita Kobad. Lebtarikh.

tended to the establishing a more pure and holy religion, than had been hitherto made known to mankind. But as austerity and self-denial were never very popular doctrines, he invented some new notions of purity; and, in order to take away the lust of wealth, and of women, he proposed rendering them both common.

restored

restored peace and order throughout Persia, repaired such cities as were falling to decay, and erected many, to serve as monuments of his glory to posterity *.

To Cobad succeeded his son Khosrou, or Chosroes, so famous throughout all the East under the name of Nouschirvan, that is, *the Magnanimous*. This word, literally taken, signifies a soul candied in honey; and metaphorically, a mind equally distinguished by sweetness of temper and great abilities. He was the greatest prince of this dynasty, and, in the opinion of most of the Oriental historians, the most glorious monarch that ever reigned in Persia; happy in his genius, more happy in his education, excelling in all royal virtues, deficient in none requisite to distinguish a man in private life. The dawn of his government promised great felicity to his people; and he reigned long enough to realize to them much more than they expected. The first act of sovereignty with which he distinguished himself was full of severity, though he was naturally the mildest prince in the world: he found means to cause the impostor, Mazdek, to be seized, and brought prisoner into his presence. On this occasion Nouschirvan made a long oration, in which he explained the many and great mischiefs brought on kingdoms by such deluders, declared his resolution to extirpate this new sect, and, as an earnest of his intention, ordered Mazdek to be immediately put to death (F). After the execution of Mazdek, Nouschirvan never had recourse to severity. The death of their chief struck such a damp on the hearts of his followers, that they willingly accepted of the alternative offered them by the king's edict, either to restore what they had wrongfully taken from others, or to suffer capital punishment as thieves. Thus the peace and properties of the people of Persia were secured against the

Nouschirvan.

Puts the impostor Mazdek to death.

* Mirkhond. ubi supra. Khondemir. Sbariftani de Relig. Orient.

(F) That deceiver, desirous of keeping up some reputation, addressed himself to Nouschirvan in these words, as the officers were about to take him out of that prince's presence: "Providence, O king! appointed thee to rule over us, that thou mightest protect, and not destroy." "True, thou, son of corruption (answered Nouschirvan); but dost thou not remember, that thou didst once impudently demand of Cobad, my father, permission to dishonour my mother; and that thy followers have pillaged all the rest of my subjects? I do not therefore seek to destroy thee and thine, but to preserve myself, and the people committed by Providence to my care."

attempts

attempts of those debauched enthusiasts, without any extraordinary effusion of blood ^f.

*Removes
such officers
as were
disagree-
able to the
people.*

*Divides
the king-
dom into
four go-
vernments.*

Nouschirvan also removed, at the beginning of his reign, such officers of his court as, by their conduct, in his father's life-time, had rendered themselves disagreeable to his people (G). For the better dispatching of justice, and the more easy management of all public affairs, the king, in the second year of his reign, divided all the Persian dominions into four vizirships: the first consisted of the frontier provinces towards Tartary and India; the second included Parthia, Armenia, and the provinces bordering on the Caspian Sea; the third comprehended Persia Proper, and all the provinces between it and the Gulf; the fourth was composed of Mesopotamia, Chaldæa, the countries taken from the Arabs, and those conquered from the Greek emperors. Over each of these he appointed a governor, of the royal blood, who, in all ordinary cases, judged without appeal; but where the sentences were capital, they could not proceed, till they had instructions from court ^g.

^f Megji in Vita Nouschirvan. Mirkhond. sect. 34. Khondemir. Shariṭani de Relig. Orient. ^g Khondemir, Mirkhond, ubi supra. Megji in Vita Nouschirvan. Lebratikh. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. art. Nouschirvan.

(G) Among the officers discarded by Nouschirvan, there was one particular person whom he forbade ever to come into his presence, and who, by this sudden and total disgrace, fell into extreme poverty. On the birth-day, however, of the king, when all the Persian nobility came to make presents, and pay their duty to their sovereign, this officer appeared amongst the rest; and, after having dined at the royal table, put one of the golden plates into his bosom, without being perceived by any but Nouschirvan. When the plate was missed, and the servants began to be agitated, the king bid them be quiet; "For (said he) the man who took it will not bring it again; and he who

saw him take it will not discover him." On the next birth-day the officer came to court again, clad in a new robe; upon which the king, calling him, whispered in his ear, "Did my plate go to buy this fine robe?" He readily answered, "Yes;" and then drawing it aside, shewed the king a pair of ragged breeches; "But you see, sir, (said he) that it would go no farther." Nouschirvan was so charmed with the frankness of the man, that he restored him to his place as well as favour, and the Persians were so delighted with the generosity and good-humour of their prince, that, in all their histories, this story is preserved as a monument of his beneficence and clemency.

Early

Early in his reign he made an expedition into Rumeistan, or the territories of the Greek emperor. In this war, however, he did not so much endeavour to extend his territories, as to increase the number of his subjects. It was with this view that he transported all the inhabitants of the great city of Antioch into the province of Irak, where he gave them the city of Mahouza for their habitation, the name of which, to oblige them, he changed for that of Antioch (H). After this expedition he resolved to restore the Persian frontier on the other side of his empire, where the Haiathelites had seized on large territories, thinking they could never be too well rewarded for the assistance they had given to his father Cobad. At first Nouschirvan endeavoured to proceed by way of negotiation, representing to these people, that the wide-spread countries of Thebet, Candahar, and Brantolah, suited better their way of life, than the provinces they had wrested from Persia; but the Haiathelites having treated these representations with contempt, Nouschirvan had recourse to force, obliged this barbarous people to repass the mountains, and delivered his subjects from the incursions and depredations with which they had been constantly harassed for upwards of fifty years. This manner of proceeding alarmed all the neighbouring princes, and more especially the khacan, who immediately raised a great army, and, while Nouschirvan was on the borders of India with his troops, broke, like an inundation, through the Persian provinces into the heart of the kingdom. Nouschirvan, as soon as he was acquainted with what had happened, resolved to send his son, Hormouz, against this formidable invader, being afraid to leave his frontiers towards India uncovered, lest some advantages should be taken by his enemies on that side^b.

Makes war on the Romans;

and on the Haiathelites.

Hormouz discharged his duty to his father, and to the Persian nation, not only with great fidelity, but with great capacity. Though but a young man, he had been a soldier from his childhood. The troops he had about him were daily augmented by the country people, who looked upon the army as the surest asylum, and prudently chose to hazard their lives in the service of their country, rather

His son Hormouz defeats the khacan.

^a Khondemir. Mirkhond. sect. 34. Megjdi in Vita Nouschirvan.

(H) This city lay at no great distance from Babylon; but the new name conferred upon it by Chosroes did not remain with it long; for, after his decease, the old one of Mahouza came again into use.

than fly and hide themselves from the enemy with equal hazard. Hormouz judged perfectly well of the strength of his own forces, and did not, because they were numerous, pretend to give the enemy battle, but, by harassing the unweildy army of the khacan by continual skirmishes, withdrawing all sorts of provision out of the open country, by garrisoning strong cities, and abandoning weak ones, he obliged that monarch to think of retiring, though, by burning all the country behind him, he had rendered his retreat almost impracticable. The khacan, ignorant of this desolation, began his march back, and was amazed when he found a desert before him, and the Persian forces behind and on every side. In this miserable situation he, with the principal nobility, and a great corps of the best horse, deserted the rest, and precipitately escaped into their own country, leaving to the young prince of Persia the glory of having defeated him, and of effecting this conquest by his conduct. Nouschirvan, on the other hand, having completed his designs on the Indian frontiers, made an offensive war on the khacan, and pushed his conquests so far, that he obliged him to accept peace on the terms he thought fit to impose; after which pacification Nouschirvan married his daughter. This remarkable event happened in the twelfth year of his reign; and, as it delivered him from any apprehensions of danger from foreign enemies, he settled the boundaries of his extensive dominions, and then returned to Madain, his capital city. There he gave audience to the ambassadors of the greatest potentates of the world, who came to compliment him on his victories, and to penetrate any new designs he might have formed ⁱ(I).

We

ⁱ Mirkhond, ubi supra. Lebtarikh. Khondemir.

(I) It may not be amiss to take notice here of the boundaries which Nouschirvan gave to his empire, because the reader will from thence perceive with how great justice the Persian writers acknowledge this prince for the greatest monarch that ever ruled in their country. The city and country of Farganah, which lies along the river Sihon, or Iaxartes, was the limit of Persia on that

side; the river Indus separated his territories from those of the independent Indian princes. Arabia, to the frontiers of Egypt, acknowledged him for its sovereign; and in Syria he had pushed his conquests as far as the sea would permit. While Nouschirvan enjoyed in peace an empire of such an extent, he formed two projects, highly commended by the eastern writers, and which, perhaps, would

We must not, however, suppose that the life of Nouschirvan passed without the least visitation of ill fortune. The source of his uneasiness was his own family; and the enemy, who gave him the most trouble, was his own son. In one of his expeditions into Rumesan, or the dominions of the emperors of Greece, he had taken a female captive, by whose beauty he was subdued. This woman was a Christian, and very devout. Nouschirvan espoused her, and had by her a son, for whom he had a great tenderness. The name of this young prince was Nouschizad. His mother took care, from his cradle, to educate him in her religion, and impressed the truths thereof so strongly on his mind, that, when he grew up, he was not to be moved by the arts of the magi, or by the threats or promises of his father. Nouschirvan, being afraid of the consequences, confined him; but his confinement was easy, the king designing not so much to punish him, as to prevent any thing which might deserve punishment; and therefore, when he found himself obliged to visit the frontiers of his empire towards India, he did not alter Nouschizad's condition, but left him under the same gentle restraint wherein he had lived for some years. During his absence from the capital, he had a fit of sickness, and a report was spread that he was dead. Nouschizad, hearing this report, took instantly an opportunity of making his escape; and, as there were many Christians in Persia, he quickly drew together a considerable force, and continued to increase his army even after he was informed that his father was alive. The news of this revolt greatly afflicted Nouschirvan, who did not, however, immediately send an army against his son, but suffered things

Nouschizad, the son of Nouschirvan, rebels against him.

would not have gained him so much honour, had he reigned in another part of the world. The first was the bringing from India a certain book, intitled Homaïoun Nameh, i. e. *The Royal Manual*, the work of the famous Pilpai, containing a great number of parables relating to the art of government. This, by the care of his chief minister, Buzurge Mihir, he procured, and caus-

ed it to be translated into the Persian language for his own use. His other project was of the same sort, but undertaken for the sake of his people. It was the publication of his predecessor Ardshir's instructions for all degrees of men. Of this book he caused many copies to be made, and obliged every family in Persia to receive one (1).

(1) Megjdi in Vita Nouschirvan. Khondemir. Mirkhond. ubi supra.

Nouschirvan sends an army against him.

to remain as they were, that the young prince might have time to consider the condition he was in, and to return to his duty. But when he saw, that many of the grandees, who were discontented at the severity of the king's justice, took this opportunity of fortifying themselves against his resentment, Nouschirvan resolved to wait no longer; and therefore instantly dispatched a body of forces, under the command of Ram Berzin, one of his principal generals, to reduce the rebels. However, that officer had orders to employ gentle means for reclaiming the prince, before he should proceed to hostilities; and at all events to take care that no violence should be offered to the person of Nouschizad.

Nouschizad defeated and killed.

Ram Berzin followed his instructions exactly; but the prince proving obstinate, a general engagement ensued, in which Nouschizad was defeated, and received a mortal wound; which when he perceived, he said to those who were about him, "Tell the queen my mother, that it is my last request, that my body may be buried amongst the Christians." Nouschirvan succeeded no less happily in his Indian war; he compelled all the princes on his frontiers to do him homage, and to pay him tribute. After these successes, he marched, with a great army, into Arabia, where he was fortunate in the highest degree, and used his fortune to the best purpose imaginable. He found the country distressed by tyrants, whom he dispossessed of their power, restored the lawful sovereigns, whom they had driven from their dominions, and did so many kindnesses to the people in general, that Mohammed himself boasted, that he was born under the reign of this monarch, by the Arabians surnamed al Malek, that is, *the Just*^k.

After all his victories Nouschirvan adorns his capital.

At length, he returned to Madain his capital, and adorned it with a number of new and sumptuous buildings; amongst the rest with a palace, which was accounted one of the wonders of the East.

His war with the Constantinopolitan emperor unsuccessful.

The last war, which Nouschirvan waged against the Constantinopolitan emperor, was occasioned by that monarch's supporting the petty princes of Armenia against the Persian king, their sovereign. At first, Nouschirvan had the same good fortune in this, as in his other wars; but trusting it too far, he was defeated, and constrained to pass the river Euphrates on the back of his elephant, not without great danger of being drowned. On his re-

^k Mirkhond. ubi supra. Lebtarikh. Khondemir. Megidi in Vit. Nouschirvan.

turn

turn to his capital Madain, which is either the same with Ctesiphon, or a city built upon its ruins, he began to find himself extremely weak, and not a little indisposed: he therefore judged it time to think of making peace, and then of settling the succession; for, being now eighty years old, and having reigned forty-eight, he had not either cause to hope for much longer life, or to repine at his approaching decease, after having so long and fully enjoyed the good things of this world. When, therefore, he heard, that the Greek emperor was willing to conclude a treaty on reasonable terms, and saw that the nobility were well inclined towards his son Hormouz, he disposed himself cheerfully to submit to fate, having first delivered, in writing, the following instructions, or political testament, to his son¹.

“ I Nouschirvan, possessor of the kingdoms of Persia and India, address these my last words to Hormouz my son, that they may serve him as a lanthorn in the days of darkness, as a path when he shall enter the deserts, and as a pole-star when he navigates through the seas of this tempestuous world. When my eyes are closed, which are already unable to bear the light of the sun, let him be seated on my throne, and let his lustre be equal to that glorious planet; but let him remember, in the midst of his greatness, that kings rule not for themselves, but for their people; and that they are, with respect to them, what the heavens are to the earth. Can the earth be fruitful, if it be not watered, if it be not cherished by the heavens? My son, let all thy people be sensible of thy benefactions; those who are nearest thee, first; by degrees, those who are at the greatest distance. If I durst, I would propose to thee my own example; but I will rather put thee in mind of that which hath been an example to me. Behold the sun: it visits all parts of the world; and, if it is sometimes visible, and at others removed from our sight, it is because the universe partakes of its splendor, and is cherished by its beams. Enter not any province, but with a prospect of doing good to its inhabitants; neither quit it with any other view, than to do good elsewhere. Ill men must be punished; to them the sun of majesty is eclipsed: the good deserve the utmost encouragement, and ought to experience the morning beams. As that glorious luminary constantly answers all the purposes for which it was

*Instructions
given to
his son be-
fore his
death.*

¹ Mirkhond. ubi supra. Lebtarikh. Khondemir. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. art. Madain, Nouschirvan.

created, be thou always careful to act like a king, since thou wilt desire at all times to be revered as a king. My son, present thyself often before Heaven, to implore its aid; but be sure, that thou approach it not with an impure mind. Do thy dogs enter the temple? If thou shalt observe exactly this rule, thy prayers shall be heard, thy enemies shall be struck with terror, thy friends shall be ever faithful; thou shalt be the delight of thy subjects, and thou shalt have reason to delight in them. Do justice, abase the insolent, comfort the unhappy, love thy children, protect learning, follow the advice given thee by ancient counsellors, suffer not the young to meddle in affairs of state, and let the good of thy people be the sole and supreme end of thy designs. Farewel. I leave thee a great kingdom, which thou wilt keep by following my counsels, and which it will be impossible for thee to keep by following others." Such was the end of Nouschirvan, the most beloved prince of his age, whose reputation survives to this day in the works of all the eastern historians, in the writings of their moralists, and more especially in the works of their poets^a (K).

Hor-

^a Histoire d'une Revol. arrivé en Perse dans le sixieme Siecle, ap. Hist. de l'Academ. Royale des Inscript. tom. iii. edit. Amsterd. p. 510. ⁿ Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. ubi supra. Megjdi in Vita Nouschirvan,

(K) We have seen, in the foregoing history, many instances of the grandeur of this prince's soul, in undertaking the most stupendous works, for the benefit, and for the ornament, of the several parts of his dominions. There is one, however, of which we have not spoken; and, as it makes a great figure in all the Oriental histories, it is requisite to take some notice of it here: this is the wall of Jagouge and Magouge, or a thick and high rampart, commencing at Derbent, and running from mountain to mountain, so as to secure the frontiers of Persia from the northern nations. It was projected by Alexander the Great, and, as some say, begun by his command. However, it remained unfinished, though not altogether unperfected, till the reign of Nouschirvan, who undertook and happily concluded it (1). The court of Nouschirvan was one of the most magnificent that the world ever saw. The deputies from all the provinces of Persia constantly attended there, as did the ambassadors of all the great princes in the world. The expence of their entertainment was defrayed by Nouschirvan, who, in the midst of all this prosperity, preserved a mind so equal and undisturbed,

(1) D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. artic. Jagouge.

that

Hormouz IV.

His excellent education.

Hormouz, whom the Greeks call Hormisdas, and who was the fourth of that name, of this dynasty, ascended the throne with the fairest prospect that ever any Persian prince had. He was naturally of a very unpromising disposition, addicted to his pleasures, haughty, and cruel. His father, who was too wise a prince not to perceive these defects in his son, endeavoured to correct them by education. With this view, he put him under the care of the celebrated Buzurge Mihir, the wisest man in Persia, and the first minister of Nouschirvan. This excellent person took such pains with Hormouz, and knew so well to set folly and vice in their true lights, that he vanquished his natural propensity to evil, and made him, in spite of himself, a great and a good man. For the first three years of his reign, while his old tutor remained about his person, he as far transcended Nouschirvan, as Nouschirvan had excelled all his predecessors. His discourses were fraught with wisdom; his actions were all beneficent. He carried his respect so far for Buzurge Mihir, that he would not wear his regal ornaments in his presence; and when some of his courtiers intimated, that his reverence to him was excessive, since it was more than was due to a parent, he answered, "You say well, my friends; but I owe more to him than I do to my father. The life and kingdom I received from him will remain with me but a few years; but the reputation I shall acquire, in virtue of my tutor's instructions, will survive to latest times." Happy would it have been for this prince, had he always adhered to these notions; but when old age had rendered Buzurge Mihir unfit for the great employments he possessed, and had leave from Hormouz, to retire; and with him retired the happiness and fortune of his master. The young courtiers, who were

that he was never surprised into any expression unworthy of a philosopher. We have all the reason in the world to believe, what all the Oriental historians positively affirm, that he was one of the most learned men, not only in his own dominions, but in his age; that he was the most beneficent patron of the sciences, and of those who culti-

vate them; and that his court was the asylum of merit in distress. He was the most polite man in his court; and though he never said a light or trivial thing himself, yet he would laugh at the jests of others, and never took ill any poignant expression that escaped a man in a flow of humour (c).

(2) Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. sect. 34. Hafez, Giami. cum mult. al. Poet.

*Falls into
the hands
of bad
counsellors.*

about Hormouz, began, from that moment, to have a visible ascendancy over him, and to influence him to do many things alike contrary to his interest, and injurious to his reputation. Such of his old counsellors as were about his person, and had still some share in his esteem, these sycophants found means to remove, either by misinforming their king, or by treating those they disliked in so rude a way, that they made it their choice to retire from court. It had been the policy of Nouschirvan to provide the shortest and speediest methods of distributing justice throughout his wide empire. Every little village had its judge; and in all courts of judicature, care was taken, that decrees should not cost either more time or more money than they were worth. At the time of his death, he left thirty thousand persons in judicial offices in his kingdoms. Numbers of these were removed, when Hormouz fell into the hands of bad counsellors; and the mischiefs which followed this rash step were so great, that the inspectors of justice, in the several provinces of the empire, joined in a remonstrance upon that head; which Hormouz was so infatuated as to conceive a libel on his government. He accordingly persecuted this whole useful and venerable body of men with implacable hatred, and, by a new strain of tyrannical madness, would be the sole judge of his people himself. On this pretence, he wore every day the tiara, or regal diadem, which his predecessors never put on, but when they were about to administer justice to their subjects. Hence his people gave him the surname of Tagedar, that is, the Crown-wearer^o.

*Becomes a
cruel ty-
rant.*

It is impossible for a bad prince to maintain himself in the hearts of his people; and it is as impossible for a nation, universally disaffected, to hinder their prince from perceiving the dislike they have of his measures. This quickly became the case of Hormouz and his subjects. His jealousies induced him to murder them by thousands. His people, believing themselves in continual danger, could not avoid betraying an earnest desire of seeing themselves safe, which begat farther inclinations of revenge in their prince. To complete the misfortunes of both parties, the frontier provinces towards India and Arabia threw off the Persian yoke, and chose princes of their own; and the khacan, who long waited for such an opportunity, entered Persia with an army of three hundred thousand men, though he was uncle, by the mother's side,

*Several
provinces
revolt.*

^o Mirkhond. sect. 25. Khondemir, Lebtarikh,

The khacan invades Persia.

to Hormouz. The Persian monarch, in this distress, called a general council of the nobility; and after having heard the advice of most of the great lords present, he followed that of an old man, who had been ambassador for Nouschirvan in the country of the khacan, at the time that prince demanded the mother of Hormouz in marriage. This nobleman assured him, that, on this occasion, an astrologer predicted, that, under the reign of a Persian king, to be born of a princess then chosen for Nouschirvan's queen, a certain khacan should invade, and almost conquer, his dominions; but would be at length vanquished himself by a Persian general, whose face should resemble that of a wild cat; that the astrologer being farther entreated to endeavour, by his art, to discover the name of this general, he, by degrees, placed several letters on a tablet, which, taken together, composed these words, Baharam Tchoubin. This story was, no doubt, invented to engage Hormouz to place this officer at the head of his armies, of whom probably he would not otherwise have thought, though he was the most capable of that command of any man in his dominions. He was, at this time, governor of Media, from whence the king sent for him, and offered him the supreme command of all the troops in Persia; which Baharam declined, and, to the amazement of his master, chose only twelve thousand men, at the head of whom he marched instantly against the khacan^p.

He moved with such diligence and secrecy, that he attacked the enemy upon their march, defeated them with great slaughter, slew the khacan, and made himself master of all their baggage; so that the Persians collected two hundred and fifty camels load of treasure. The most precious of the spoils, together with the captive prince, Baharam sent to the king his master, with a very dutiful letter, and an exact account of the advantages he had gained. At first Hormouz was extremely well satisfied with his general's good fortune, gave the highest commendations to his valour, and proposed to bestow on him ample rewards. His favourites, however, suspecting that Baharam might not have any great complaisance for them, in case he arrived at the chief employments in the state, resolved to secure themselves, at his expence. With this view they insinuated to the king, that, under pretence of sending

The khacan entirely defeated by Baharam, who is himself disgraced.

^p Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. ubi supra. Relation d'une Revolution, &c. p. 512. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. artic. Hormouz.

the richest of the spoils, Baharam had only given him a small share, and kept the rest for himself; that it was to be feared he might make an ill use of this wealth; and that it was a dangerous thing to trust so ambitious a man at the head of the army. The suspicious temper of Hormouz rendered any proof in support of these conjectures quite unnecessary. Insinuations were with him always sufficient evidence; and therefore, on no better grounds than these, he not only distrusted his general, but most imprudently and shamefully disgraced him, by sending him, instead of a habit of honour, (the usual present of Persian kings), the complete apparel of a woman. This affront so far provoked Baharam, that he resolved to dethrone his master. Having arrayed himself in the woman's habit the king had sent him, he shewed himself to his soldiers; and having asked them, whether they thought he deserved such treatment, he, by a premeditated harangue, drew them to concur with him in his resentments, and to assist him in his project of depriving the son of Nouschirvan of the regal dignity.⁹

*The army
support
Baharam
against his
master.*

*The eldest
son of Hor-
mouz, plac-
ed on the
throne.*

The Persians, however, retained such a respect for the royal family, that Baharam saw there was a necessity of making choice of some other prince of the same line. Accordingly he proclaimed Khoïrou Parviz, the eldest son of Hormouz, king. That young prince, being persuaded by his uncles, retired from court, and countenanced the rebellion, causing money to be coined in his own name, and acted in other respects as if his father had been dead. Hormouz having intelligence of these proceedings, seized Hindouiah and Botham, his wife's brothers, whom he knew to have encouraged his son to desert him. Their confinement, however, did not last long; for the whole body of the people, having contracted an irreconcilable aversion to their king, broke open their prison, released their lords, and assisted them in seizing Hormouz; and, notwithstanding the excellent speech made by that prince, at the motion of Hindouiah, put out his eyes. Khoïrou, who was at this time in Media, returned with all imaginable speed to his capital, whence, as the eastern writers unanimously agree, he comforted his father; assured him, that his uncles had acted entirely without his permission or consent; and besought his forgiveness, in the most submissive terms. The king, sufficiently humbled by his misfortunes, and having no hopes but in his son, promised

⁹ Mirkhond, ubi supra. Histoire d'une Revolution. sec. p. 54. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. art. Hormouz Ben. Nouschirvan.

to forgive him, provided he punished those who deposed him, and put out his eyes : a request which Khosrou promised to comply with, as soon as he should be fully settled on the throne.

In the mean time, Baharam having insinuated to the principal officers of his army, that Khosrou, notwithstanding he owed his crown to them, had yet a stronger affection to his family than to his people, whereby they had no hopes left, in case he should have it in his power to punish them for the revolt, they determined, for their own sakes, to support their general, and to hazard all things rather than his and their safety, under a regular government. With this view they suffered him to lead them to Madain : before which city when they arrived, Khosrou drew out his forces, in a plain called Niherfan, and offered them battle. The engagement was long and bloody ; but Khosrou was at length defeated, and forced to retire into the city, where going to visit his father, he advised him not to suffer himself to be shut up in the place, but to retire into the territories of the Greek emperor, till his affairs should take a happier turn. Khosrou, having indeed no other measure to take, followed his father's advice, and disposed all things for his retreat. When he was about to withdraw, or, as some writers say, when he was actually out of the city, his uncles came to him, and represented the danger of leaving his father alive, even though he was blind, on a supposition that Baharam might reinstate him, and govern under his name ; wherefore they proposed to go back, and put him to death. Khosrou opposed, with all his power, his detestable project ; but his uncles, to secure themselves, strangled the unhappy old prince with a bowstring, when he had reigned fourteen years ¹.

*But driven
from it by
Baharam.*

*Hormouz
put to death.*

Baharam Tehoubin, on the flight of Khosrou, assumed the regal authority, though without the title. He was descended of the ancient princes of Rei, and was the tallest man in the Persian dominions. He had served, when a youth, as a volunteer in the armies of Noufchirvan, and had risen gradually, purely through merit, to the government of Media. As he was an excellent officer, and greatly beloved by the soldiers, so he was naturally loyal to his prince, and, in all probability, would have maintained him on his throne, notwithstanding his ill conduct, if Jezdan Baksche, who was his first mini-

*Baharam
Tehoubin.*

¹ Rhondemir. Mirkhond. ubi supra. *Histoire d'une Revolution*, p. 514.

ster, had not instigated Hormouz to treat him as he did. When he had once taken the resolution of rebelling against the king, he resolved also to dethrone him, and to transfer the empire to his own family; but not daring to declare this design, he used the name of Khosrou, till his scheme was ripe for execution. When he was informed of the flight of that prince, he sent a great detachment of horse in pursuit of him, under the command of Siaonschan, the captain of his guards, with orders to retake him, if it was possible, and to bring him prisoner to his camp. This officer executed his orders so punctually, that he came up with Khosrou, and his uncles, at a certain hermitage: whereupon Hindouiah, to preserve his nephew, put on the royal robes, and, looking out of a window, which was very high, told the soldiers, who had already invested the place, that, when their commanding officer came up, he would surrender. On the arrival of the captain of the guards, Hindouiah resumed his own cloaths, appeared at a window, and, in the name of the king, besought that officer to grant him some respite for his repose: which was accordingly allowed, a strong guard being posted round the place. At evening, Hindouiah came again to the window, told the captain of the guards, that the king was very sensible of the civility shewn him; and besought him to lie there that night, that he might recover his spirits a little, and be the more able to bear the fatigue of travelling next day, wherever they should think proper to carry him. This indulgence likewise was allowed; but next morning Hindouiah acknowledged the fraud, and confessed that he did it to save his nephew, whom he personated when the place was first invested, that they might not pursue him any farther. Upon this confession he was made prisoner, and conducted to Baharam, who ordered him to remain in confinement; but did not put him to death, because he affected to govern with greater lenity than his predecessor had shewn. He also declared, that he would follow the example of Nouschirvan, and restore the ancient lustre of the Persian diadem. For some time the nobility remained faithful, and the people loved him; but, by degrees, they became dissatisfied with his conduct; and, hearing that Khosrou was powerfully supported by the Greek emperor, they began to shew less inclination to his service. Baharam, however, levied a great army, and for a time maintained himself in possession: at last, after having been defeated in a general engagement, and finding himself

*Baharam
driven out.*

himself quite borne down by numbers, he determined to retire to the khacan, by whom he was at first well received, and to whom he rendered great services by his military skill; but after having been amused for many years with fair promises, he was at length poisoned, at the solicitation of Khofrou, who could never be easy so long as he lived^{*}.

Khofrou, the son of Hormouz; was surnamed Parviz, *Khofrou II.* or Aperviz; concerning which appellation the Orientals are by no means agreed. We have seen, in the foregoing period, how he was set upon his throne by the assistance of the Greek emperor, whose forces, in conjunction with those of Khofrou, defeated Baharam Tchoubin, in a pitched battle. The Eastern writers agree with the Greek historians in this circumstance, that Khofrou married a Christian, and made her queen (M). This woman, by the Greek writers, is called Mary, or Irene; and by the Oriental historians, Schirin, a name which signifies *soft*, or *agreeable*. For her sake Khofrou was a long time very kind to the Christians: but afterwards, he conceived a most implacable hatred against them; and, entering the Constantinopolitan empire, on the accession of Phocas, committed those devastations which we have related. In the invasion of Judæa, and sacking Jerusalem, he was assisted by the Jews, who made professions of loyalty to this prince, that, under his protection, they might exhaust the Christians, and, when they were totally despoiled of property, enslave their persons. Arabia, Egypt, and the islands in the Mediterranean, fell under the power of this victorious prince[†].

On his return to Madain, he adorned the palace of his grandfather, disposing the upper part thereof in the form of a throne, which was supported by forty thousand silver columns, and the concave over them was adorned by a thousand globes of gold, wherein all the planets, and great constellations, were seen to perform their natural

* Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. ubi supra. Histoire d'une Revolution, p. 520. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. art. Baharam Tchoubin.
† Khondemir. Mirkhond. sect. 36. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. art. Khofrou Parviz, Schirin, &c.

(M) They differ exceedingly as to the quality of this lady, most of the Oriental writers affirming, that she was the daughter of the emperor Mauritianus; whereas, the Greek authors allege, that she was a woman of ordinary birth, whom Khofrou married for her beauty.

*Becomes a
tyrant, and
is deposed.*

revolutions; all the walls of this sumptuous place being covered with tapestry, wrought with gold flowers, and enriched with pearls, and other precious stones. Underneath he had a hundred vaults filled with treasure. He had three thousand women who were free, and twelve thousand slaves, the most beautiful that could be found throughout his dominions. His household troops were composed of six thousand men. In his stables he had six thousand horses and mules for his own use; twelve thousand large mules, and eight thousand of the ordinary kind, served to carry his baggage. He had also nine hundred and sixty elephants, which he made use of in his armies. As he advanced in years, he became covetous, suspicious, and cruel. He put great numbers of people to death upon groundless suggestions. This was the rock on which his father had split, and which proved no less fatal to him in the sequel. The nobility, finding themselves unsafe while he remained upon the throne, determined to secure themselves at all events. Addressing themselves to an officer, who was then at the head of the army, they prevailed upon him to seize the person of Khofrou, whom they instantly deposed, and elevated to the throne his eldest son.

Schirouieh.

Khobad Schirouieh, whom the Greeks calls Siroses, was no sooner possessed of the diadem, by the choice of the nobility, than he resolved to secure it, by depriving his father of life. To this purpose he sent for Mihir Hormouz, whose father Khofrou had caused to be put to death, and dispatched him instantly to the prison where Khofrou lay in chains. When the king saw him, he rose up; and, with an air of wildness and fury, "Man," said he, "I caused your father to be put to death; and I hold him to be a bastard, who takes not the life of his father's murderer, when it is in his power." Hormouz, upon this, drew his scimiter, and, plunging it into the bowels of Khofrou, left him wallowing in his blood. Returning to Khobad, he gave him an exact account of what he had done, repeating also the strange salutation he had from Khofrou: to which the king, at that time, made no answer; but having caused his father to be sumptuously interred, he sent for Mihir Hormouz, and having repeated to him the words of his father, said, "You see how justly you are put to death;" and ordered him to be slain in his presence. After this execution

*Puts his
father to
death.*

▪ Mirkh. ubi supra. Khondemir. D'Herbelot. ubi supra.

Khobad ordered all his brethren to be seized and executed. He had eighteen in all, and two sisters: of these seventeen were murdered; and the eighteenth, whose name was Scheheriar, was concealed in the ancient city of Persepolis, and so escaped. As for his sisters, Khobad spared them on account of their sex, and treated them with all imaginable kindness; but when they saw their country afflicted with pestilence and famine, and observed the general disaffection of the people, they could not help reproaching their brother with his cruelty, charging on him the miseries of his people, and exhorting him to repent. These discourses made such an impression on his mind, that he abandoned himself to melancholy; and, being seized first with a fever, and afterwards with the plague, died, after a reign of six or eight months. He was succeeded by his son *.

Ardshir II. a child of seven years old. His sisters, and the nobility, promised themselves great blessings under his reign, hoping they might have time to settle the affairs of the kingdom, and to ease the people of the excessive taxes with which they were burdened: but they were mistaken; for Scheheriar, the general of the army, who had seized and deposed his father, taking umbrage at setting up the son of his master without his participation, or rather making use of this step, and other frivolous pretences, to colour the detestable scheme he had formed of seizing the crown, and extirpating the royal family, marched, with his forces, to the capital city. There having easily vanquished those who remained faithful to their infant monarch, he put the child to death, with all the nobility who were attached to him, and filled the palace with blood; after which barbarous sacrifice, in pursuance of his project, he seized the sovereign authority, which he had so dearly bought. Authors do not agree as to the time Ardshir reigned; most of them allow him a year and a half; but Mirkhond is positive, that he possessed the crown no more than fifty days *.

Ardshir II.

Scheheriar, as he attained the sovereign authority by treachery and cruelty, governed by all the arts of a tyrant. The army, as it assisted him in his enterprize against the young Ardshir, expected, on his succeeding, that he should pay the wages of their infidelity. This expecta-

Scheheriar.

* Lebtarikh. Khondemir. Mirkhond. sect. 37. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. art. Schirouieh. x Khondemir. Mirkhond. sect. 38. Lebtarikh. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. art. Ardshir Ben Schirouieh.

tion obliged him to load his subjects with taxes, and oppress them in a most tyrannical manner. Touran Dockt, the eldest princess of Persia, perceiving that the nobility were generally disaffected, secretly instigated them to set their country free, by putting to death the usurper. Her arts had their effect: the people began universally to detest a monarch, whose conduct was as offensive as the method by which he gained his crown was unjustifiable; yet still there was nothing done: the cruelty of Scheheriar, and the madness of the army, restrained all things but complaints. Every one readily owned he should be glad to be delivered from the miseries they were under; but no body durst undertake this deliverance, lest so great a work should miscarry in his hands. At length Touran Dockt fixed upon three brothers, all young men of great quality, and distinguished courage. She explained to them the present situation of affairs, the miserable condition of their country, and the impossibility there was of removing these grievances any other way, than by the death of Scheheriar. She likewise observed, that, however dangerous this remedy might appear, it was as easily accomplished as projected; and that, as he was not of the royal family, and generally hated, his death would be agreeable to the people, and the man regarded as an hero, from whose hand he should receive it. These lessons had their effects: the brothers placed themselves one day at the palace-gate; and, as Scheheriar appeared, and was about to mount on horseback, they attacked and killed him, before he could receive any assistance from his attendants, when he had been called a king a little more than two years. He was no sooner dead, than all the inhabitants of the city of Madain assembled, to protect the regicides. In this assembly it was resolved, to restore the crown to the royal family, and, as there was not an heir male, to elevate the eldest of the princesses to the throne *v*.

Is murdered.

Touran Dockt.

Touran Dockt, as soon as she received the crown, made choice of the eldest of the three brothers, whose name was Ferokhzad, to be her prime minister, and general of her armies. This nobleman discharged his trust perfectly well; for he not only reduced the army to the obedience of his mistress, and engaged them to live peaceably among their fellow-subjects, but he also disappointed the Arabs, who, in the reign of this princess, made a vigorous effort

v Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Mirkh. sect. 38. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. art. Scheheriar. Schikard. Tarikh. p. 165.

to conquer Persia. Ferokhzad, with a considerable body of horse, was quartered in Chaldæa, when he received advice, that Abou Obeidah, general of the forces of caliph Omar, had thrown a bridge over the Euphrates, in order to attack the Persian army quartered in the neighbourhood of Babylon. Ferokhzad sent orders to the Persians to act on the defensive, while he, with the horse under his command, marched directly to the bridge; forced the Arab guard; and, having filled the vessels of which it was composed with combustible matter, set them on fire: then following the enemy's camp, he cut off their provisions, till a fair opportunity offered of fighting, when, having given a signal to his Persians to charge the Arabs in front, he, while the battle was still doubtful, fell upon them in flank and rear; so that they were totally defeated, not even their leader escaping, nor any to carry the news of their defeat. In the mean time, the queen acted in civil affairs with a firmness not to be expected from a woman; for, having in vain endeavoured, by gentle means, to engage some of the nobility to forbear plundering the people, she had recourse at length to harsher methods, causing them to be suddenly seized, and put to death. This conduct endeared her to the commonalty, and so humbled the nobility, that they durst neither oppress their vassals, nor undertake any thing against their sovereign, as they designed. But this peaceable situation of things lasted but a very short time: Ferokhzad having marched into the frontier provinces, in order to oppose the attempts of the Greek emperor, his mistress was seized with a violent distemper, which, in a little time, hurried her out of the world, not without strong suspicions, that she died a martyr to that love which she had shewn for the people. On her decease, the public affairs fell into the greatest confusion: the nobility perceived, that there was no trusting to the weakness of a woman; and therefore they fixed upon Gihan Schedah, a prince of the royal blood, but a man of very mean parts, and declared him king, that they might govern in his name; but the people either saw, or fancied they saw, such evident simplicity in his looks, that, after a few days, they deposed him, and seated the youngest daughter of Khosrou Parviz on the throne².

*A complete
victory
over the
Arabs.*

Her death.

² Mirkhond. sect. 40. Khondemir. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient.
artic. Touran Dockt.

*Azurmi
Dokht.*

Azurmi Dokht had as much understanding as her sister, and is said to have surpassed her in beauty. On her accession to the throne, she gave the people the strongest hopes of a mild and happy reign; but when the news of her becoming queen reached the province of Khorassan, Ferok Hormouz, who had been long governor there, conceived a violent desire of marrying her; and therefore, entrusting the province with his son of the same name, he set out for Madain, in order to carry his scheme into execution. The queen, knowing the restless disposition of the people, and the great power of this nobleman in his province, received him with great civility, and did him all the honours in her power: but his passion, or his ambition, was so very strong, that nothing less could satisfy him, than being made the partner of her bed and throne; a request she would not grant. Upon her refusal, her lover had the insolence to threaten her, and even to have recourse to force; upon which, in her own defence, she was obliged to seize, and put him to death. His son, when informed of his father's fate, forgetting the duty he owed his sovereign, and that his father had drawn this evil upon himself, marched with an army, to revenge what he considered a disgrace. Having forced the city of Madain, he stormed the palace, made the queen prisoner, and afterwards, notwithstanding all the tears and entreaties of her subjects, caused her to be put to death. This enormous crime rendered him so obnoxious to all who had any sense of humanity, that, distrusting the army he had brought with him, he immediately retired back into Khorassan. After his departure, it was discovered, that, when the children of Khosrou Parviz were put to death, a boy, his grandson, had been preserved by his aunts. The nobility brought him from the place where he was concealed, and resolved to bestow upon him the crown, perhaps, because, excepting his birth, he had nothing that could recommend him^a. His name was

*Is put to
death.**Ferokhzad.*

Ferokhzad. He was esteemed a good-natured inoffensive young man, and might have proved a very gracious prince. But, before he had reigned a month, he was, on what account we know not, poisoned by one of his slaves; and the kingdom thrown once more into confusion.

*Jezdegerd
III.*

The name of the last of the Persian kings was Jezdegerd Ben Scheheriar, whom some Greek writers suppose to

^a Mirkhond. sect. 43. Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Schikard. Tarikh. p. 169.

have been the son of Siroes. He was scarce arrived at manhood, before he found the crown totter on his head, being attacked on all sides by powerful enemies. The caliph Omar, being extremely desirous of reducing Persia under his dominion, sent a part of his army, commanded by Sâd, to penetrate into that country through Chaldæa. Ferokhzad, his prime minister, and commander in chief, who was upon the spot, took all imaginable pains to harass the Arabs in their march; and having an army superior to them in numbers, employed it continually in skirmishes, which were sometimes favourable to him, and sometimes otherwise. But Sâd, perceiving clearly, that this lingering war would destroy his army, determined to force the enemy to a general engagement. The Persians declined this as long as they could; but at length finding a convenient plain, where all their forces might act, near the city of Cadessia, Ferokhzad drew them up in order of battle, and resolved to wait for the Arabs. It was not long before Sâd, and his forces, appeared; who, seeing how advantageously the Persian army was posted, expressed great joy, as hoping that he should now be able to fight. He therefore disposed his troops in order, and attacked the Persians with great fury. There never was a battle more famous in history than this, nor one that more deserved to be recorded, either on account of the resolution with which it was fought, or of the consequences with which it was attended. It lasted three days and nights, the Persians retiring continually from one post to another, till at length they were entirely defeated; and, by this defeat, the capital city, and the greatest part of the dominions of Persia, fell into the hands of the Arabs.

Utterly defeated by the Arabs.

On the loss of this battle, Jezdegerd retired into Chorasfan; and, though he had not reigned above three years, lost, from that time forwards, all the rest of his dominions, except the two dependent provinces of Kerman and Sigestan, which he held as long as he lived, partly by a considerable army which he kept about his person, and partly because the Arabs were not at leisure to carry on a war at such a distance. But, though the king retired so early, some of the governors of his provinces maintained themselves longer, hoping to turn them into little kingdoms for their own benefit. Among these, Hormozan possessed himself of Khouhistan, and held it for some time; but being at length reduced to great extremities, he surrendered, and went in person to pay his duty to the

He retires into Chorasfan.

*Is killed in
a battle.*

caliph Omar, who received him kindly, and prevailed upon him to embrace the Mohammedan religion ^b.

When Jezdegerd had possessed the royal title about nineteen years, a new misfortune happened to him; for one of the governors of the few towns he had left betrayed it, and called in the Turks. This place was Merou, seated on the river Gihon, or Oxus; and therefore denominated Merou al Roud, or *Merou of the River*, to distinguish it from another Merou, lying, as well as this, in the province of Chorassan. Jezdegerd immediately marched, with his army, to give battle to the rebels, and their allies the Turks. In this engagement he was defeated; and having, with much difficulty, reached the river, he found there a little boat, and a fisherman, to whom it belonged: to him the king offered a bracelet of precious stones; but the fellow, being equally brutal and stupid, said, his fare was five farthings, and he would not take either more or less. While the king and he disputed, a party of the rebel horse came up, and, knowing Jezdegerd, killed him on the spot. This event happened in the year after Christ 652 (N).

The

^b Lebtarikh. Khondemir. Mirkhond. ubi supra.

(N) There hath been a great deal of dispute as to the settling the commencement of the æra Jeldagergica, so called from this last king of the Persians. It would be needless to cite what several chronologers have advanced upon this head, many of them, though great men in other respects, having shewn little skill on this subject; and, at the same time, not a little arrogance, in expecting that their decisions should be implicitly yielded to, even by those who were better informed: and therefore Dr. Hyde (1) had great reason to testify his amazement, that Petavius should assign three years for the reign of Jezdegerd; whereas there is no fact more certainly established, than that

he died about the close of his twentieth year. The true state of this question is not, as most writers put it, whether the commencement of this æra ought to be fixed to the accession, or to the death of Jezdegerd, but where it is really fixed by the best Oriental authors; since our conjectures can have no effect upon their computations, and the utmost we can expect from them is to know how to regulate our own. The best of the Oriental writers fix the commencement of this æra very precisely at the 16th of June, in the eleventh year of the Hegira, and in the year of Christ 632 (2). Now, it is certain, that this date coincides not with the death, but the accession, of Jezdegerd;

(1) Relig. vet. Persarum, p. 201.
perganianus, &c.

(2) Olough. Beigh, Al-

and

The common opinion is, that, with this unfortunate prince, the majesty of the Sassanian line sunk irretrievably. But this, like many other common opinions, is far from being strictly true. Jezdegerd left behind him a son, and a daughter. The name of the son was Firouz, and of the daughter Dara. The latter espoused Bostenay, whom the rabbinical writers dignified with the title of Head of the Captivity. In fact, he was the chief or prince of the Jews settled in Chaldæa. As for Firouz, he still preserved a little principality, and, dying, left an only daughter, whose name was Mah Afrid: she married Valid the son of the caliph Abdalmalek, by whom he had a son named Jezid, afterwards caliph, and consequently sovereign of Persia. This prince was so far from thinking himself above claiming the title derived to him from his mother, that he constantly styled himself the son of Khofrou, king of Persia, the descendent of the caliph Maroan, among whose ancestors, of the side of the mother, were the Roman emperor, and the khacan *.

* Abul-Phar. ubi supra. Khondemir. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. artic. Jezid Ben Valid.

and if any are of opinion, that this æra ought to begin at his death, then it must begin in the thirty-first year of the Hegira, and in the year of Christ 652. Why the eastern authors made choice of the accession rather than the death of Jezdegerd, is a question that we can easily resolve. Jezdegerd had lived as a private man, as his father always did, till the Persians, understanding how just a title he had to the kingdom, set him upon the throne.

The Arabs say, this was done with the consent of their caliph, who therefore looked upon him as his tributary, reckoning the kingdom of Persia among the rest of his dominions thenceforward, regarding the subsequent reduction of that country not as a conquest, but as the reuniting a part of his empire torn away by a rebel. This is plainly the cause why the commencement of this æra is and ought to be fixed at the accession of Jezdegerd.

C H A P. XXXVI.

The Ancient State of Italy, to the Building of Rome.

S E C T. I.

*Description of Italy.**Names.*

ITALY, a country once revered, and still admired, by all nations, was, in more ancient times, known by the names of Saturnia, Œnotria, Hesperia, and Ausonia. It was called Saturnia from Saturn, who, being driven out of Crete by his son Jupiter, is supposed to have taken refuge here. The names of Œnotria and Ausonia it borrowed from its ancient inhabitants the Œnotrians and Ausones; and that of Hesperia, or Western, was given it by the Greeks, from its situation with respect to Greece. The name of Italia, or Italy, which, in process of time, prevailed over all the rest, some derive from Italus, king of the Siculi; others from the Greek word *italos*, signifying *an ox*, this country abounding with rich pastures, and producing oxen of an extraordinary size and beauty⁴. All these names were originally peculiar to particular provinces of Italy; but afterwards applied to the whole country.

Limits.

The limits of Italy have been fixed by nature itself. It is divided from Africa, Greece, the ancient Dalmatia, and Liburnia, by the Tyrrhenian, Ionian, and Adriatic seas; and from Transalpine Gaul and Rætia, now part of Germany, by a long ridge of steep mountains, called the Alps. The country, comprised within these boundaries, is, according to Cluverius, about nine hundred miles in length; for such is the distance between Augusta Prætoria, now Aosta, at the foot of the Alps, and Cape Leucopetra, now Capo del Armi, in the country of the Brutii, or the Farther Calabria, as it is called by the present inhabitants. In shape it resembles a man's leg, rather than the leaf of an oak, to which the ancients compared it, and is consequently very unequal in breadth, being, at

⁴ Vide Dion. Halicar. lib. i. p. 28. Aul. Gell. lib. xi. cap. i. & Servium in lib. i. Æn. ver. 533.

the foot of the Alps, according to the above mentioned writer, five hundred and sixty miles broad; in the middle parts, that is, between Ancona and the mouth of the Tiber, a hundred and thirty-six; and, in some places, scarce twenty-five.

Italy, taking that word in its most extensive signification, was, in ancient times, like most other countries, divided into petty states and kingdoms. In after-ages, when the Gauls settled in the western, and many Greek colonies in the eastern provinces of this country, it was divided, with respect to its inhabitants, into three great parts; namely, Gallia Cisalpina, Italy properly so called, and Magna Græcia. This division, as it has been generally adopted by the ancient geographers and historians, we shall follow in our present survey of Italy, after having acquainted our readers, that we do not design to describe, in this place, the many towns and cities of note, which ancient Italy contained, being convinced that such an undertaking would prove tedious to them, and, at the same time, oblige us to exceed the limits we have prescribed to our undertaking.

Divisions.

The most western and northern provinces of Italy were, in great part, possessed by the Gauls, and thence called Gallia, or Gaul, with the epithets of Cisalpina and Citerior, because they lay on the side of the Alps next to Rome; and Togata, with relation to the Roman gown or dress, which the inhabitants used; but this last epithet is of a much later date than the former^c. Plutarch^f and Pliny^g call the country we are speaking of Italia Subalpina, or Italy at the foot of the Alps; and Polybius denominates it simply Italy^h. The appellation of Gallia Cisalpina was antiquated in the reign of Augustus, when the division of Italy into eleven regions, introduced by that prince, took place. And hence it is, that the name of Cisalpine Gaul frequently occurs in the authors who flourished before, and scarce ever in those who wrote after the reign of Augustus.

Cisalpine Gaul.

As to the boundaries of this country, it extended from the Alps and the river Varus, parting it from Transalpine Gaul, to the river Aesis, according to Livyⁱ, or, as Pliny will have it, to the city of Ancona, in the ancient Pice-

Its boundaries.

^c Vide Dion. Cass. lib. xlviii. p. 364.
ⁱ Int. & Cæf. ^g Plin. lib. xvi. cap. 11.
cap. 13. ^h Liv. lib. v. cap. 35.

^f Plut. in Marcell. sub
^h Polyb. lib. xi.

*The Sub-
alpine na-
tions.*

num (O). On the north, Cisalpine Gaul was divided from Rhætia by the Alps, called Alpes Rhæticæ, and from Illyricum by the river Formio; but, on this side, the borders of Italy were, in Pliny's time, extended to the river Arsia in Istria². On the south, it reached to the Ligustic Sea, and the Apennines parting it from Etruria; so that, under the common name of Cisalpine Gaul, were comprehended the countries lying at the foot of the Alps, called by Pliny and Strabo the Subalpine countries, Liguria, Gallia Cispadana, and Gallia Transpadana. The countries, bordering on the Alps, were inhabited by the Veditantii, or Vestiantii, as Ptolemy calls them, the Vagienni, the Taurini, the Segusiani, the Salassi, the Lepontii, the Libicii, and the Canini. The Veditantii inhabited the small tract lying on the east bank of the Varus, extending from the Alpes Maritimæ to the territory of Nicæa. Next to them, on the north side of the Alpes Maritimæ, and near the source of the Padus, or Po, were the Vagienni. Cemelum, or Cemenelum, was the metropolis of the Veditantii; and Augusta Vagiennorum, now Saluzzo, of the Vagienni. The Taurini were parted from the Vagienni by the Po, on which river stood their metropolis, called first Taurasia¹, and afterwards, from a colony sent thither by Augustus, Augusta Taurinorum. Forum Vibii, another city of the Taurini, is placed by Pliny at a small distance from the head of the Po.

*The king-
dom of
Cottius,
the Salassi,
&c.*

North of the Taurini, and among the Alps, lay the kingdom of Cottius, from whom the neighbouring moun-

² Vide Plin. *ibid.* cap. 18. & 19.
Tacit. *Annal.* lib. xi. cap. 66.

¹ Appian. in *Hannibal*.

(O) Cicero (1), Suetonius (2), and Plutarch (3), make the river Rubicon, between Ravenna and Ariminum, the eastern boundary of Cisalpine Gaul; but these writers are to be understood as speaking of Gaul, after the Romans, under the conduct of M. Lepidus, had made themselves masters of Picenum and Umbria, and reduced them to the form

of a Roman province; there being nothing more certain, than that these countries were anciently possessed, in great part, by the Senones (4), and consequently comprised within the limits of Cisalpine Gaul; nay, they retained the name of Ager Gallicus, or Gallicanus, even after they were become a Roman province (5).

(1) Cic. *Philipp.* vi. cap. 3.

(2) Sueton. in *Cæsar.* cap. 32.

(3) Plut. in *Cæsar.*

(4) Vide Strab. lib. v. p. 150, 157.

(5) Cic. in *Catilin.* *Orat.* ii. cap. 3, & 12.

tains were called Alpes Cottiae. The Segusiani were subject to him; and Segusio, Secusia, or Segusium, now Sufa, on the Druria, was the metropolis of this small kingdom^m. The Salassi possessed the country lying between the Alpes Graiae on the north, and the country of the Libicii on the south. Their chief cities were Augusta Prætoria, and Eporedia, now Aosta and Ivrea, both on the Great Druria; for in this country were two rivers, as Pliny observesⁿ, bearing the same name; one, called the Great Druria, springing from the Alpes Graiae; the other, which he styles the Little Druria, rising on the Alpes Cottiae. Augusta Prætoria was so called from a colony of three thousand prætorian soldiers, sent thither by Augustus. Eporedia, built about a hundred years before the Christian æra, was first a Roman colony, and afterwards a municipium. The territory of the Lepontii lay between the Salassi and the Lacus Verbanus, now Lago Maggiore: their metropolis was Oscela, called by the modern inhabitants Domo d'Oscela. Next to them were the Libicii, or Libui, who possessed that tract which was watered by the Sessites, now the Sessia. Their chief cities were Vercellæ and Laumellum, which still retain their ancient names. The country of the Canini lay between the lakes Verbanus and Larius. The Alpes Maritimæ, or Maritime Alps, which we have mentioned above, extended from the mouth of the Varus to Mount Vesulus, now Veso, in Piedmont, and were so called from their situation. The Alpes Graiae, or Greek Alps, reached from Mount Cenis to the ancient Mons Jovis, at present known by the name of the Great St. Bernard. Some ancient writers suppose, that Hercules passed these mountains, at the head of an army of Greeks, on his return from Spain, after he had subdued Geryon, and derive from thence the appellation of Alpes Graiae; but Livy^o looks upon this expedition of Hercules as altogether fabulous (P).

Alpes Maritimæ, and Graia.

Liguria,

^m Jac. Spon. Misc. Er. Antiq. p. 198. ⁿ Vide Plin. lib. iii. cap. 5, 17. Vell. Paterc. lib. i. cap. 15. Tacit. Hist. lib. i. cap. 70.
^o Liv. lib. v. cap. 33.

(P) The countries, which we have hitherto described, are, by Strabo and Livy, placed within the confines of the ancient Liguria, and the inhabitants counted among the Ligurian nations, with the epithets of Montani and Comati, to distinguish them from those who inhabited Liguria, properly

Liguria.

Liguria, properly so called, was bounded on the east by the river Macra, on the west by the Varus, on the south by the Ligustic sea, and on the north by the Po. Cities of note in this country were, on the coast, Nicra, now Nizza, built by the Massilienses, as a barrier against the Ligures Montani^p; Portus Herculis Monæci, now Monaco (Q), Albintemalium or Albium Intemelium, Albium Ingaunum or Albingaunum, Vada Sabata, Genua, Portus Delphini, and Portus Lunæ; now Vintimiglia, Albenga, Vado, Savona, Genoa, Porto Fino, and Golfo delle Spezie, were all on the coast now called La Riviera di Genoa. Cluverius supposes Vada, and Sabata, or Sabata, to be one and the same city, which he calls Vada Sabatia; but is therein contradicted by the learned Lucas Holstenius. Genua was, in ancient times, as it is at present, the chief city of Liguria, and an emporium, as Strabo styles it, to which merchants resorted from all parts. The modern writers call it Janua, and pretend that it was built by Janus; but the ancients constantly write it Genua: it was destroyed by Mago, the Carthaginian, and rebuilt by the Romans. Portus Lunæ is placed, by all the ancients, in Liguria; but the city of Luna stood on the east bank of the Macra, in Etruria^q. The inland cities of Liguria were, Pollentia, Alba Pompeia, Asta, Aquæ Statiella, Forum Fulvii or Valentium, Industria, Dertona, and Iria; now Pollenza, Alba, Asti, Aquis, Valentia,

^p Strab. lib. iv. p. 140.

lib. ii. cap. 1. Plin. lib. ii. cap. 5.

^q Tacit. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 15. *Mela*

properly so called. Some ancient writers, quoted by Pliny (6), derive the Lepontii from the Greeks, whom they suppose Hercules to have left in these countries, after he had passed the Alps, because of their being disabled, by the hardships they had suffered on that occasion, from pursuing their march with the rest of the army. But this opinion has no other foundation, than the similitude between the name of that people, and the Greek verb *leipo*, to leave.

(Q) Portus Herculis, and Portus Monæci, were, according to Ptolemy, two distinct cities; for that writer speaks of Tropæa Augusti lying between them. But all the ancient geographers and historians call the same place sometimes Portus Herculis, and sometimes Portus Herculis Monæci, at present Monaco. The remains of the Tropæa Augusti, which was no other than a trophy erected in honour of Augustus, are still visible on the summit of a mountain that overlooks Monaco.

(6) Plin. lib. iii. cap. 20.

Tortona, and Voghera. Indústria was, by the ancient Ligurians, called Bodincomagum, because it stood on the Po, which was known to them by the name of *Bodincus*, that is, the *Bottomless*. Some writers make the river Iria the eastern boundary of Liguria; but, as Livy^{*} places the cities of Calstidium and Litubium in that country, Cluverius extends its confines on this side to the river Trebia.

Next to Liguria lay Gallia Cispadana, extending from Trebia to the city of Ancona; bounded on the north by the Po and part of the Adriatic; and on the south by the Apennines, parting it from Etruria. It was called Gallia from its inhabitants, and Cispadana, because it lay on the side of the Po, next to Rome. This country was possessed by the Boii, the Lingones, and the Senones. The chief cities of the Boii were, Placentia, Parma, Mutina, and Bononia: of the Lingones; Ravenna, Forum Cornelii, Faventia, Solona, Forum Livii, Forum Popilii, and Cæsena; now Ravenna, Imola, Faenza, Citta di Sole, Forlì, Forlimpopoli, and Cæsena: of the Senones; Ariminum, Pisaurum, Fanum Fortunæ, Sena Gallica, and Ancona; now Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Sinigaglia, and Ancona.

Gallia Cispadana.

Gallia Transpadana extended from the countries of the Lepontii, Libicii, and Canini, mentioned above, and counted by Strabo and Pliny among the Subalpine nations, to the Adriatic Sea, and the river Formio, now Il Risanò, parting it from Istria, being bounded on the south by the Po, and on the north by the Alpes Rhæticiæ and Carniciæ; the former separating it from Rhætia, now the Trentin, and the latter from the country of the Carni, now Carniola. This part of Cisalpine Gaul was inhabited by the following nations; the Orobii, the Insubres, the Lævi, the Cenomani, the Euganei, and the Veneti, and contained many cities of great note. Of these Comum, Bergomum, and Forum Licinii, now Como, Bergamo, and Pieve d'Incino, or, as others will have it, Berlasina, belonged to the Orobii; Mediolanum, Laus Pompeia, and Forum Intuntorum, now Milan, Lodi, and Crema, to the Insubres; Novaria and Ticinium, now Novara and Pavia, to the Lævi; Brixia, Cremona, Mantua, and Verona, to the Cenomani; Sabium, Voberna, Edrum, and Vannia, cities long since demolished, to the Euganei; Patavium, Vicetia or Vicentia, Ateste, Forum Alieni, Tarvisum, Ceneta, Aquileia, Forum Jullii, and Targeste near the Formio, now Padua, Vincenza, Este, Ferrara, Treviso, Ceneda, Aquilea, Civita di Friuli, and Trieste, to the Veneti, by whom all that tract, which extends

Gallia Transpadana.

* Liv. lib. xxxii. cap. 29.

from

from the territories of the Euganei to the Formio, was anciently possessed; but in after-ages the Carni made themselves masters of the country lying between that river and the Tilaventum, now the Piave.

Italy properly so called.

Italy, properly so called, extended, on the coast of the Adriatic, from the city of Ancona to the river Frento, now the Fortore; and, on the Mediterranean, from the Macra to the Silarus, now the Sele; and comprehended Etruria, Umbria, Sabinum, Latium, Picenum, the countries of the Vestini, Marucini, Peligni, Marsi, Fretani, Samnites, Hirpini, Campani, and Picentini.

Etruria.

Etruria, inhabited by the Etrurians, Tuscans, or, as the Greeks style them, Tyrrhenians, was bounded on the east by the Tiber, on the west by the Macra, on the south by the Tyrrhenian sea, and on the north by the Apennines. The inhabitants are divided by Livy*, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus†, into twelve different nations, or rather tribes, each of which had their peculiar city, whence they borrowed their names. The cities were, Volturni, Clusium, Perugia, Cortona, Aretium, Falerii, Volaterræ, Vetulonium, Rusellæ, Veii, Tarquinii, and Cære, now Bolsena, Chiusi, Perugia, Cortona, Arezzo, Civita Castellana, Volterra, Grosseto, and Cerveteri. The cities of Veii, Tarquinii, and Cære, lie at present in ruins: besides these, the following cities were, in ancient times, of great note in Etruria; on the coast, or at a small distance from it, Luna, Pisa, Portus Herculis Labronis or Liburni, Populonia, Talamon, Cosa, Cosæ or Cossa, Cetumcellæ, and Alfiu; now L'Erice, Pisa, Livorno, Talamone, Ansidonia, Civita Vecchia, and Palo. The ruins of Populonia are to be seen near Piombino. In the inland country stood Nepete, Sutrium, Falerii Faliscorum, Fanum Voltumnæ, Hortanum, Herbanum, Suana, Saturnia, Senæ Julæ, Florentia, Fæsulæ, Pistoria, and Luca, called by the modern inhabitants Nepe, Sutri, Civita Castellana, Viterbo, Orti, Orvieto, Saturna, Saona, Fiorenza, Fiesoli, Pistoia, and Lucca.

Umbria.

Umbria was bounded on the south by the Nar, now the Nera; on the north by the Adriatic Sea; on the east by the Æsis, now Fiumicino; and on the west by the Tiber, on the side of the Apennines, next to Rome; and on the other side by the Bedefis, now Il Ronco, which falls into the Adriatic at Ravenna; so that this city, Ariminum, Pisaurum, Fanum Fortunæ, Sena Gallica, and Cæsena,

* Liv. lib. iv. cap. 23. & lib. v. sub. init.
lib. vi. p. 399.

† Dionys. Halicarn.

though

though possessed by the Lingones and Senones, were, strictly speaking, in Umbria. The other places of note in this country were, Sarsina, Urbinum, Metaurense, and Hortense, Sentinum, Æsis, and Camerinum or Camers; now Sarsina, Castel Durante, Urbino, Sentio, Jesi, and Camerino: these cities stood between the Adriatic Sea and the Apennines. On the other side of these mountains were, Iguvium, Mevania, Spolegium, Tifernum, Nuceria, Camellaria, Assisium, Hispellum, Fulginium, Tudor, Interamnium or Interamna, Narnia, Ameria, and Oriculi or Oriculum, known at present by the names of Ugubio, Bavagna, Spoleto, Citta di Castello, Nocera, Assisi, Ispello, Foligno, Todi, Terni, Narni, Amelia, and Otricoli.

The country of the Sabini lay between the Nar and the Anio, now the Teverone; the former separating it from Umbria, and the latter from Latium. Cures, whence the Romans were called Quirites, was, at first, the metropolis of the Sabini, and in after-ages Reate, now Rieti. The ruins of Cures are still to be seen at a place called Vicovio di Sabina. The other cities in this country, worth notice, were, Nursia, Eretum, Nomentum, Cutiliæ, and Amiternum; now known by the names Norcia, Monte Rotondo, Lamentario. The cities of Cutiliæ and Amiternum have been long since destroyed; but there are still remaining some ruins of the former at Civita Ducale, and of the latter near the city of Aquila. *Sabini.*

Next to the country of the Sabini was Latium, comprised at first within very narrow limits; namely, the Tiber, the Anio, and the Circæan promontory, now Monte Circilli; but after the reduction of the Æqui, Hernici, Volsci, and Ausones, reaching to the river Liris, called by the present inhabitants Il Garigliano: and hence the distinction that frequently occurs in the ancients between Old and New Latium. In Old Latium stood the following cities, Rome, once the most powerful city in the world, Tibur, Præneste, Gabii, Tusculum, Aricia, Lanuvium, Alba Longa, so called from its length, and to distinguish it from another city of the same name in the country of the Marfi, Lavinium, Laurentum, Ostia, Antemnæ, Collatia, and Ardea, the metropolis of the Rutuli, a Latin nation. Of Gabii, and the four last mentioned cities, there are scarce now any footsteps remaining; but the others are still known by the names of Tivoli, Palestrina, Frascati, L'Aricia, Citta Lavina, Albano, Patrica, Paterno, and Ostia. Carseoli or Carfula, Valeria, Sub- *Latium.*

Sublaqueum, and Algidum, now Arfuli, Vico Varo, and Subiaco, belonged to the Æqui. Of Algidum some ruins are to be seen near an inn, which the Italians call L'Osteria del Aglio. Anagnia, Alatrium, Verulæ, and Ferentinum, now Anagni, Alatri, Veroli, and Ferentino, were the chief cities of the Hernici. In the country of the Volsci stood Antium, Circæi or Circæum, Tarracina, called also Anxur, Sueffa Pometia, whence the neighbouring marsh was named Palus Pometina or Pomptina, Velitræ, Cora, Norba, Privernum, Setia, Signia, Sulmo, Frusino, Fabratéria, Aquinum, Casinum, Atina, Arpinum, Arx, Sora, Fregellæ, and Interamna: the ruins of Antium, Circæi, and Sueffa Pometia, are still to be seen at Capo d'Anzo, Citta Vecchia, and in the neighbourhood of Veletri. The other cities bear at present the names of Terracina, Veletri, Cora, Norma, Piperno, Sezza, Segni, Serraneta, Frusino, Faleria, Aquino, Monte Casino, Atina, Arpino, Arce, Sora, Ponte Corvo, and L'Isola. In the country of the Ausones were Caietanum, Fundi, and Formiæ, at present Gaeta, Fondi, and Mola.

Picenum.

Picenum, the country of the Picentes, lay between the Ælis and the Aternus, now Pescara, extending from the Adriatic to the Apennines, where it joined Umbria, and beyond them, reaching to the country of the Sabini. Their chief cities were, Ancona, once possessed by the Gauls, Castrum Novum, Castellum Truentinum (so called from the river Truentum, now the Tronto), Auximum, Septempeda, Tollentinum, Firmum Picenum, Aesulanum, Picenum, Interamnium, and Atria; at present Ancona, Flaviano, Torre Segura, or, as others will have it, Porto d'Ascoli, Osimo, S. Severino, Tolentino, Fermo, Ascoli, Teramo, and Atri. East of this region lay the country of the Vestini, containing the following cities, Angulum, Pinna, and Avia or Avella; now called Civita di S. Angelo, Civita di Penna, and Aquila. Next to the Vestini were the Marrucini, whose small territory had but one city, namely, Teate, now Chieti. The Peligni inhabited a small tract lying between the countries of the Vestini and Marrucini to the north, and the Apennines to the south: their chief cities were, Corfinium and Sulmo: the ruins of the former are still remaining, about eight miles from Sulmo, now known by the name of Sulmona. The

*Vestini.**Marrucini.**Peligni.**Marfi.*

Marfi were seated in an inland country, having the Peligni and Vestini between them and the Adriatic Sea. On the other side the Apennines, they bordered on the country of the Sabini and Æqui. They had only two cities, namely,

namely, Alba Fucentes, so called from the lake Fucinus, now Lago di Celano, near which it stood, and Marrubium : the former still retains the ancient name of Alba ; but the latter is now called Morrea. Next to the Marrucini, on the coast, were the Frentani ; in the inland country, the Samnites, between the Frentani and the Campani ; and the Hirpini, seated between Samnium and the river Silarus, having Apulia Daunia on the north-east, and Campania on the south-west. The cities of Ortona, Anaxanum, and Histonium, now Ortona, Lanzano, and Guasto d' Amone, belonged to the Frentani ; Bovianum, Æsernia, Sepinum, Allifæ, and Telesia, now Boiano, Isernia, Sepina, Alisi, and Tese, to the Samnites ; Beneventum, Equus, Tuticus, Abellinum, and Compsa, now Benevento, Ariano, Avellino, and Conza, to the Hirpini.

Frentani.
Samnites.
Hirpini.

Campania extended from the Liris to the promontory of Minerva, called still Il Capo di Minerva, being bounded on the north-east by Samnium, and on the south-west by the country of the Hirpini. In this tract, which was the most pleasant and fruitful of all Italy, stood the following cities ; on the coast, Liternum, Baia, Misenum, Puteoli, Neapolis, or Parthenope, Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Surrentum, now Torre di Patria, Baie, Monte Miseno, Puzzuolo, Napoli, Torre di Greco, Scafati, and Sorrento ; in the inland country, Capua, the ruins of which are still to be seen about two miles from the present city of the same name, Sueffa Aurunca, Venafrum, Casilinum, Teanum Sidicinum, Calatia, Cales, Atella, Acerræ, Nola, and Nuceria ; known at present by the names of Sessa, Venafrò, Nova Capua, Tiano, Cajazzo, Calvi, Averfa, Acerra, Nola, and Nocera. The small tract, lying between the promontory of Minerva and the river Silarus, was inhabited by a colony of the Picentes planted here by the Romans : Pliny^a and Ptolemy call them Picentini, to distinguish them from the Picentes, who inhabited Picenum, on the Adriatic Sea. The Picentini had but two cities, namely, Picentia, called by Strabo^w the metropolis of the Picentini, but at present demolished, and Salernum, now Salerno.

Campania.

Picentini.

Magna Græcia comprised Apulia, Lucania, and the country of the Brutii. This country was called Greece, because most of the cities on the coast were Greek colonies, and spoke the Greek tongue. The inhabitants gave it the epithet of Great, not as if it was larger than Greece, properly so called, but merely out of ostentation, as Pliny informs us^x. Apulia extended from the

Magna
Græcia.

Apulia:

^a Plin. lib. iii. cap. 5, & 12.

^w Strabo, lib. v. sub finem.

^x Plin. lib. iii. cap. 5.

*Daunia.**Peucetia.*

river Frento quite to the streights parting Italy from Greece; but was divided into three parts, namely, Daunia, lying between the Frento and the Aufidus, now l'Ofanto; Peucetia, extending from the Aufidus to the isthmus between Brundisium and Tarentum; and Messapia, called also Calabria, and Iapygia, comprehending the peninsula. In Apulia, by which name the ancient geographers understand both Daunia and Peucetia, were the following cities: Teanum Apulum, Geryon, Sipuntum, Luceria, Æquulanum, Arpi (the ruins of which are to be seen near the present city of Foggia), Asculum Apulum, Venusia, Acherontia, Canusium, Cannæ, Salapia, Rubi, Butunti, Barium, and Egnatia; now Civita Tragonara, Siponto, Lucera, Troia, Ascoli, Venosa, Acirenza, Canosa, Canna, Salpe, Ruvo, Bitonto, Bari, and Terra d'Anazzo. In Calabria, Brundisium, Hydruntum, Castrum Minervæ, Callipolis, Tarentum, Neritum, and Aletium; now Brindisi, Otranto, Castro, Gallipoli, Tarento, Nardo, and Lezze. Near Aletium stood, in ancient times, the city of Rudia, the birth-place of Ennius.

Lucania.

Lucania lay between the Silarus and the Laus, now the Laino, the former parting it from the country of the Picentini, and the latter from that of the Brutii. It was divided from Peucetia by the river Bradanus, now the Brandano; and from Calabria by the upper part of the Sinus Tarentinus, or Gulf of Tarento. On the Mediterranean, or Tyrrhenian Sea, stood the cities of Pastum, called by the Greeks, Posidonia, Velia, Buxentum; on the Gulf of Tarentum, Metapontum, Heraclea, anciently called Siris and Sybaris, afterwards known by the names of Thurii and Copiæ; in the inland country were situated Potentia and Grumentum: these cities are called by the present inhabitants, Pesto, Pisciotta, Policastro, Terre di Mare, Policore, Potenza, and Clarimonte. The city of Thurii, or Thurium, was destroyed soon after the second Carthaginian war.

Brutii.

The Brutii possessed that peninsula which extends from Lucania to the streights separating Sicily from Italy. In this corner of Italy, as we may call it, stood the following cities; on the western coast, Cerilli, Clamptia, Terraf, Terina, Lametia, Scyllæum, and Rhegium; now Carella, Amantea, Torre Loppa, Nocera, Sant' Eufemia Sciglio, and Reggio: on the eastern coast, Locri, called Epizephyrii, from the promontory Zephyrium; Caulonia, Scylacium, Coto, Petilia, and Ruscianum; now Jerace, Castel Veteri, Squillaci, Crotone, Belicastro, and Rossano;

in the inland country, Consentia, now Consenza, formerly the metropolis of the Brutii; Pandofia, and Hipponium, called by the Romans, Vibo Valentia, and by the modern inhabitants, Monte Leone. These are the chief cities of Italy, which we shall describe as we have occasion to treat of them in the sequel of the history.

The rivers which it may be proper to take notice of in this place, are the Po, called by the Latins, Padus and Eridanus, which springs from Mount Vesulus, now Veso, one of the highest among the Alps, and discharges itself into the Adriatic Sea by seven different streams, after having received into its channel above thirty rivers. On the Alps likewise rise the Druria, the Sessites, the Ticinum, the Addua, the Ollius, the Mincius, the Tanarus, the Trebia, and the Rhenus Bononienfis; now the Dora, Sessia, Tesino, Adda, Oglio, Mincio, Tanaro, Trebia, and Reno di Bologna. The Athesis, now the Adige, has its source, like the others we have mentioned, in the Alps, waters the cities of Trent and Verona, and is the only great river in Lombardy that does not fall into the Po, which it must have done, had it run but a little farther before its entering the Adriatic. The Arnus, and the Tiber, which receive the Clanis, the Nar, and the Anio, now la Chiana, la Nera, and il Teverone, spring from the Apennines, and fall into the Mediterranean. The Liris, which separates Latium from Campania; the Volturnus, in Campania; the Silarus, parting the Picentini and Lucani; the Sybaris, and Crathis, in Lucania; the Aufidus, in Apulia; the Aternus and Metaurus, in Picenum; now the Garigliano, Volturno, Silara, Cochile, Crati, l'Ofanto, Pescara, and Metauro; were all rivers of great note, and are much celebrated by the ancients.

The chief mountains of Italy are the Alps and the Apennines; the former parting it from Gaul, Vindelicia, Noricum, and Pannonia, taking Italy in its greatest extent; and the latter dividing it into almost equal parts (R).

(R) Festus is of opinion, that the Alps borrowed their name from the Latin word *albus*, which the Sabines pronounced *Alpus*, signifying *white*, because they were almost always covered with snow (1). But Isidorus (2), and Servius (3), tell us, that, in the language of the Celtes, all high mountains were called Alps. Others derive the name of the Alps from one Albion, the son of Neptune, who, they say, was killed by Hercules in disputing his passage over these mountains.

(1) Fest. lib. iii.
lib. iii. *Æneid*.

(2) Isidor. Orig. lib. iii.

(3) Servius in

The Alps are a long chain of mountains, which begins at the mouth of the Varus, and, after a great many irregular turnings of about eight hundred miles, ends at the river Arsa, in Istria. The maritime Alps reach from Vada or Vado, to the source of the Varus; the Cottia; from the source of the Varus to the city of Susa; from thence the Graia to Little St. Bernard; and the Pennina; from that mountain to Monte St. Gottard, or St. Githard: to the Pennina are joined the Alps Rhætica, which extend to the spring of the river Piave; those which reach from thence to Istria, and the head of the Savus, are called Norica and Carnica. The Apennines extend from the maritime Alps, where they take their rise, quite to the streights which separate Italy from Sicily. The mountains Massicus, near Sueffa; Gaurus, between Paetoli and Baia; Tifata, at a small distance from Capua; Vesuvius, in the neighbourhood of Nola; and Garganus, in Apulia; are much celebrated both by the ancient and modern writers.

Soil.

Italy lies between the 38th and 46th degrees of north latitude, in the 6th and 7th north climate. We need not here enlarge on the fruitfulness and various productions of this happy region. It has been observed, that whatever desirable things nature has dropped frugally and sparingly in other countries, are found in Italy as in their original seminary: whence some call it the parent of plenty; others, the fountain of earthly bliss, the incomparable region of this globe, the garden of Europe, the epitome of the world, or rather a little world itself. The ancient inhabitants of Italy shall be the subject of the following section.

S E C T. II.

Of the Ancient State and First Inhabitants of Italy.

THERE is such a disagreement among the ancients in what they have written concerning the first inhabitants of Italy, that we cannot pretend to give any satisfactory account of the primitive state of that country. We shall therefore only relate, in this place, what has been transmitted to us on so perplexed and intricate a subject, by the most credible writers of antiquity, without

† Vide Cleyer. *Antiq. Ital.* lib. lii. Plin. lib. xiii. cap. 2. Liv. lib. xxii. Virgil. lib. ii. Georg. ver. 143. & lib. iii. ver. 525. Kirck. *Mund. Subterr.* tom. i.

taking

taking upon us to prefer the authority of one to that of another, since they may be all, for aught we know, and as the most judicious among them seem to insinuate, equally mistaken. We shall begin with Latium, which rose, by degrees, to be the seat of a powerful republic, and of an empire which had no other bounds than those of our hemisphere. Old Latium, which from the banks of the Tiber extended no farther than southward to the Circæan promontory, being bounded on the north by the Anio, and on the east by Mount Algidus, only eighteen miles distant from Rome, was, at different times, inhabited by the following nations^a; the Aborigines, Pelasgi, Arcades, Siculi, Aurunci, and Rutuli: New Latium, which reached to the Liris, was possessed by the Volsci, Oscei, Ausones, Coriolani, Fidenates, and Sicani. Some historians are of opinion, that the Aborigines were so called, because they had been in Italy from the beginning, and did not derive their origin from any other country: others, changing the name of Aborigines into Aberrigines, hold that they were a wandering people, such being the import of that word, who, coming from different countries, met accidentally in Italy, and there lived by rapine^a. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, persuaded that they came from Arcadia, proposes two other opinions; either that they were styled Aborigines, because they lived on mountains, in which the Arcadians took great pleasure; or because they gave origin to the Latins^b, who being descended from them, called them Aborigines, that is, the people from whom they derived their origin. The appellation of Aborigines, in the first acceptation, is derived from the Greek words *oreon genos*, that is, *natives of the mountains*; in the second, from the Latin word *origo*, which imports *origin*. The above mentioned writer takes them to be one and the same people with the Cœnотrii, who, leaving their native country Arcadia, crossed the sea, and settled in Latium, above four hundred years before the Trojan war.

The inhabitants of Old and New Latium.

Aborigines.

The Pelasgi were originally Peloponnesians, who, being driven out of their country by the Curetes and Leleges, settled first in Thessaly, and removed from thence into that part of Italy which is watered by the Po, where they built the city of Spina. Some of them crossed the Apennines, joined the Aborigines, and, having made

Pelasgi.

^a Plin. lib. iii. cap. 5. . . . Vide Victor. de Orig. Roman.
^b Dion. Hal. lib. i. Antiq. Rom. cap. 10.

themselves masters of great part of Umbria and Hetruria, drove the Siculi out of these countries, and obliged them to fly for refuge into Sicily. They likewise took several cities of Campania from the Aurunci; but, at length, being afflicted with many calamities, they abandoned their conquests, and returned to Greece^c. From them the Aborigines borrowed many customs of Greece. About sixty years before the Trojan war, another colony arrived from Peloponnesus, in a port of Latium, under the conduct of Evander the Arcadian, who being kindly received by Faunus, at that time king of the country, and suffered to settle on a small uncultivated hill near the Tiber, introduced the worship of the gods of his country, and taught the inhabitants the use of the Greek letters (S); and of stringed instruments of music. By these means he reformed the customs, and softened the manners of the Aborigines, who, at the time of his arrival, still lived after a savage manner, and without any regulation of laws^d. Another colony of Arcadians and Eleans, arriving in Latium, with Hercules, are said to have settled there, and made one people with those who accompanied Evander.

Siculi.

The Siculi were, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the first inhabitants of Latium; but being driven from thence by the Aborigines, Pelasgi, and other nations, from all the countries of Italy, they took refuge in Sicily (T). The Aurunci, or Arunci, were originally

^c Idem *ibid*.

^d Dion. Hal. *ibid*. p. 25.

(S) The Greek characters were the first which the Latins made use of. Of this there was still remaining a plain proof in the time of Augustus; to wit, the treaty between Tarquin the Proud, and the Gabii, which was written in Latin words, but Greek letters, on a wooden shield covered with the skin of the ox that had been sacrificed on that occasion (1).

(T) As to the origin of the Siculi, Pliny (2) takes them

to be one and the same people with the Sicani. If this opinion be true, they came originally from Spain, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Thucydides, and Philistus, an ancient Sicilian writer; but, according to Diodorus Siculus, from Sicily, that author being of opinion, that the Sicani inhabited Sicily from the first ages of the world. Sophocles says, they were called Siculi from one Siculus their king.

(1) Dionysius Halicar. lib. iv. p. 246. cap. 5.

(2) Plin. lib. iii.

Aufones^e; of whom hereafter. Virgil speaks of them as a Trojan colony^f. The Rutuli were descended from the Aborigines. These were the various nations which, at different times, had been masters of all, or great part of Latium, before the arrival of Æneas.

*Aurunci.
Rutuli.*

In New Latium the Volsci were a very warlike people; but ancient authors give no account of their origin: they only tell us, that they had a language peculiar to themselves. Their territory comprehended one of the most considerable portions of Old Latium. The Ofci, Opici, or Obsci, were descended from the Aufones (U). The Fidenates were a colony of the Albani, and the Coriolani of the Volsci. As to the Aufones, they came originally from Greece, and were one of the most ancient colonies that settled in Italy (W). From them first the countries where they settled, and afterwards all Italy, took the name of Aufonia.

Volsci.

Ofci.

*Fidenates.
Coriolani.*

Next to Old Latium lay Hetruria, which was inhabited by the Tyrrhenians, called also Hetrusci, Etrusci, Tusci, and sometimes Thusci. The name of Tyrrhenians they borrowed from their leader Tyrrhenus; that of Hetrusci, from one of their kings; and the last from the Greek word *thus*, to sacrifice, the Hetruscans having been skilled above all other nations, in the ceremonies that were used

Hetrusci.

^e Aristot. Polit. lib. vii. cap. 10. Servius in lib. vii. Æneid. Isaac Tzetzes, p. 211. ^f Virg. Georg. lib. ii. ver. 385.

(U) From their name etymologists derive the Latin word *obscænus*, *obscene*; for they had the character of being licentious in their conversation, and lewd in their manners, above the rest of the inhabitants of Italy. Their language was different from that of the Romans; for Ennius used to boast, as Gellius informs us⁽¹⁾, that he could speak Ofcian, Greek, and Latin.

(W) They first planted themselves in New Latium; but being driven from thence

by new adventurers, they retired to that part of Campania, which lies between Teanum and Capua⁽²⁾. They were called Aufones, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, from Aufon, the son of Ulysses by Calypso, whom he supposes to have reigned over them while they were in Latium. But that writer is mistaken, since they had the name of Aufones long before the arrival of Æneas, and consequently before the supposed king Aufon could be born.

(1) Aul. Gell. lib. xvii.

(2) Dion. Hal. lib. vi. cap. 5.

in performing sacrifices^a. They came originally, according to the common opinion both of the Greek and Latin writers, from Lydia, under the conduct of Tyrrhenus; and, arriving in Italy, settled first in that tract which lies between the Adriatic sea and the Apennines, after having driven out the Umbri, and taken from them, as Pliny informs us^b, three hundred cities. Being animated by the success that attended them on their first arrival, they extended their conquests beyond the Apennines, and made themselves masters of the territories of Nola and Capua, and almost of the whole coast of that sea, which from them took the name of Tyrrhenian. These countries they held till the invasion of the Gauls, when they were driven from the coast of the Adriatic sea by that warlike nation, and from Campania by the Latins: so that they were obliged to take refuge in that country which lies between the Mæra and Tiber, and is called by all the ancientæ Hetruria.

Ligures.

There is a great disagreement among authors relating to the origin of the Ligures. Dionysius of Halicarnassus owns, that he cannot determine whether they were descended from the Gauls, or from some of the ancient nations inhabiting Italy. Strabo, speaking of the various tribes living among or near the Alps, says, that they were all originally Gauls, except the Ligures^c; and elsewhere seems inclined to believe, that Liguria was first peopled by Greek colonies. Some carry up their origin to the fabulous heroes of antiquity, and others, led by the similitude of names, to the Ligyes mentioned by Herodotus^d, as attending Xerxes in his expedition into Greece. The Ligyes are placed by some ancient geographers in Colchia, by others in Albania. Sextus Pompeius will have the Ligures to be descended from the Siculi^e; but the most common opinion is, that they came originally from Celtic Gaul (X).

The

^a Vide Servium in lib. i. Æneid. Isidor. de Origin. & Brit. in Historic. Descript. Tuscor. ^b Plin. lib. ii. cap. 4. ^c Strab. lib. ii. ^d Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 72. ^e Sext. Pomp. lib. xvii.

(X) Of this origin Cluverius (1) discovers some traces in the word *Bodincus*, which was, according to Polybius and Pliny, the name the Ligures gave to the Po, to express the depth of that river. The word *boden*, as the same writer observes, is still used by the Germans, and signifies *bottom*;

(1) Cluver. Ital. Antiq. lib. iii.

whence

The Umbri are counted by the Roman writers among *Umbri.* those nations of whose origin we have no records, and therefore styled the Aborigines of Italy. The name of Umbri, or Ombri, Pliny^m derives from the Greek word *umbros*, signifying a *shower*, because they had escaped a deluge, occasioned by violent showers, which had laid their lands under water. Before the arrival of the Tyrrhenians, they possessed great part of that country which was afterwards known by the name of Cisalpine Gaul; but were driven from thence by the Tyrrhenians, as the Tyrrhenians were expelled, in their turn, by the Gauls.

The Sabini were, according to some ancient writers, a *Sabini,* colony of Lacedæmonians; according to others, the off- *Picentes,* spring of the Ausones. The name of Sabini they took, if *Frentani,* Portius Cato is to be credited, from Sabinus, the son of *&c.* Sancus, or Sabus, whom they worshipped under the name of Dius Fidius. From the Sabini were descended the Picentes, Frentani, Marrucini, Peligni, Vestini, Marfi, Æqui, Hernici, and the Samnites; from the Samnites, the Hirpini, Lucani, Brutii, and Campani.

The Ænotri were, according to the most ancient *Ænotrii.* writers, originally Arcadians. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, that they were the first Greeks who passed the Ionian sea, and settled in Italy, under the conduct of Ænotrus and Peucetius, two sons of Lycaon, king of Arcadia. Peucetius landed at the Iapygian promontory, made himself master of Apulia and Calabria, and, from his own name, called the inhabitants Peucetii; and hence that tract was named Apulia Peucetia. Ænotrus landed on the opposite coast, and possessed himself of Lucania and Brutium. From him this tract was called Ænotria, and not from the Greek word *oinos*, as Serviusⁿ pretends, because this country produced great plenty of excellent

^m Plin. lib. iii. cap. 4.

ⁿ Servius in lib. i. Æneid.

whence he concludes, that the Ligures had the same origin with the inhabitants of Germany, who were, beyond all doubt, so many branches of the ancient Celtæ. But when, or on what occasion, these Gauls removed from their native country, we find no where re-

corded. However, it is certain that they were some of the most ancient inhabitants of Italy; and consequently, that they crossed the Alps many ages before those Gauls, from whom Cisalpine Gaul took its name.

*Crotonia-
tes,
Locrenses,
Tarentini,
&c.*

wines. The Œnotrians spread themselves afterwards into Umbria, and, according to some writers, as far as Latium and the country of the Sabini (Y).

The Crotoniates, Locrenses, Tarentini, Messapii, Apuli, Salentini, Calabri, and Iapyges, were, beyond all doubt, of Greek extraction, and settled in that part of Italy, from them, called Great Greece, many ages after the Umbri, Siculi, and Ausones, which three nations are reckoned, by most of the ancients, among the Aborigines, or natives of Italy, as if they had been there from the beginning, and did not derive their origin from any other nation. Of the Gauls, and their different trans-migrations into Italy, we shall have occasion to speak in a more proper place (Z).

S E C T.

(Y) A modern writer is of opinion, that the Œnotrus of the ancients was Noah, who, to avoid the insults and evil designs of Ham, came with Japheth and Gomer into Italy, and reigned in Latium under the name of Janus, which he derives from the Hebrew *jain*, and the Chaldee *jaino*, signifying *wine*, because he first planted vines, and discovered the secret of pressing grapes, and making their juice potable (1). For this reason the Greeks call him Œnotrus, which, in Greek, answers the surname of Janus. But, after all, these are only conjectures, which every one may adopt or reject as he pleases. Some are of opinion, that the Œnotrii were the first inhabitants of Italy; but most of the ancients tell us, that the country where they settled on their arrival was first possessed by the Ausones, whom they drove out.

(Z) Thus far we have related what we find in profane historians concerning the first in-

habitants of Italy. But Eusebius and Cedrenus (2), looking upon their accounts as fabulous, tell us, that Italy was first peopled by the descendants of Kittim, the fourth son of Javan, who being planted in that part of Greece, which has been since called Macedon, spread themselves, as their numbers increased, as far as Ætolia, and from thence advanced in quest of a more fertile soil, to the coasts of the Adriatic sea, which they crossed, and settled at last in that fruitful and pleasant country, which was afterwards known by the name of Italy. The opinion of these writers is, in some degree, confirmed by what we read in Suidas, who tells us, in express terms, that the Latins were anciently called Ketii. Besides, Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions a city in Latium, called Ketea; and Aristotle speaks of a lake near Cumæ, named Ketus (3). Reineccius, falling in with Eusebius and Cedrenus, is of

(1) Vide Kircher in Latio Antiq. & Novo.
Chron. & Cedren. lib. i. Annal.

(2) Euseb. in
(3) Aristot. de Mirab.

opinion,

S E C T. III.

Of the Ancient Kings of Hetruria, Latium, and Alba.

THE Hetrurians and Latins are the only two nations in Italy of which we find any thing recorded worth mentioning, before the foundation of Rome. We are told, indeed, that the Umbrians and Ligurians made once a great figure; that the former were masters of the best part of Italy, and that the latter were governed by their own kings, princes of great power, many ages before the arrival of Æneas in Latium: but this is all we know of them till their wars with the Romans rendered them more famous. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the Hetrurians and Latins. Of the former we shall speak hereafter more at length. As for Latium, we know but very little concerning the ancient state of that country; and the little we know is so blended with fable, as to leave us no way of distinguishing the truth.

Of the government and kings of the ancient Heturians.

The kings we find mentioned as reigning in Latium, before the arrival of Æneas, are Picus, Faunus, and Latinus. Picus is supposed by Virgil², and others, to have been the son of Saturn; but Vossius is of opinion, that there never reigned any king of that name in Latium, and looks upon all that is said of Picus as quite fabulous. The next king is Faunus, supposed to have been the son of

The kings of Latium. Picus.

Faunus.

² Vide Virgil. lib. vii. Æneid. ver. 48, 49.

opinion, that Italy did not take that name from Italus, king of the Enotrians; but from Ætolus, and a colony of Ætolians, that is, of the descendents of Kittim, who, under him, settled in that country. He observes, that by only throwing out the first letter of Ætolia, and changing the *o* into *a*, which change is found in the name of Æthalia, an island near Italy, peopled by the Ætolians, it becomes Italia; so that Italy, according to these writers, was first peopled by the descendents of Kittim, who had settled in

Ætolia, or, as the Greeks write it, Aitolia. The way into so pleasant a country being once known, it was not long before the Pelasgi, the Arcadians, and other Greek nations, followed their countrymen, and settled in the eastern and southern parts of Italy, while the Tyrrhenians from Lydia and the Celtæ, afterwards called Ligurians, from beyond the Alps, planted themselves in the western and northern provinces. Thus was Italy, before the arrival of Æneas, possessed by Greeks, Lydians, and Celtæ.

Picus.

*Latium.**Æneas arrives in Latium.*

Picus. In his time Evander landed with a colony of Arcadians, in a port of Latium; and, being allowed by him to settle with his followers on a small uncultivated hill near the Tiber, built there a city, which he called Palantium, that being the name of the capital of his dominions in Arcadia, which he had been constrained to leave for having accidentally killed his father Echemus. Faunus was succeeded by Latinus, his son, according to Virgil, born of a nymph named Marica; according to others, by one of the mistresses of Hercules; for that hero is said to have arrived in Latium during Faunus's reign. Faunus had married, to his first wife, his own sister Fauna, a famous prophetess; but as she brought him no children, and a son was born to him after his marriage with Hercules' mistress, it was thought that the child was rather Hercules' son than his. But however that be, the name of Latinus is very famous in history, not on account of any military exploits performed by him, but for the arrival of Æneas in Latium, which happened in his reign.

This prince was engaged in a war with the Rutuli, in which he was attended with very indifferent success, when news were brought him that a foreign army had made a descent on his coasts, pillaged the maritime part of his dominions, and were fortifying themselves in a camp, at a small distance from the sea. He forthwith marched against them with all his forces, hoping to oblige them to re-embark, and abandon his dominions, without meeting with any great resistance from a band of vagabonds, as he supposed, or pirates, come only to seek for plunder; but finding them, as he drew near, well armed, and regularly drawn up in battalia, he thought it advisable to forbear engaging troops that appeared so well disciplined; and, instead of venturing a battle, desired a parley. In this conference, Latinus understanding who they were, and being, at the same time, struck with terror, and touched with compassion for those brave but unfortunate men; entered into a treaty with them, and assigned them a tract of land for a settlement, on condition that they should employ their arms, and exert their valour, in defence of his dominions, and look upon the Rutuli as a common enemy. This condition Æneas readily accepted, and complied with his engagement so faithfully, that Latinus came, at length, to repose an entire confidence in the Trojan; and, in proof of it, gave him

Lavinia, his daughter and only child, in marriage, securing to him, by that match, the succession to the throne of Latium. *Marrys Lavinia.* Æneas, to testify his gratitude to Latinus, and affection for Lavinia, gave her name to the camp he had pitched, and, instead of Troy called it Lavinium. The Trojans followed the example of their leader; and, by marriages, making alliances with Latin families, became, in a short time, one and the same people with the Latins.

In the mean time Turnus, the queen's nephew, educated in the palace, under the eye of Latinus, with the view of marrying Lavinia, and succeeding to the throne, seeing the princess bestowed on a stranger, and all his views defeated, went over to the Rutuli; by exciting the jealousy of that people, he brought on a battle between them and the Latins, in which both he and Latinus were killed. Thus Æneas, by the death of his father-in-law, and by that of a troublesome rival, obtained the quiet possession of the kingdom of Latium, which he governed with great wisdom, and transmitted to his posterity.¹ *Succeeds to the kingdom of Latinus.*

Æneas is said to have reigned three years, during which time he established the worship of the gods of his own country, and to the religion of the Latins added that of Troy. The two palladiums, which had been the protectors of that city, became the tutelar deities of Lavinium, and, in after-ages, of the whole Roman empire. The worship of Vesta was likewise introduced by Æneas, and virgins, from her called Vestals, were appointed to keep a fire continually burning, in honour of that goddess. Jupiter, Venus, and many other deities, who had been revered in Troy, became, in all likelihood, known to the Latins by means of Æneas; a circumstance which gave occasion to the poets to represent him under the character of a pious hero.

While Æneas was thus employed, the Rutuli, ancient enemies of the Latin name, entering into an alliance with Mezentius king of the Tyrrhenians, took the field with a design to drive out those new-comers, of whose power they began to conceive no small jealousy. Æneas marched out against them, at the head of his Trojans and Latins. A battle ensued, which lasted till night, when Æneas, being pushed to the banks of the Numicus, which ran close by Lavinium, and forced into that river, was there drowned. The Trojans concealed his body; and, *Death of Æneas.*

¹ Liv. lib. i. cap. 1. Dion. Hal. lib. i. p. 46, 51.

pretending

pretending that he had vanished away on a sudden, made him pass for a deity among his credulous subjects, who accordingly erected a temple to him, under the title of Jupiter Indiges (A). Such was the end of Æneas, the Trojan prince so much celebrated by the Greek and Latin poets.

Ascanius.

Upon the death of Æneas, his son Euryleon, called also Ascanius and Iulus, ascended the throne (B); but as the young king did not think it adviseable to venture a battle, in the very beginning of his reign, with a formidable enemy, who promised himself great success from the death of Æneas, he had the prudence to confine himself within the walls of Lavinium, and to try, whether he could, by an honourable treaty, put an end to so dangerous a war. But, the haughty Mezentius demanding of the Latins, as one of the conditions of a peace, that they should pay him yearly, by way of tribute, all the wine produced in the territory of Latium, Ascanius rejected the proposal with the utmost indignation. Having caused all the vines throughout his dominions to be consecrated to Jupiter, and thus put it out of his power to comply with the enemy's request, he resolved to make a vigorous sally, and try, whether he could, by force of arms, bring the insulting Tyrrhenian to more reasonable terms. The main body of the enemy's army was encamped at some distance from Lavinium; but Lausus, the son of Mezentius, with the flower of their youth under his command, lay intrenched at the very gates of the city. The Trojans, who

* Dion. Hal. lib. i. p. 51.

(A) The inscription, according to Aurelius Victor, was conceived in these words, Patri Deo Indigeti. The word *indiges*, in the Latin tongue, signified one of those gods who had been of the race of men, and at length were deified. The temple, or tomb of Æneas, in the time of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, was nothing but a rising spot of ground set round with trees. Perhaps, says that writer, it was the tomb of Anchises, who died

but a year before his son (1). Livy likewise tells us, that Æneas had divine honours paid him under the name of Jupiter Indiges (2).

(B) Euryleon was, according to some, the son of Æneas by Creusa; according to others, by Lavinia. He was called Ascanius from a river in Phrygia, bearing that name, and Iulus, which name was afterwards changed into Iulus, from Ilium or Troy.

(1) Dion. Halicarnass. lib. i. p. 51.

(2) Liv. lib. i.

had

had been long accustomed to make vigorous sallies, marching out in the night, attacked the post where Lausus commanded, forced his intrenchments, and obliged the troops he had with him to save themselves by flight to the main body of the army that was encamped on the plain; but the unexpected arrival and overthrow of their advance-guard struck them with such terror, that, instead of stopping the flight of their companions, they fled with them, in great disorder, to the neighbouring mountains. The Latins pursued them, and, in the pursuit, Lausus was killed; whose death so discouraged Mezentius, that he immediately sued for peace; which was granted him, upon condition, that for the future, the Tiber should be the boundary between the Latin and Hetrurian territories*.

In the mean time Lavinia, who had been left with child by Æneas, entertaining a strong jealousy of the ambition of her son-in-law, retired to the woods, and was there peaceably delivered of a son, who, from his father, was named Æneas, and, from the place of his birth, had the surname of Sylvius: but as the queen's flight, who had disappeared on a sudden, raised suspicions at Lavinium prejudicial to the reputation of Ascanius, he used all possible means to remove them, caused diligent search to be made after Lavinia, calmed her fears, and prevailed upon her to return to the town, with her son, whom he ever after treated as a brother. Lavinium grew every day more populous; but, as it was in reality the patrimony of Lavinia, and the inheritance of her son Sylvius, Ascanius resolved to resign it to them, and build elsewhere another city for himself. This he made the place of his residence, and the capital of his new kingdom, calling it Alba Longa; Alba from a white sow, which, we are told, Æneas had found in the place where it was built; and Longa, to distinguish it from another town of the same name in the country of the Marſi, or rather because it extended, without having much breadth, the whole length of a lake, near which it was built† (C). It was thirty years after the building of Lavinium, that Ascanius fixed his abode at

*Ascanius
found Alba
Longa.*

* Dion. Hal. *ibid.* Liv. lib. i. cap. 3. † Dion. Hal. p. 52, 53. Liv. lib. i. cap. 3. Aur. Victor, *Orig. Rom.*

(C) It was built at an equal distance from the lake and the mountain, probably between the present city of Albano and the lake of Castel Gandolfo, and peopled by a mixed colony of Latins and Trojans. The inhabitants of this city were called Albani, to distinguish them from those of the other Alba, who were called Albenſes.

Alba;

*Upon the
death of
Ascanius
the Latins
unite La-
vinium to
Alba.*

Alba; and there he died, after a reign of about thirty-eight years, twelve of which he had resided at his new settlement. He left a son called Iulus; so that between him and Sylvius lay the right of succession to the Latin throne, the latter being the son, and the former the grandson, of Æneas.

The Latins, not thinking it their interest to continue divided, as it were, into two states, resolved to unite Alba and Lavinium into one sovereignty. As Sylvius was born of Lavinia the daughter of Latinus, and had thereby an undoubted title to the kingdom of his grandfather, whereas the other was but the son of a stranger, the Latins bestowed the crown on Sylvius, and, to make Iulus some amends, decreed to him the sovereign power in affairs of religion; a power which thenceforth continued in his family. Sylvius was succeeded by thirteen kings of the same race, who, for near four hundred years, reigned at Alba; but we scarce know any thing of them, besides their names, and the years of their respective reigns. Æneas Sylvius died, after a reign of twenty-nine years. His son, called also Æneas Sylvius, governed Latium thirty-one years. Latinus Sylvius, who succeeded him, swayed the sceptre for the space of fifty-one years. Alba reigned thirty-nine; Capetus, by Livy named Atys, twenty-six; Capis twenty-eight; and Capetus thirteen. Tiberinus, who succeeded him, engaged in a war, which proved fatal to him; for, in a battle, which was fought on the bank of the Albula, he was forced into that river, and drowned. From him the river took the name of Tiber, which it has borne ever since. Agrippa succeeded Tiberinus, after a reign of eight years; and left the throne, which he held forty-one years, to Asladius; he reigned nineteen, and was succeeded by Aventinus, who left his name to the hill Aventinus, where he was interred. Procas, who succeeded him, and reigned twenty-three years, was the father of Numitor and Amulius, and, at his death, bequeathed the throne to his eldest son Numitor. But Amulius, who surpassed his brother in courage and understanding, drove him from the throne; and, to secure it for himself, murdered Ægeus, Numitor's only son, and consecrated his daughter Rhea Sylvia to the worship of Vesta; by which consecration she was obliged to vow perpetual virginity. But this precaution proved ineffectual; for, as the vestal was going to a neighbouring spring to fetch water for the performance of a sacrifice to Mars, she was met, and ravished, by a man disguised in a military habit, like that in which the god Mars was represented.

Some

Some authors think, that this counterfeit Mars was a lover who met her by appointment; others charge Amulius himself with using this violence to his niece, not so much to gratify his lust, as to have a pretence to destroy her; for, ever after, he caused her to be carefully watched, till she was delivered of two sons; then, exaggerating her crime in an assembly of the people, he prevailed upon them to sentence her to death, and to condemn the fruit of her criminal amour to be thrown into the Tiber. The sentence against Rhea was, according to some authors, changed by Amulius, at the request of his daughter Antho, into perpetual confinement, but executed against the twins, who, being laid in a wooden trough, and carried to the foot of Mount Palatine, where there turned adrift on the Tiber, which, at that time, overflowed its banks. But the wind and stream proved so favourable, that, at the fall of the water, the two infants were left safe on the strand, and there happily found by Faustulus, the chief of the king's shepherds, and suckled by his wife Acca Laurentia, who, for her disorderly life, was called Lupa: and this appellation probably gave rise to the fabulous miracle of their being nursed by a wolf.

Birth, education, and adventures of Romulus and Remus.

As Faustulus was probably well acquainted with the birth of the twins, he took more than ordinary care of their education, and sent them to Gabii, to be instructed there in Greek literature. As they grew up, they appeared to have something great in their mien and air, which commanded respect; and the ascendant, which they assumed over the other shepherds, made them dreaded in the forests, where they exercised a sort of empire. A quarrel happening between the herdsmen of Amulius and those of Numitor, the two brothers took the part of the former against the latter; and, some blood being shed in the fray, the adverse party, to be revenged on Romulus and Remus (for so the twins were called), on the festival of the Lupercalia (D), surprised Remus, and carried him before Numitor,

Educated by Faustulus;

* Liv. *ibid.* cap. 5. Dion. Hal. p. 60—63. Fab. Pictor, Portius Cato. & Capurnius Piso, apud eund. w Plut. in Romulo.

(D) Valerius Maximus pretends, that the festival of the Lupercalia was not older than the foundation of Rome. But he is therein contradicted by Livy (3), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (4), and Plutarch (5), who tell us in express terms,

(3) Liv. lib. 1. cap. 5. (4) Dion. Halicarn. lib. 1. p. 25. (5) Plut. in Romulo.

that

Numitor, to be punished by him according to his deserts. But Numitor, either by instinct or compassion, feeling himself touched in the prisoner's favour, asked him where he was born, and who were his parents. His answer immediately struck Numitor with a lively remembrance of his two grandsons: their age, which was about eighteen years, agreed with the time when the two infants were exposed upon the Tiber; and there needed no more to change his anger into tenderness ^x.

*who dis-
cloſes to
Romulus
his birth;*

In the mean time, Romulus made preparations for rescuing his brother; but Faustus disclosing to him his birth, awakened in his breast sentiments worthy of his extraction. He resolved, at all adventures, to attempt the delivering of his mother and grandfather from oppression. With this view, he assembled the country people, over whom he had assumed a kind of sovereignty, and engaged them to come to the city on an appointed day, and enter it by different gates, provided with arms, which they were to conceal. While Romulus was thus disposing every thing for the execution of his design, Numitor made the same discovery to Remus concerning his parents, and the oppressions they groaned under; which so fired him, that he was ready to embark in any enter-

*and Numi-
tor to Re-
mus.*

^x Dion. Hal. p. 64. Ælius Tubero, apud eund. p. 65.

that this festival was brought by Evander out of Greece. The ceremonies observed in it were these: in the first place, two goats and a dog were killed; then the foreheads of two young men of distinction were touched with the bloody knife, and they were to laugh when they were thus touched. This being done, the skins of the victims were cut into thongs, and whips made of them for the young men, who scoured the streets and the fields all naked but their middle, and scourged those they met. The young women offered themselves to their strokes, fancying they contributed to fruitfulness. They ran naked, because Pan, the god of shepherds, was commonly represented in that manner.

They sacrificed a goat, because that divinity was supposed to have goat's feet. A dog was added as a necessary companion of a shepherd. Some have thought with Plutarch, that these Lupercalia were instituted in honour of the wolf that suckled Romulus and Remus. But most other writers tell us, that they were appointed in honour of Pan, from whom they borrowed their name. Pan being called in Greek *Αἰνός*, perhaps from *ἄλφ*, which answers the Latin word *lupus*, a wolf, because the chief employment of Pan was to drive away the wolves from the sheep he protected. The festival was celebrated the fifteenth of February.

prize.

prize. But Numitor took care to moderate the transports of his grandson, and only desired him to acquaint his brother with what he had heard from him, and to send him to his house. Romulus soon came, and was followed by Faustulus, who took with him the trough or skiff, in which the twins had been exposed, to shew it to Numitor; but, as the shepherd betrayed an air of concern and earnestness in his looks, he was stopped at the gate of the city, led before Amulius, and examined concerning his burden. It was easily known by its make and inscription, which was still legible; and therefore Faustulus owned what it was, and confessed that the twins were living; but, in order to gain time, pretended that they were feeding flocks in a remote desert ^r. In the mean time, the usurper's death being resolved on, Remus undertook to raise the city, and Romulus to invest the king's palace. The country people came at the time appointed, and formed themselves into companies, each consisting of a hundred men. They had no other ensigns than bundles of hay hanging upon long poles, which the Latins, at that time, called manipuli; and hence came the name of manipulares, originally given to troops raised in the country. With this tumultuous army Romulus beset the avenues of the palace, forced the guard, and having killed the tyrant, after he had reigned forty-two years, restored his grandfather Numitor to the throne ^z.

*They de-
throne
Amulius,
and restore
Numitor.*

Affairs being thus settled at Alba, the two brothers, by the advice of Numitor, undertook the founding of a new colony. The king bestowed on them those lands near the Tiber, where they had been brought up, supplied them with all manner of instruments for breaking up ground, with slaves and beasts of burden, and granted full liberty to his subjects to join them. Most of the Trojans, of whom there still remained fifty families in Augustus's time, chose to follow the fortune of Romulus and Remus, as did also the inhabitants of two small towns, called Pallantium and Saturnia. For the more speedy carrying on of the work, it was thought proper to divide those, who were to be employed in the building of the city, into two companies; one under the command of Romulus, the other of Remus; but this division, which was designed purely with a view to the public welfare, and that the two parties might work by way of emulation, gave birth to two factions, and produced a jealousy between

*They found
a new co-
lony.*

^r Plut. in Romulo.

^z Plut. & Liv. ibid. cap. 5.

*The two
brothers
quarrel.*

the two brothers, which broke out when they came to choose a place for building their new city: Remus declared for the Aventine, and Romulus for the Palatine mount. The matter being referred to their grandfather, he advised the contending parties to have recourse to the gods, and to put an end to the dispute by augury, to which he was himself greatly addicted. The day appointed for the ceremony being come, the brothers posted themselves each upon his hill; and it was agreed, that whoever should see the first flight, or the greatest number, of vulturs, should gain his cause. After the two rivals had waited some time for the appearance of a favourable omen, Romulus, before any had appeared, sent to acquaint his brother that he had seen some vulturs; but Remus, having actually seen six, while his brother's messengers were yet on their way, hastened, on their arrival, to Mount Palatine, to examine the truth of what they had reported. He had no sooner reached the place, than twelve vulturs appeared to Romulus. These he immediately shewed to his brother, and, transported with joy, desired him to judge himself of the truth of what his messengers had told. However, Remus discovered the deceit; and being told that Romulus had not seen the twelve vulturs till after he had seen six, he insisted on the time of his seeing them, and the other on the number of birds he had seen. This dispute widened the breach between the two brothers; and their parties being divided, while each man espoused the cause of his leader, the dispute grew so warm, that, from words, they came at length to blows. The shepherd Faustulus, who was equally dear to both the brothers, endeavouring to part the combatants, was, by an unknown hand, laid dead on the spot. Some writers tell us, that Remus likewise lost his life in the fray; but the greater number place his death later, and say that he was killed by one Fabius, for being, in derision, leaped over the wall of the new city; but Livy says, the more common report was, that Remus fell by the hand of his brother* (E).

Romulus

*Remus is
killed.*

* Liv. lib. i. cap. 6, 7. Dion. Hal. lib. i. p. 72. Plut. Romulo.

(E) Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who is of opinion, that Remus was killed before the foundation of the new city, adds, that he was buried in a place called after his own name Remuria, about thirty furlongs from Rome; which situation seeming to him the most convenient for building a city

Romulus, being now the only head of the colony, by having subdued his brother's party in the late engagement, applied his thoughts wholly to the building of the city, which he proposed to call after his own name. He chose Mount Palatine for its situation, and performed all those ceremonies which the superstition of the Hettrurians had introduced. He offered sacrifices to the gods; and from that time decreed, that eagles should be the auspices of his new colony. Then great fires were kindled before their tents, and all the people leaped through the flames to purify themselves. When this ceremony was over, they dug a trench round the spot, where the assemblies of the people were afterwards held, and threw into it the first-fruits of whatever they were allowed to make use of for food: every man of the colony was ordered to cast into the same trench a handful of earth, brought either from his own, or some neighbouring country. The trench they called *Mundus*, that is, *the World*, and made it the centre, round which the city was to be built. Then Romulus, yoking an ox and a cow to a plough, the coulter whereof was brass, marked out, by a deep furrow, the whole compass of the city. These two animals, the symbols of marriage, by which cities are peopled, were afterwards slain upon the altar. All the people followed the plough, throwing inwards the clods of earth, which the plough-share sometimes turned outwards. Wherever a gate was to be made, the plough was lifted up, and carried; and hence came the Latin word *porta*, a gate, derived from the verb *portare*, to carry (F). As Mount Palatine

Yr. of Fl.
1600.
Ante Chr.
748.
U. C. 1.

The foundation of Rome.

city, he went thither, according to some writers, and, according to others, to Mount Aventine, to observe the flight of the birds. Festus says, that the summit of Mount Aventine was called Remuria, from the time Remus resolved to build the city there; but Dionysius of Halicarnassus speaks of Mount Aventine and Remuria as two different places. Stephanus will have Remuria to have been a city in the neighbourhood of Rome.

(F) The Hettrurians had, as Festus informs us (1), a sort of ritual, wherein were contained the ceremonies that were to be observed in building cities, temples, altars, walls, and gates. Fabius Pictor says, that Romulus sent for a priest, or augur, out of Hettruria, to preside at the building of his new city; and Plutarch tells us, that men from Hettruria taught the founder every rite he was to observe. The meaning of the ceremonies we have men-

(1) Festus de Ling. Latin. lib. ii.

latine stood by itself, the whole was inclosed within the line made by the plough, which formed almost the figure of

tioned was as follows: they leaped through the flames, being persuaded that so religious a ceremony required great purity. The ox and cow were both white: their whiteness was a symbol of that purity of manners and innocence which should be the character of every citizen. Isidorus (2) tells us, that an ox and cow yoked together, represented the foundation of cities, and settlement of colonies. By throwing the first-fruits, and a handful of earth, into the trench, they admonished the heads of the colony, that it ought to be their chief study to procure for their fellow-citizens all the conveniencies of life; to maintain peace and union amongst a people come together from different parts of the world; and by this means to form themselves into a body, never to be dissolved. By the care which the people took to throw the clods of earth back towards the city, they were instructed, that plenty in cities is owing to the fruitful products of the lands about them; and that they ought to bring every thing from abroad which could contribute to the welfare of the inhabitants.

The whole length of the ground where the plough had passed, was, by the ancients, looked upon as sacred and inviolable; and, for this reason, they thought themselves obliged to spend the last drop of their blood in the defence

of their walls; and to break through them was a crime of the highest nature.

In speaking of the foundation of Rome, we have followed the account which Livy, and, after him, most of the Latin historians give us of that memorable event; but Plutarch tells us (3), that there is a great disagreement among authors, both as to the founder of Rome, and the reason why it was so called. Some were of opinion, as that writer informs us, that the Pelasgians, who had over-run the greater part of the habitable world, fixed there, and from their power and strength in arms, in Greek *ῥώμη*, called the city by that name: others thought the city was built by some Trojans, who, escaping from Troy, were driven upon the coasts of Hetruria; among them was Roma, a woman of distinction, whose name was given to the new city: others pretended, that Roma was the daughter of Italus and Lucaria, or of Te-lephus, the son of Hercules; and that she was married to Æneas. Some will have her to have been the daughter of Ascanius, Æneas's son. The same writer speaks of Romulus, the son of Ulysses by Circe; of Romus, the son of Emathion, whom Diomedes sent from Troy; and of Remus, a king of the Latins, who drove out the Hetrurians: each of these the building of Rome has by some authors

(2) Isidor. lib. xxv. cap. 2.

(3) Plut. in Romulo.

of a square; whence by Dionysius Halicarnassensis it is called Roma Quadrata (G).

As to the exact year of the foundation of Rome, there is a great disagreement among historians and chronologers. Fabius Pictor, the most ancient of all the Roman writers, places it in the end of the seventh Olympiad; that is, according to the computation of the learned Usher, whom we choose to follow, in the year of the world 3256, of the flood 1600, and 748 before the Christian æra (H). The Romans, if we may so call them, began to build, as Plutarch^b and others informs us, on the twenty-first of April; which day was then consecrated to Pales, goddess of the shepherds; whence the

Time of its foundation.

^a Plutarch. *ibid.*

been ascribed. Solinus bestows that honour on Evander; and adds, that Rome was first called Valentia; while others, as St. Austin informs us (2), pretend that its ancient name was Febris, borrowed from Februa, the mother of Mars.

(G) Plutarch seems to make a distinction between Roma Quadrata and the city of Rome; for he says, that Romulus had built the former before he marked out the plan of the latter. But the authorities of Fabius Pictor, Cato, and Dionysius Halicarnassensis, are of greater weight with us.

(H) Timæus of Sicily thinks, that Rome and Carthage were built much about the same time, that is, thirty-eight years before the first Olympiad. Quintilius places the foundation of Rome in the fourth year of the twelfth Olympiad; Fabius Pictor, in the first year of the eighth; Polybius, and Diodorus Siculus, in the second year of the seventh Olympiad; Portius Cato, and others, in

the first year of the same Olympiad; Marcus Verrius Flaccus, the supposed author of the Capitoline tables, and Livy, in the fourth year of the sixth Olympiad. But the most exact Roman writers follow Varro's calculation, according to which the foundations of Rome were laid near the end of the third year of the sixth Olympiad. Plutarch, from the testimony of some ancient writers, tells us, that an eclipse of the sun happened the first day that Rome was founded, which was seen by Antimachus of Teos. Dionysius Halicarnassensis mentions another eclipse (3), which happened the same day that Romulus died. From these astronomical observations several writers have attempted, by the help of the tables of eclipses, to fix the true æra of the foundation of Rome; but the fruit of their labours has been nothing but endless disputes, in which every one is at liberty to choose what side he pleases.

(2) Augustin. de Civitat. Dei, lib. iii. ii. p. 115.

(3) Dion. Halic.

festival of Paleſ, and that of the foundation of the city, were afterwards jointly celebrated at Rome (I).

*At firſt but
a poor
village.*

When Rome had received the utmoſt perfection which its poor and rude ſounder could beſtow, it conſiſted of about a thouſand houſes, or rather huts; and was, properly ſpeaking, a beggarly village, whereof the principal inhabitants followed the plough, being obliged to cultivate, with their own hands, the ungrateful ſoil of a barren country. Even the walls of Romulus's palace were made of ruſhes, and covered with thatch. As every one had choſen his ground to build upon, without any regard to the regularity and beauty of the whole, the ſtreets, if we may ſo call them, were both crooked and narrow. In ſhort, Rome, till it was rebuilt after the burning of it by the Gauls, was rather a diſorderly heap of huts than a city built with any regularity or order^c. From this mean and contemptible beginning, Rome became the metropolis and miſtreſs of the known world, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

S E C T. IV.

The Hiſtory of the Umbrians and Sabines; together with an Account of the other moſt ancient Italian Nations.

The antiquity of the Umbrians.

THAT the Umbrians were one of thoſe early colonies which firſt came to Italy out of Aſia, will admit of no diſpute: but whether they were the deſcendents of Javan, or a branch of the Cerethites, or, laſtly, a compoſition of thoſe two, it is not eaſy to determine^d.

Whence they derived their name.

How this moſt ancient people came to be called Umbri, or Umbrians, authors are not agreed. Some think, that

^c Val. Max. lib. iv. Dion. Hal. & Plut. ibid. ^d Auguſt. Calp. Comment. Iter ſur tous les Livres de l'Anc. & du Nouv. Teſtament. tom. ii. p. 321—323. à Paris, 1724. Boch. Phal. lib. i. cap. 5. p. 157—161. Chan. lib. i. cap. 15. p. 420—426.

(I) The Palilia, or feaſt of Paleſ, is ſometimes called Parilia, from the Latin word *parere*, to bring forth, becauſe prayers were then made for the fruitfulneſs of the ſheep. The ſhepherds had always a great feaſt at night; and, when they were merry, they concluded the whole with dancing over the fires they had made in the fields with heaps of ſtraw.

(1) Ovid. Faſt. lib. iv. v. 721, & ſeq.

from their having escaped a deluge caused by rains, they received the denomination of Ombri, or Umbri^e, ομβρος, in Greek, signifying, a shower of rain; others, that they deduced their name from the river Umbro^f, the most considerable of those that watered the tract they first inhabited. Which of these is the true derivation, we shall not presume to pronounce.

If the Umbrians derived their name from the Umbro, as we think cannot well be denied, it must be allowed, that they first settled themselves in the neighbourhood of that river. This is also confirmed by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, who makes Cortona originally an Umbrian city. Livy likewise places the Umbrians in the tract contiguous to the Umbro. Some of the ancients seem to have thought, that the Pelasgi ought to be considered as the founders of Cortona: which supposition, if we admit, there seems to have been a near relation between the Umbrians and Pelasgi, if they were not the same people.

Though the first settlement of the Umbri was confined within narrow bounds, they soon spread themselves, and not a little extended their territories. They not only possessed themselves of all that country called, in the Roman times, Etruria^g, but likewise of a considerable tract between the Alps and the Apennines: nay, they possessed this tract in very early times: for we learn from Dionysius Halicarnassensis, that after their expulsion from Thesfaly or Æmonia, the Æmonian Pelasgi were received here, and the Aborigines assisted in their wars against the Umbrians and the Siculi. With respect to their possession of the Proper Etruria, or the tract betwixt the Tiber and the Arno, it appears from Pliny, that the Tyrrhenians expelled from thence a branch of the Pelasgi, as that people had before expelled the Umbrians. From the same author we may infer, that the Umbrians, before their expulsion, were possessed there of at least three hundred towns.

They are driven out of part of their territories by the Pelasgi.

But whatever might be the extent of the ancient Umbrian dominions, the Umbrians were stripped of a good part of them by the Tyrsenians, and the Gauls: so that, in after-ages, Umbria was bounded on the west by a line

Limits of Umbria.

^e Plin. lib. iii. cap. 14. Solin. cap. 3. Serv. ad. Virg. Æneid. lib. xii. Bocch. & M. Antonin. apud. Solin. & Serv. ubi supra. Isidor. Origin. lib. ix. cap. 11. Paul. Diacon. lib. ii. cap. 16. ^f Steph. Byzant. in voc. ομβρινα. Vide etiam Philip. Cluverius, Ital. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 4. p. 593. ^g Plin. lib. iii. cap. 5. Dion. Halic. lib. i.

drawn from the Ufens, now the Montone, to the heads of the Tiber ^h, and from thence to the confluence of the Tiber and the Nar; on the east by the middle of the *Æfis*, now called the Fiumefino; on the north by the Adriatic; and on the south by the Nar. The Umbrians ⁱ bordered on the Ligures, the Arno dividing these two nations.

*Principal
cities of
Umbria.*

The principal cities of Umbria were Ariminum, Pisaurum, Fanum Fortunæ, Sena Gallica, *Æsium*, Matilica, Camerinum, Pitulum, Sentinum, Attidium, Suasa, Urbium, Tifernum, Pitinum, Sestinum, Sarsina, Iguvium, Tuficum, Arna, Vesonica, Asisium, Vettona, Hispellum, Fulginium, Mevania, Nuceria, Trebia, Spoletium, Tuder, Ameria, Interamna, Narnia, Carsulæ, Tardinum, Otriculum, Casuentum, and Vindinum. 1. Ariminum, now Rimini, was an ancient city of Umbria ^k, upon the Adriatic, near the river Ariminus, from which, according to Festus ^l, it derived its name. The river Aprusa was also in its neighbourhood. A Roman colony in after-ages flourished here, as we learn from Pliny. 2. Pisaurum, now Pesaro, a little to the south-east of Ariminum, upon the Adriatic, deduced its name from the Pisaurus, now the Foglia, which ran at a small distance from the town, in a western direction. 3. Fanum Fortunæ, now Fano, was an ancient city of Umbria, about seven miles south-east of Pisaurum. Both Pisaurum and Fanum Fortunæ, sometimes called by the ancients simply ^m Fanum, received Roman colonies. 4. Sena Gallica, or Senogallia, now Sinigaglia, was built by the Sonones, after they had made an irruption into Umbria. It stood upon the Adriatic, as well as Fanum Fortunæ, near twenty miles south-east of that town. It was likewise occupied by a Roman colony. The river Sena in its neighbourhood, as well as the city, undoubtedly derived its name from the Senones, who settled themselves here ⁿ. 5. *Æsium*, now Jesi, was situated upon the western bank of the *Æfis*, now the Fiumicino, and received in after-ages a Roman colony. We find it called *Æfis* by Ptolemy, and *Æsium* ^o by Strabo. The *Æfis* was the common boundary of Umbria and Picenum ^p. 6. Matilica, an ancient city of Umbria, mentioned by Frontinus ^q and Pliny, stood at the foot of the

^h Philip. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 4. p. 601.

ⁱ Syclax in Peripl. Lycophr. Plin. lib. iii. cap. 5. Phil. Cluver. ubi supra. p. 598. 599.

^k Plin. lib. iii. cap. 15.

^l Pomp. Fest. in voc.

Arimin. ^m Sidon. Apollinar. lib. i. epist. 5.

ⁿ Sil. Ital. lib. xv.

Paul. Diacon. lib. ii. cap. 23.

^o Strab. lib. 5.

^p Strab. Mel. Sil.

Plut. Appian. Ptol. &c. ^q Frontin. de Colon. Plin. lib. iii. cap. 14.

-Apennines. 7. Camerinum, now Camerino, an Umbrian town, on the confines of Picenum, has been taken notice of by many of the ancients, particularly Cicero, Ptolemy, and Strabo. 8. Pitulum, now Piolo, seems to have been formerly a place of considerable note. We find its citizens denominated Pitulani, by Pliny. 9. Sentinum, now Sentina, stood in a plain, surrounded by a branch of the Apennines. It was a place of great antiquity, mentioned by Polybius, Livy, Pliny, and Dio. The citizens are called by Livy Sentinates. We find one or two Etruscan inscriptions with that name upon them. 10. Attidium, now Attiggio, was situated between Sentinum, Camerinum, and Matilica. Pliny gives the townsmen the name of Attidiates. Several ancient inscriptions have been found in the neighbourhood of Attiggio. 11. Suasa was a town of great antiquity, whose inhabitants Pliny calls Suasani. The ruins of this town are still visible near Castel Leone, at a small distance from the eastern bank of the Cesano. 12. Urbinum, now Urbino, was a very ancient city, and a Roman municipium. This town had the appellation of Urbinum Hortense, to distinguish it from another town that went under the denomination of Urbinum Metaurense, from its situation upon the banks of the Metaurus. These two places were not above eight miles distant from one another. 13. Tifernum, or Tifernum Tiberinum, now Citta di Castello, was seated on the eastern bank of the Tiber, near the borders of Etruria. Cluverius thinks the other Tifernum, or Tifernum Metaurense, to have occupied the spot taken up at present by S. Angelo, in Vado, where many ancient inscriptions have been found. 14. Pitinum stood upon the banks of the Pisaurus. Its citizens were denominated Pitinates, and Pitinates Pisauenses. We find the word Petinatial upon a very remarkable Etruscan inscription. 15. Sestinum, now Sestino, or the monastery of Sestino, was situated near the source of the Pisaurus. 16. Sarfina, known at present by the same name, stood upon the confines of Gallia Togata. We find it taken notice of by Silius, Strabo, and several ancient inscriptions. 17. Iguvium, now Eugubio, was a city of note, and situated at the foot of the Apennines. The high antiquity of this place,

* Philip. Cluver. ubi supra, p. 614.

† Tacit. Hist. lib. iii.

Procop. lib. ii.

‡ Anton. Francisc. Gor. Mus. Etrusc. p. 415.

Florentinæ, 1737.

¶ Plin. ubi supra. Inscript. Antiq. apud

Cluver. ubi supra, p. 622.

* Sil. Ital. lib. viii. Strab. lib. v.

Inscript. Antiq. apud Cluver. ubi supra.

whose

whose citizens were called Iguvini, appears from some Etruscan coins^y that exhibit the word IKUVINI. This has been rendered famous by the tables found here (K) in 1444, which are adorned with Etruscan inscriptions, that have not hitherto met with an explication from the learned. 18. Tuscium stood at a small distance^z from Pitinum, Iguvium, Tifernum, and Perugia, in Etruria; and, as Cluverius imagines^a, upon the ground at present occupied by La Fratta. 19. Arna^b was erected between Tuscium and Iguvium, near the banks of the Tiber, and almost opposite to Perugia. It at present goes under the appellation of La Civitella d'Arno. This seems to be the same city^c that Livy calls Aharna. 20. Vesiconia, now Civitella di Benezzone, was not far from Arna. The Vesiconiates, its citizens, have been remembered by Pliny. 21. Asifium, now Assisi, stood to the east of Arna. That it was a Roman municipium, we learn from some^d inscriptions. The Asifinates are mentioned by Pliny, and Asifium by Ptolemy. 22. Vettona, now Bettona, was seated about three miles from the confluence of the Topino and the Tiber. 23. Hispellum, at present Hispello, or Spello, was erected between Asifium and Spolatum, and in after-ages a Roman colony. It has been mentioned by Pliny, Silius^e, and Strabo. 24. Fulginium, now Fuligno, stood a little to the south of Hispellum^f, upon the banks of the Tinia, now the Topino. 25. Mevania, now the Bevagna, was situated near the confluence of the Tinia, and the Clitumnus. It has been taken notice of by a^g great number of the ancients. 26. Nuceria, or Nuceria Camellaria, now Nocera, stood in the Flaminian Way, not far from the source of the Tinia. It has been mentioned by Ptolemy and Strabo. That it was a place of great antiquity, may be inferred from some coins belonging to it^h,

^y Tab. apud Dempst. de Etrur. Regal. lix. v. 4. Anton. Francisc. Gor. Mus. Etrusc. p. 422. ^z Plin. ubi supra. ^a Cluver. ubi supra. p. 626. ^b Sil. Ital. lib. viii. ^c Liv. lib. x.

^d Inscript. Antiq. apud Cluver. ubi supra. p. 627. Plin. ubi supra. ^e Sil. Ital. lib. iii. Strab. lib. v. ^f Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. iv.

^g Liv. Propert. Strab. Columel. Plin. Sil. Ital. Lucan Stat. Phleg. Trahan. Ptolem. &c. ^h Anton. Francisc. Gor. Mus. Etrusc. p. 422.

(K) These tables consist of Five of them exhibit inscriptions in the Etruscan character; but those on the other two are made up of the modern Roman letters.

with

with Etruscan legends upon them. 27. Trebia, now Trevi, stood between Fulginium, and Spoletium, five miles from the former, and nine from the latter of those places. 28. Spoletium¹, now Spoleto, a city seated in a plain almost surrounded by a branch of the Apennines, must be considered as a place of very high antiquity. It has been taken notice of by many ancient writers, and was, according to Cicero, a Latin colony. 29. Tuder, now Todi, was situated a little to the west of Spoletium, and near the banks of the Tiber. It has been^k mentioned by Plutarch, Silius, Pliny, and Strabo. Father Gori thinks he has discovered some coins of this city, with Etruscan legends upon them; which, if admitted, will be a convincing evidence of its remote antiquity. 30. Ameria, now Amelia, stood upon an eminence not far from the western bank of the Nar, at present called the Nera. According to^l Cato, Ameria was built three hundred and eighty-three years before Rome. 31. Interamna, now Terni, was seated a little to the east of Ameria. The Nar formerly environed it; from which circumstance it deduced its name. This we learn from Varro^m and Festus. It appears from an ancientⁿ inscription, that Interamna was built eighty years after the foundation of Rome. Tuder was a Roman colony, Ameria a municipium and colony, and Interamna a municipium. 32. Narnia, at present Narni, was situated upon a high and craggy mountain, whose foot was washed by the Nar. Hence came the name of the town. Its first name seems to have been Nequinum. We find it mentioned by a great number of ancient writers. 33. Carsulæ, or Carsuli, stood between Narnia and Mevania, in the Flaminian Way. It seems to have been a place of very considerable note, according to^p Strabo. From Tacitus we^p may collect, that it was about ten miles distant from Narnia. 34. Tardinium also stood in the Flaminian Way, at no great distance from Narnia. Cluverius thinks, that Todino answers to the ancient town of Tardinum. 35. Oriculum, now Otricoli, was built upon the eastern bank of the Tiber, near the confines of Latium. It made a considerable figure in the times of the Roman republic, and was a municipium. 36. Casuentum and Vindinum were two remarkable cities of Um-

¹ Appian. Sueton. Flor. &c. ^k Plut. pass. ^l Cat. apud Min. ubi supra. ^m Var. de Ling. Latin. lib. iv. Fest. in Voc. Interam. ⁿ Infeript. Antiq. apud Just. Fontanin. de Antiquitat. Hort. p. 134. Romæ, 1723. ^o Strab. lib. v. ^p Tacit. Hist. lib. iii. Vide etiam Phil. Cluver. ubi supra, p. 638.

bria, in Pliny's time; but their situation cannot now, with any degree of accuracy, be determined.

Mountains.

It has been already observed from Ptolemy, that Umbria was divided into two parts by the Apennines; one of these that geographer calls Olumbria, and the other Vilumbria; but whether this division prevailed in the earlier ages, we cannot take upon us to decide. Besides the Apennines, we scarce meet with any mountains in Umbria that have merited the attention of the Greek and Latin writers.

Rivers.

The principal rivers of Umbria were, the Nar, now the Nera; the Tiber, which served this country as a boundary on the side of Etruria; the Tina, now the Topino; the Æfis, now the Fiumifino; the Misus, now the Miso and Nigola; the Sena, now the Cesano; the Metaurus^a, now the Metro; the Pisaurus, now the Foglia; the Crustumius^r, now the Conca; the Aprusa^r, now the Aufa; and the Ariminus^r, now the Mercetia. To which we may add the Sapis, now the Savio; and the Utis, now the Montone^u, as has been already observed. The ten last rivers issued out of the Apennines, and discharged themselves into the Adriatic. As for the Umbro, which we have mentioned in our description of Etruria, that was the chief, if not the only river of the ancient Umbria, and gave name to the whole district. But the Umbrians were afterwards forced to cede the banks of this river, with the adjacent territory, to the Etruscans, though it has retained its primitive appellation even to this day.

*Government,
laws,
manners,
&c. of the
Umbrians.*

That the Umbrians agreed with the Etruscans in their form of government, laws, manners, arts, literature, and religion, appears extremely probable from several considerations: the Etruscans, in a manner, conquered, and were, from the remotest antiquity, intermixed with the Umbrians. If the Etruscans communicated almost every thing relating to government, arts, literature, religion, &c. at first to the other nations of Italy, as it is plain they did, then the Umbrians must have derived from them their literature and politeness, their civil and religious institutions. The most celebrated fragments of antiquity, dug up in Umbria, that discover, in a great measure, the turn and genius of the old inhabitants of that country,

^a Aggenus de Controvers. Agror. Vib. Sequest. de Flumin. Lucan. lib. ii. ^r Plin. ubi supra. cap. 15. ^u Steph. Byzant. Fest. Cic. Hor. &c. ^r Strab. Sil. Ital. Lucan. &c. ^u Plin. lib. iii. cap. 5. Francisq. Marian. de Etrur. Metrop. cap. 6. ^w Dion. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. i.

agree in almost all particulars with those found in Etruria. Lastly, the Umbrians and Etruscans seem, for the most part, from what has been advanced, to have had the same origin: at least it must be allowed, that the greatest part of both those nations came from countries not very distant from each other, and that, as may be supposed, in an age when a similitude of manners and religion prevailed amongst the bulk of mankind.

What has been said of the laws, manners, arts, literature, and religion of these two nations, will hold equally true of their language and alphabetic characters; but it will be likewise requisite farther to observe, that this is set in the clearest light by the most ancient inscriptions discovered in Umbria and Etruria; for these agree in the forms of the letters in the words of which they are composed, and in almost all other particulars*; nor can it reasonably be imagined, that there was any material difference between either the letters or languages used in Umbria and Etruria; for the Etruscan alphabet favours of the remotest antiquity, and most of the ancient Tuscan words are of Oriental extraction. Now the Umbrians, as there is good reason to believe, came into Italy out of the East, not many centuries after the deluge. The first alphabet and language therefore of that people, must be considered as nearly approaching such a tongue and character as those of the earliest Tuscans appear to have been.

Language of the Umbrians.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis, in the first book of his Roman Antiquities, seems to represent the Umbrians and Aborigines as two different nations; but he speaks so briefly, and at the same time so confusedly, of them, that he is scarce intelligible. In one place he intimates the Siculi to have been the first people of Italy, and in another the Aborigines: but elsewhere he insinuates the Aborigines to be descended from the Ænotrians, who found the Umbrians settled in Italy upon their arrival there. In fine, Dionysius, as well as the generality of the ancients, must be allowed to give a very imperfect and indistinct account of the first migration of the Orientals into the country we are now upon; so that we are of opinion, that the Umbri, being an ancient people, of whose origin we have no records, ought to be looked upon as the *Ἀυτοχθόνες* of the Greeks, and the Aborigines of the Latins.

The Umbrians the same with the Aborigines.

The Etruscans were, for many ages, probably, masters of Umbria, since the whole continent of Italy seems to

The Etruscans formerly masters of Umbria.

* Tab. apud Dempst. de Etrur. Regal. Tab. apud Anton. Francisc. Gor. Mus. Etrusc. cxlviii. cxlix. cxcvi. cxcvii.

have

have been anciently under their dominion; and, in confirmation of this notion, we find a body of Umbrian troops assisted the Etruscans in their expedition against the people of Cumæ, about the sixty-fourth Olympiad. It is worthy observation, that, in the passage here referred to, Dionysius Halicarnassensis expressly distinguishes the Celtes from the Umbrians; a distinction which amounts to a sufficient proof, that the Umbrians were not of Celtic extraction^r.

*Umbrians
not descended
from the
Celtes.*

But, as this is a point of some importance in the historical world, we must beg (L) leave to be a little more particular

^r Flor. lib. ii. cap. 17. Plin. lib. iii. cap. 14. Dion. Halicarn. lib. i. cap. 8. Serv. in Virg. *Æneid.* &c.

(L) Supposing Moses to have wrote the Pentateuch about the time of the Exodus, or in the year of the world 2513, as it is but reasonable to suppose the book of Genesis was composed about 847 years after the deluge. But then "the isles of the Gentiles," i. e. according to the general acceptation of the phrase, Europe, or a very considerable part of it, were "divided in their lands by the sons of Javan," namely, Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim. We say, "by the sons of Javan," not only because all their families were then settled in Europe, but likewise because the verses, containing the names of these sons, and the above mentioned observation, are immediately connected: nay, that observation cannot, with any propriety, be applied to the sons of Gomer in the preceding verse, because some of them, at least, were settled only in Asia when Moses committed to writing the short account he has given us of the

first peopling of the world. Some of Gomer's posterity did, indeed, after this period, migrate into several parts of Europe: but this does not in the least tend to overturn what is here advanced (1).

When Moses affirms (2), that "the isles of the Gentiles were divided by the sons of Javan," we are plainly to understand him as asserting, that these isles, or Europe, or at least a considerable part of that vast tract, was peopled by Javan's family, before he wrote the Pentateuch; nor is it of any consequence to the point in view, whether many parts of it were thinly inhabited or not. It is sufficient for our purpose, that Moses clearly intimates those parts of Europe which seem to have been first cultivated, that is, Greece and Italy, to have been occupied by the sons of Javan, a considerable time before the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt: for this seems necessarily to imply, that the

(1) Gen. x. 3, 4, 5. Sam. Bochart. *Phaet.* lib. i. cap. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. p. 153—171. Lugd. Bat. 1692.

(2) Gen. x. 3, 4, 5.

ticular in the discussion of it. According to Zenodotus Troezenius, the Umbrian historian, his nation first settled them-

earliest colonies of Javan's family must have reached Greece and Italy four or five hundred years before the Exodus; for an interval of four or five hundred years must necessarily elapse between the first arrival of a colony, in so long a tract, and the peopling of it. What has been said of Javan's progeny, does not exclude the migration of some of Ham's descendents, nor even of the patriarch Shem's, into Greece and Italy. It only supposes, that the first colonies detached to Greece and Italy were of Javan's line; or, at farthest, that most of the inhabitants of these countries in Moses' days, ought to have considered the patriarch Javan as their great progenitor.

Now, as the first colonies that arrived in Greece and Italy must at least have passed either the Thracian Bosphorus or the Hellespont, mankind must have been acquainted with some sort of navigating vessels, about four or five hundred years after the flood. This entirely overthrows the hypothesis of those persons (3), who think the posterity of Gomer and Magog first peopled Europe, because they had no kind of shipping, and because it was more natural for the first migrators to travel by land, than to cross even an arm of the sea; for, from what has been advanced, it appears, that Javan's sons

must have actually passed, and consequently have been able to pass, either the Thracian Bosphorus, or the Hellespont, at least, in some sorts of vessels, four or five hundred years before the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt. Nor will it mend the matter to say, that in those early ages the continents of Europe and Asia were connected; and therefore we are under no necessity to suppose, that the descendents of Javan had any sorts of vessels, since they might pass by land into Europe out of Asia: for then the above mentioned objection vanishes of course, since, in such a case, we may as well, nay, much better, suppose Javan's family to have come by land into Greece and Italy, as the Gomerians. But that the Orientals were not unacquainted with coasting vessels, at least within four or five hundred years of the deluge (4), has been evinced by father Calmet, and may be inferred from what we have laid down in the history of the Etruscans.

That the descendants of all the sons of Javan, in conformity to what Moses suggests, were settled in Europe, and some, if not at all, of the branches of Gomer's family, in Asia, has been rendered extremely probable by Bochart. Other authors might be produced on this occasion, were it

(3) Cyriac. Lentin. Germ. par. i. cap. 2. p. 59. G. G. Leibnitius in Col. Etym. par. ii. & in Epist. ad Job. Ludeff. d. 3. April. 1699. ibid.

(4) Aug. Calm. ubi supra.

themselves in the district of Reate, and were from thence expelled by the Æmonian Pelasgi. This last event is confirmed

in any manner necessary. But Bochart, in conjunction with Moses, we think abundantly sufficient to set this point beyond dispute (5).

As therefore the Umbrians seem to be one of the very first colonies which fixed themselves in Italy, and that in the neighbourhood of the river Umbro, we rather choose to deduce them from the family of Javan, and the ancient Cerethites, than the Celtes, or ancient Gauls. The principal objections to this hypothesis (for indeed such we own it to be) have been already obviated in this note; and therefore, we are persuaded, they will not greatly affect it: for with regard to what Bocchus (6) has advanced concerning the origin of the Umbrians, and after him Solinus, Servius, and others of a still later date, it scarce deserves any consideration: for Bocchus's authority could have been of no great weight, as he was an African, and consequently little acquainted with the origin of the first Italian nations. Nay, the testimony of such an author seems so absurd, that there is great reason to suppose Solinus, in the passage here referred to, to have been corrupted by the ignorance of transcribers: and upon his authority depends that of the subsequent writers. Dionysius Halicarnassensis, in-

deed, amongst other opinions concerning the origin of the Aborigines, mentions one which makes them a colony of the Ligurians, whom some took to have been originally Gauls. But as he seems to pay little regard to that notion, nay, to treat it as a fable, his authority in this point ought not to be insisted upon (7). Besides, we shall hereafter shew, that Dionysius, when he speaks of the Aborigines and Umbrians, contradicts himself in a most flagrant manner.

But, supposing Bocchus's authority to be of greater weight than we really take it to be, why may he not be understood of those Gauls who invaded Italy in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus? For it may be presumed, that some of these intermixed with the Umbrians; and therefore the later Umbrians might have been considered as the progeny of the Gauls. This notion is countenanced by the fathers Catrou and Rouillé (8). Be that as it will, we think the Umbrians could not have been the descendants of any earlier Gauls; since it appears pretty plain from Livy (9), an author, in point of authority, superior to Bocchus, that no Gallic colonies, before the above mentioned period, ever passed the Alps.

Nay, admitting Dionysius

(5) Gen. x. 3, 4, 5. Bochart. ubi supra. (6) Solin. Bocch. & Hidor. apud Pezr. ant. Celt. Nat. cap. 10. Serv. ad Virg. *Æn.* lib. xii. (7) Dionys. Halicarnassens. lib. i. (8) Catrou & Rouillé Rom. Hist. lib. xix. (9) Liv. lib. v. cap. 34.

Halicar-

firmed by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, who likewise discovers to us the age in which it happened. Now, it does not

Halicarnassensis' testimony in the present case to be of considerable force, which it really is not, he may also be understood of the Gauls, who penetrated into Italy about six hundred years before the birth of Christ: for we learn from Livy (9), that all transactions which preceded the burning of Rome by the Gauls, were, in his time, considered as events of remote antiquity; and therefore some of these might have been confounded with others of a much earlier date.

That Italy did not remain uncultivated, and without inhabitants, five hundred years after the flood, is a point as well attested as any thing can be at such a great distance of time. But is it possible, in the nature of things, that planters here, of such a very remote antiquity, should have been Gomerians? The gentlemen themselves, who would have Italy first peopled by the descendants of Gomer, overthrow such a supposition; for, according to them, these same Gomerians not only traversed, but peopled, a very considerable part of the globe, before they reached Italy. They penetrated gradually through many of the vast northern regions of Asia, as well as insensibly spread themselves westwards, towards Poland, Hungary, Germany, France, and so quite

up to Spain; and even planted numerous colonies in all these countries, before any of them arrived in Italy. Nay, they performed all those migrations by land, and consequently must have made a very slow and dilatory progress in their migrations. And yet, however strange it may appear, M. Leibnitz (1), and others, produce this last circumstance as an argument to prove, that the Celtes were the first inhabitants of Italy; whereas, in conjunction with what has been offered, it most effectually overturns such a notion. For can it be imagined, that the Celtes, or Gomerians, who spread themselves over such vast regions in so slow a manner, could gain the frontiers of Italy in less than eight or nine hundred years after the dispersion? We can by no means believe this possible; nay we are firmly persuaded, that even double the number of years, or nearly so, must, in the nature of things, have elapsed, before the Gomerians or Celtes made any considerable conquests in Italy. From whence it is almost to demonstration clear, that Livy (2) approaches extremely near the truth, when he intimates, that the Gauls, or Celtes, first passed the Alps about six hundred years before the birth of Christ. In short, our reasoning here, and the authority of the Latin historian,

(9) Idem, lib. vi. sub. init.

(1) G. G. Leibnitius, ubi supra.

Pezr. Ant. Celt. Cyriac. Lentul. ubi sup.

(2) Liv. lib. v. cap. 34.

not appear from history, that the Gauls, or Celtes, as they are called by the Greek writers, ever visited Italy before the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, about six hundred years before the birth of Christ. Nay, some of the ancients, who would have the Umbrians to be the progeny of the Celtes², suppose the former nation to have been the descendants of those Gauls only who first made an irruption into Italy in the time of Tarquinius Priscus. As therefore the first settlement of the Umbrians in Italy must have preceded that period, even upon Sir Isaac Newton's system, at least seven hundred years, it can by no means be deemed probable, that the ancient Umbrians were of a Celtic original.

But here we would not be misunderstood. When we declare our dissent from those, who assert the ancient Umbrians to have been the posterity of the Celtes, we do not intend to exclude the family of Japhet, in the earliest ages, from Italy. On the contrary, we are firmly persuaded, that some of the family fixed themselves there: but, notwithstanding this, we cannot adopt the opinion of those authors, who suppose the ancient Umbrians to have proceeded originally from the Celtes; for such a supposition runs counter, as we apprehend, to the whole stream of antiquity. However, we cannot think the later Umbrians free from a tincture of Gallic blood, since they were either the descendants of the Gauls, or intermixed with several cantons of them. This must necessarily have happened after the Celtic Gauls had dispossessed the ancient Umbrians and Etruscans of a considerable extent of

² See Catr. and Kouil. Rom. Hist. book xix. towards the beginning.

mutually strengthen and support each other.

Upon the whole, we think it clearly appears, that much may be said in favour of our opinion; whereas the novel system of M. Leibnitz, M. Pezron, and other modern writers opposite to it, seems at least very tottering and precarious. The former is founded upon the reason and nature of things, and consonant to the highest authority; whereas

the latter depends only upon some forced etymologies, and a few scraps extracted from the ancients, which, upon examination, will be found by no means adequate to the end they are intended to serve. We do not, however, pretend to insist upon the truth of what has been here advanced, but only beg leave to submit it, with all possible deference, to the judgement and consideration of the learned.

territory,

territory ^a, and kept up an intercourse with them for a long series of years.

From the arrival of the Æmonian Pelasgi in Italy, to the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, we find little mention made of the Umbrians by the ancient historians; from whence we may conclude, that they made a very inconsiderable figure during that period: but, when the Gauls made their first irruption into Italy, they seem to have attacked the Umbrians, and deprived them of part of their territory ^b; though of the particulars of this invasion we are not informed. From this time, to the year of Rome 356, there is a profound silence in history as to the Umbrian affairs. Then the Gauls fell upon Umbria, which was probably under the sovereignty of the Etruscans; for the Senones at that time undertook an expedition against the Etruscans, and soon after penetrated to Clusium. That nation possessed themselves of all the country from Ravenna to Picenum. They were about six years in settling themselves there, whilst the Roman arms were employed in carrying on the siege of Veii. The territories acquired by the Gauls continued in their hands, till they were stripped of them by the Romans.

The Gauls invade Umbria.

We hear nothing farther of the Umbrians, that merits the least attention, till the year of Rome 443, when the consul Fabius Rullianus, by the assistance of an Umbrian canton, passed through a considerable part of the Ciminian forest, and posted himself upon the hill Ciminus. The consul's brother, with a slave, after surmounting many difficulties, arrived at Camers (M), a city of great note in Umbria. The Roman was well received here, and attempted a negotiation with success. The senate of the city was assembled, and engaged to furnish the Roman army, upon its arrival on their frontiers, with provisions for thirty days, and to join the Roman auxiliaries with a considerable body of troops ^c. Hence we may infer, that, at this time, some of the Umbrian tribes, at least in their form of government, resembled the Roman republic, and, as may be presumed, some of the neighbouring lucumonies of Etruria.

The Camerses enter into an alliance with the Romans.

^a Dion. Halicar. Plin. Catr. & Rouil. ubi supra. ^b Liv. lib. v. cap. 34. Plut. in Camill. Vide etiam Catrou & Rouil. lib. xiii. ^c Liv. lib. ix. cap. 36, 37. Flor. lib. i.

(M) Camers, or Cameria, places it beyond this river, was in the neighbourhood of towards the spot on which Pa- Cænina, near the Anio; but lombara now stands. he learned Lucas Holstenius

From the authors here referred to, we may also conclude, that so late as the year of Rome 443, the city of Clusium retained its ancient name of Camers, and its citizens those of Camertes, amongst the Umbrians; for that nation, having been driven beyond the Tiber and the Apennines by the Tyrsenian Pelasgi, transferred Camers, the first name of Clusium, to a new city, which they founded, above two days journey from Sutrium. As this name therefore was still by them applied to that new city, they undoubtedly gave Clusium, in memory of which it seems to have been built, the primitive appellation.

That the Umbrians were now, in some respect at least, dependent upon the Etruscans, seems likewise evident from the conduct of the Umbrian nation at this critical juncture; for, though the Camertes obliged themselves to join the Romans, the bulk of the Umbrians united themselves with the Etruscans.

The Romans defeat the Umbrians.

The following year, A. U. C. 444. the Umbrians took the field in favour of the Etruscans; but, upon the first attack, they gave ground, and were soon after put to the rout. In fine, they found themselves obliged to disperse, not being able to stand before a Roman army ^d.

The Romans overthrow, and conclude a peace with the Umbrians.

The next campaign, A. U. C. 445. the Romans entered Umbria, in order to open themselves a way into Etruria. The Umbrians formed a design of advancing to Rome, whilst the two consuls were employed against the Samnites and Etruscans. Upon receiving intelligence of this design, the consuls took all proper precautions to render it abortive. Decius marched with his army by the road between Umbria and Rome, to cover Latium. Encamping on a plain called the Pupinian Field, in the neighbourhood of Gabii, about eight miles from Rome, he quietly awaited the arrival of the enemy. But Fabius, as soon as he received orders from the senate, immediately left Samnium, crossed Sabinia, and entered Umbria. Here he encamped on the banks of the Clitumnus, near the city of Mevania. As the Umbrians believed the consul to be in Samnium, they were greatly terrified at his approach; so that some of them retired with precipitation into their fortified places, and others proposed entering into a negotiation with the Romans. But, in the mean time, a body of troops, which formed a square battalion, inspired the Umbrian army with new courage, and animated it, by their example, to advance towards the ene-

^d Liv. ubi supra, cap. 39.

my. Fabius was at that time busy in fortifying his camp; but, observing the motion of the Umbrians, he ordered his troops to desist from their works, and prepare for an engagement. According to Livy, the Umbrians made a most contemptible figure in this action. The Roman soldiers scarce made any use of their swords; but overthrew the enemy's battalions with their shoulders and bucklers only. They seized the standards, and carried the standard-bearers before the consul. In such a tumultuary engagement, it cannot be supposed, that many fell in the field; but a great part of the Umbrian forces surrendered at discretion: and this event put an effectual end to the war, all the Umbrians, except the citizens of Ocriculum, immediately submitting to the republic. Nor did this town, which was, as it were, the key of Umbria, long resist; for, finding itself incapable of carrying on the war alone, it desisted from all hostilities; upon Fabius's promise, that it should be received into the republic's favour and protection.

Nequinum, a city in Umbria, afterwards called Narinia, from the river Nar, which runs by it, asserted its independency in the year of Rome 463. As, with regard to its situation, it was one of the strongest fortresses in Italy, being built upon the edge of a rock, cut into precipices, the Romans imagined the reduction of it would prove a work of time; but, though the situation would scarce permit it to be taken by storm, or even suffer an army to invest it, the consul Apuleius ventured to besiege it in form. Fulvius, his successor, for some time, carried on the siege with great vigour; but could not make his approaches with any success. However, the treachery of two Nequinians facilitated the reduction of the place: these traitors dug a passage under-ground, deep enough to go under the wall, and long enough to extend to the advanced guard of the Roman camp. Passing then through the way they had made, they were seized by the Roman guard, and carried before the consul. One of the Nequinians he detained as an hostage, and sent the other back to the city, with two Roman soldiers to attend him. These, after a careful observation of every thing, made such a report to Fulvius, as increased the confidence he had before placed in the deserters. He then sent three hundred men, under the direction of those deserters, to pass through the subterraneous way, and enlarge it. These,

*Nequinum
taken by the
Romans.*

* Liv. ubi supra, cap. 41.

having entered the city by night, seized one of the gates, whilst the Roman army advanced to support them, and was ready to enter the town upon the first signal. As soon as the gate was opened, the consul, and his troops, made themselves masters of the place^f, without any effusion of blood. After this conquest, the Romans planted a colony here, to keep the rest of Umbria in awe. Some authors relate, that the siege of Nequinum was preceded by a battle, in which the Nequinians, though reinforced by a body of Samnites, were defeated by Fulvius; and Frontinus informs^g, that this victory was, in a great measure, owing to the following stratagem: Fulvius persuaded his soldiers, that a phalanx belonging to the enemy had promised to come over to him in the heat of the action; and even shewed them the sum of money he was to pay for its desertion. This he had borrowed from some of the richest men among his troops, promising to return it, with a great reward, after the engagement; which politic conduct so animated the Romans, that they bore down all before them, and obtained a complete victory.

This blow seems neither to have shaken the power of the Umbrians, nor to have greatly altered their disposition; for, in the year of Rome 457, they entered into an alliance with the Etruscans (if they were not in a state of dependency on that nation), Samnites, and Gauls, against the Romans. Fabius, therefore, the following spring, opened the campaign with an irruption into Etruria. He first, with a small body of troops, encamped near the town of Arna, and from thence continued his march to the grand Roman camp. The pro-prætors, Fulvius and Posthumus, entering Etruria, and ravaging it, obliged the Etruscans and Umbrians to separate from their allies, and advance to the relief of Etruria. This separation occasioned the defeat of the Gauls and Samnites at Sentinum, in Umbria,

What was the fate of the Etruscan and Umbrian army, after their separation from the Samnites and Gauls, we are not told by the Roman historians. This certainly was a most unaccountable omission; but the limits we have here prescribed ourselves will not permit us to expatiate upon it.

We are scarce supplied with a single article, or paragraph, after this period, by the ancients, relating to the

^f Idem. lib. x. cap. 10.
ad A. U. C. 454.

^g Frontin. Strat. lib. xi. Fast. Capit.

Umbrian affairs; from whence it may be inferred, that, soon after the battle of Sentinum, Umbria became a part of the Roman state. Nor is this opinion rendered at all improbable by a certain author^h, when he intimates, that an anonymous nation endeavoured to excite the Umbrians to a rupture with the republic, in the year of Rome 473; for such an attempt might have been made, upon supposition that the Umbrians were subject to the Romans; in which case, by the suggestions of some neighbouring power, they might have been excited to a revolt: but, at this juncture, they were afraid of drawing upon themselves the Roman arms; and therefore those attempts did not meet with any success: so that this passage rather tends to confirm our opinion, than to detract from the probability of it.

Umbria becomes a part of the Roman state.

In fine, about this period Rome was in a most flourishing condition: she had either subdued by her arms, or awed by her colonies, most of the neighbouring nations; she gave laws to the greatest part of Italy, and, in particular, had so far enlarged her conquests on the other side of the Tiber, that they extended from the Tyrrhenian sea to the Adriatic. With this observation we shall conclude our history of the Umbrians.

The Sabines, according to Zenodotus Trœzenius, were a branch of the Umbriansⁱ, or, as some will have it, of the Ofci, or Opici. We are inclined to adhere to the opinion of Zenodotus Trœzenius; though Cluverius^k gives the preference to the other opinion. In the time of Lycurgus, a colony of Lacedæmonians planted themselves in the territory of the Sabines, being driven from their own country by the severity of that legislator. Hence some of the ancients have considered the Sabines in general as a colony of the Lacedæmonians. But that this notion is void of a proper foundation, may be inferred from Livy and Dionysius Halicarnassensis. As, therefore, we take the Sabines to have been of an Umbrian original, their history naturally succeeds that of the Umbrians.

Origin of the Sabines.

The country of the Sabines was bounded on the north by Umbria and Picenum; on the south by Latium; on the west by part of Umbria and Etruria; and on the east by the territories of the Picentes, Vestini, and Marſi.

Country of the Sabines.

^h Dion. apud Fulv. Ursin, apud Dionys. Halicarnass. lib. ii. lib. iv. Vide etiam Phil. Cluver. ubi supra, lib. i. cap. 6. p. 43.

ⁱ Zenodotus Trœzenius,

^k Varro de Ling. Latin.

Its length was computed to be a thousand stadia, or ¹ an hundred and twenty-five miles, according to Strabo. The Picentes, Samnites, Lucanians, and Brutians, deduced their origin from the Sabines. The Picentes, in particular, seem to have been placed ^m at first in a district between the Nar and the Anio. As for the Samnites, they were, in the earliest times, called Saunites, or Sabinites, a derivation apparently from Sabini. That the Lucanians and Brutians were originally Sabine colonies, we learn from Strabo ⁿ. Servius ^o produces Varro's authority, in order to prove, that Œnotrus himself was king of the Sabines.

Sabus, the first leader of the Sabines.

Silius makes one Sabus the first leader of the Sabines, and believes that he communicated his name to that nation. Virgil and Dionysius Halicarnassensis denominate this prince Sabinus; and the latter of those writers asserts him to have been the son of Sancus, the genius of the region the Sabines inhabited. From Ovid we may collect Sancus to have been the Zeus Pitius, or Dius Fidius, of the ancients. He likewise went under the name of Sangus, and Semo Sangus, as we learn from Livy, Pliny, and Festus. According to Varro, Sancus, in the language of the Sabines, was equivalent to Hercules in Greek. Sancus was the principal deity of the Sabines, and, as we apprehend, one of their deified heroes. From what has been already advanced, we must conclude him to have been either of Umbrian or Etruscan extraction ^p.

Government, laws, language, &c. of the Sabines.

The government, laws, language, arts, manners, and religion of the Sabines, must have been generally almost the same with those of the Umbrians and Etruscans, from one or both of which nations they were undoubtedly descended. With regard to their religion, however, it ought to be observed, that some peculiarities prevailed amongst the Sabines, as well as every other ancient people of Italy. One of these peculiarities, if not the principal of them, was the high honour and adoration paid to Sancus, whom the Sabines considered as the chief deity of their country. Jupiter and Juno Curis were likewise most distinguished deities amongst them. The worship of those divinities, and Sancus, passed from them to the Romans: nor can this be wondered at, since the coali-

¹ Strabo, lib. v. ^m Plin. lib. iii. cap. 12. Mel. lib. ii. cap. 4.
ⁿ Strab. ubi supra. ^o Var. apud Serv. ad Æn. lib. i. Vide etiam Cluver. ubi supra, p. 649. ^p Portius Cato, apud Dion. Halic. lib. ii. Sil. Ital. lib. viii. Liv. lib. viii. Plin. lib. viii. cap. 42. Fest. & D. August. de Civit. Dei, lib. xviii. cap. 19. Var. de Ling. Lat. lib. iv.

tion of the Roman and Sabine nations, even in Romulus's time, must of course have introduced into Rome the Sabine religion ¹.

That the language and alphabetic characters of the petty nations in the neighbourhood of Latium were the same as the Etruscan, does not only appear from what has been already laid down, but likewise from several Etruscan coins. Those coins exhibit, on the face, the double head of Janus, and, on the reverse, a fish resembling a dolphin, a club, &c. with the legend FELATRI, or VELATRI. Father Gori ² takes them to have been, and with great truth in our opinion, coins or weights of the city of Velitræ, or, as it is now called, Veletri. All the Oriental languages (and such was the Etruscan) allowed of a frequent permutation of vowels; and therefore Veletri was probably, in the earliest ages, written Velatri. This opinion receives a considerable accession of strength from Mariani ³, and the Academici della Crusca, who prove many ancient Etruscan words to be still retained in the dialect of Tuscany. As Velitræ, or Velatri, never made any considerable figure after the year of Rome 260⁴, these coins must have preceded that period, and, as may reasonably be presumed, a great number of years: so that, if we should pronounce them prior to the age of Romulus, probability would be on our side; for that Velitræ was a city of great power and opulence many ages before the birth of Romulus, but never greatly flourished after the year of Rome 266, may be inferred from some of the most celebrated ancient historians.

Principal cities of the Sabines.

Amongst the principal cities of the Sabines may be ranked the following: 1. Fidenæ, a city that stood on the banks of the Tiber, about forty stadia from Rome. This place is greatly celebrated in the Roman story, and was a very large, populous, and powerful city, in the days of Romulus. Livy makes it to have been of Etruscan extraction. 2. Crustumium was situated on the eastern bank of the Tiber, a little to the north of Fidenæ. According to Cluverius, the ruins of Crustumium appeared in his time, in a woody tract, a little to the east of Marcigliano Vecchio. Livy calls the hills in its neighbour-

¹ Lactant. de Fals. Relig. lib. i. cap. 15. Tertull. Apol. Serv. ad Æn. lib. i. Macrobian. Saturn. lib. i. cap. 9. Anton. Francisc. Gor. Mus. Etruf. p. 247. Francisc. Marian. de Etrur. Metrop. p. 166. Vocabol. de gli Academic. della Crusca, pass. Liv. lib. ii. Dion. Hal. lib. vi. Vid. & Phil. Cluver. ubi sup. p. 1016, 1017.

hood Montes Cruſtumini. 3. Ficulea ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from the two former towns, in an eaſtern di-
 rection, between the Tiber and the Anio. 4. Cornicu-
 lum, from whence the neighbouring hills received the
 denomination of Corniculi Montes, was ſeated between
 the Tiber and the Anio, a little to the north of Ficulea.
 It was taken and burnt by Tarquinius Priſcus; but after-
 wards rebuilt, as we learn from Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis.
 5. Collatia was a city which ſtood upon the borders of
 Latium, and the country of the Sabines, between the
 Præneſtine Way and the left bank of the Anio, about ſix
 miles from Rome. Some, however, place it in a more
 interior part of the tract we are now conſidering. It was
 taken by Tarquinius Priſcus, who left in it a gariſſon, to
 keep the inhabitants in awe. 6. Nomentum^{*} ſeems to
 have been one of the moſt conſiderable cities in the terri-
 tory of the Sabines. It was ſituated near the Salarian
 Way, and the banks of the Allia, not far from the waters
 now called i Bagni della Grotta Marrozza, ten miles
 from Rome. It ſubmitted to Tarquin, and was treated
 with great lenity by him. 7. Eretum^{*} was a ſmall city
 upon the Tiber, about ten miles from Rome. Here Tar-
 quin gave a ſignal overthrow to the Sabines and Etruſ-
 cans, in the year of Rome 159. 8. Regillum ſeems to
 have been a little farther from Rome than Eretum and
 Nomentum, and at no great diſtance from the Tiber; but
 its ſituation cannot now be precisely determined. 9. Cu-
 res (N), or Curis, was anciently the capital of the Sa-
 bines, who from thence aſſumed the name of Quirites.
 After the treaty concluded between Romulus and Tatius,
 which produced a coalition of the two nations, the Sa-
 bines were called Romans, and the Romans Quirites, of
 Sabines. However, that name, as well as Tribus Qui-
 rina, was applied, with the greateſt propriety, to that
 canton of the Sabines inhabiting Cures, and the diſtrict
 appertaining to it. The principal deity worſhipped here
 ſeems to have been Juno Quiris, or Curis. That god

^{*} Virg. Liv. Dion. Hal. Plin. &c. Cluver. ubi ſupra, p. 466;
^{*} Strabo, Solin. &c.

(N) Cures was ſituated in
 the territory now called Cor-
 reze, or Cureze, upon a little
 river of the ſame name, which
 falls into the Tiber above La
 Farfa. The affinity of the

names Cures and Curezes, as
 well as the courſe of country,
 to omit what we have obſerved
 from Cluverius, puts this point
 beyond diſpute.

deffs was represented with a spear or lance in her hand; from which circumstance she received the appellation of *Quiris*, or *Curis*, that word, in the Sabine language, being equivalent to the Latin *hasta*. We find a Sabine deity, that went under the name of *Janus Quirinus*, mentioned by *Macrobius*; which we take to be the *Pater Curis*, held in high veneration amongst the *Falisci*. *Cures* was a poor pitiful village in the days of *Strabo*, and was afterwards so totally destroyed, that its situation cannot now be determined with certainty. However, *Cluverius* believed, that the ruins of it were to be seen in his time, about a mile from the town of *Selici*. If this be admitted, it stood near the banks of the river *Himella*, the *L'Aia* of the moderns. 10. *Casperia**, now *Aspra*, stood near the heads of the *Himella*, and has been taken notice of by *Virgil* and *Silius*. 11. *Fanum Vacunæ*, now *Vacuna* or *Vacune*, was a city beyond *Casperia*, in the road to *Oriculum* and *Narnia*. *Vacuna* was a goddess in great repute amongst the *Sabines*. Some make her the same with *Diana*; others with *Ceres*; others with *Venus*: but, according to *Varro*, she was the goddess of wisdom. 12. *Reate*† was about fifteen miles from *Fanum Vacunæ*, and built by the *Aborigines*, or *Umbrians*, the progenitors of the *Sabines*. 13. *Palatium*, or *Palantium*, was likewise a town of the *Aborigines*, about twenty-five stadia west of *Reate*. For a farther account of this place, our readers must have recourse to *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* and *Varro*. 14. *Trebula*‡, upon an eminence, was about sixty stadia from *Reate*; *Vesbola*, sixty stadia from *Trebula*; *Suna*, a large city, where was an ancient temple of *Mars*, about forty stadia from *Vesbola*, near the *Ceraunian* mountains; *Mesula*, whose ruins were to be seen when *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* compiled his valuable work, forty stadia from *Suna*; *Orvinium*, the ruins of whose ancient walls, and several sepulchres of vast antiquity, together with an old temple of *Minerva*, were visible in *Dionysius's* time, forty stadia from *Mesula*; *Corfula*, eighty stadia from *Reate*: all these were towns built by the *Aborigines*. 15. *Iffa*, an island and town, environed by a lake, likewise appertained to this country; as did *Maruvium*, a town situated upon that lake. 16. *Vatia* stood thirty stadia from *Reate*, in the road to *Latium*; *Tiora*, surnamed *Matiæna*, not far from *Vatia*, and from *Tiora* the city of *Lisfa*, the capital of the *Aborigines* in the earliest times, was distant twenty-four sta-

* *Sil. Ital. &c.* † *Strab. Felt. &c.* *Cluver. ubi supra*, p. 676.
 ‡ *Dion. Hal. Antiquit. Rom. lib. i.*

dia. 17. Cutilia, Cotyle, or Cutylizæ, was a famous town, about seventy stadia from Reate. It was situated on a mountain, and in the neighbourhood of a lake of the same name. 18. Amiternum^a, a famous city of the Sabines in the time of the Aborigines; Teftrina, the first town inhabited by the Sabines; Nursia, or Norcia, and Tarinum, as well as Cotyle, or Cutilia, were all likewise places of the remotest antiquity. Antemnæ, Cænina, Cameria, Medullia, and Ameriola, though placed by Cluverius among the Sabine towns, seem to have belonged to the Latins. We must not omit observing, that the country of the Sabines answered to that tract, which, at present, makes a part of the duchy of Spoleto, and the Farther Abruzzo.

Mountains. The chief mountains of the Sabine territory were, the Mons Tetrica or Tetricus, now Monte di S. Giovanni; the Mons Severus, now Monte Negro; Mons Fiscellus, a part of the Apennines, out of which first issues the Nar; the Montes Gurgures, in the neighbourhood of Reate; the Mons Canterius, taken notice of by Varro; the Mons Mutelæ, now Monte Genaro; the Mons Sacer, near the Anio, and not far from Rome; and, according to some, the Mons Coritus; though it must be owned, that others place this last mountain in Etruria^b.

Rivers. The principal rivers of this tract were the following: 1. The Nar, now the Nera, the common boundary of the Sabines and the Umbrians. 2. The Velinus, now the Velino, mentioned by Virgil and Tacitus. 3. The Telonius, now the Turano, which had its rise in the country of the Marfi, and joined the Velinus at Reate. 4. The Himella, now the L'Aia, which runs not far from the ruins of Cures, according to Cluverius; though others call this river the Cures or Cureze. 5. The Farfarus, now the Farfa, which was remarkable for the clearness of its stream. 6. The Allia, now the Rio di Mofso, a small river, on whose banks the Romans received a great overthrow from the Gauls. 7. The Turia, mentioned by Livy and Silius, but so obscurely, that it is hard to determine whether it belongs to the country of the Sabines or Etruria. 8. The Anio, now the Teverone, one of the most celebrated rivers of Italy. 9. The Veresis, a small river, taken notice of by Strabo. 10. The Digentia, now the Rio del Sole. 11. The Avens, which was supposed

^a Strab. liv. v. Var. de Ling. Latin. lib. v. Porcius Cato apud Dion. Hal. lib. ii. Vid. Cluver. ubi supra, p. 685. ^b Liv. Fest. Dion. Hal. Plin. Strab. Plut. &c.

to have given the name of Ager Aventinus to the neighbouring district, from whose inhabitants, that were afterwards transplanted thither, a hill in Rome received the appellation of Mons Aventinus. All these rivers, as well as others of considerable note, and particularly the Clitumnus, now the Clitunno, discharged themselves into the Tiber^c.

We meet with no remarkable lakes in this country. *Lakes.* taken notice of by the ancients, except the Lacus Cutilienfis, and the Lacus Velinus. The former, at this day, is known by the name of Il Pozzo Ratignano, and the latter by that of Lago di Pie di Luco.

As the Sabines were the descendants of the ancient Umbrians, what has been said of the earliest transactions of that nation, and the Tyrsenian Pelasgi, or Etruscans, is, in some measure at least, applicable to them. We shall therefore omit every thing related of this people before the age of Romulus, when they made a considerable figure. Nor will our readers be great sufferers by such an omission; for little can be extracted from Dionysius Halicarnassensis, or any other ancient writer, concerning those achievements of the Sabines, that preceded the foundation of Rome; and the few particulars that occur on this head, favour so strongly of fable, that they merit not the attention of the sensible and judicious part of mankind^d.



C H A P. XXXVII.

The Roman History, from Romulus to the Commonwealth.

A Table of the Kings of Rome.

| | Years. | | Years. |
|---------------------|----------|------------------------|--------|
| 1. Romulus, reigned | 37 | 5. Tarquinius Priscus | 37 |
| 2. Numa Pompilius | 43 | 6. Servius Tullius | 44 |
| 3. Tullus Hostilius | 32 | 7. Tarquinius Superbus | 23 |
| 4. Ancus Marcius | 23 or 24 | | |

AS Romulus had assumed the command of the colony *Romulus chosen king.* only for the time that should be employed in building the city, this work was no sooner finished than he assembled the people, and gave them liberty to choose

^c Var. Steph. Byzant. ^d Cluver. ubi supra. p. 678, & 688.
Dion. Hal. Antiquit. Rom. lib. ii. Liv. lib. i. Plut. in Romul.

what kind of government they approved. Without hesitation they gave the preference to monarchy, and unanimously proclaimed Romulus king of Rome; but before he ascended the throne, he begged leave to consult the will of the gods by auguries. It is said, that after he had offered sacrifices to the gods in an open place, a flash of lightning was seen to gleam from the left, which was, according to the augurs, a lucky omen. From this period it became an established custom to have recourse to augury upon raising any individual to the royal dignity, the priesthood, or any public employment. In time this came to be mere ceremony, though the custom, introduced by the example of the founder, subsisted above seven hundred years* (O). Romulus, being thus declared king by the election of the people, and approbation of the gods, applied all his thoughts to the establishing of good order in his new city, and a due subordination among his subjects. He himself put on a habit of distinction, and appointed twelve lictors to attend him as guards, each of them bearing an ax stuck in a bundle of rods, which was the usual symbol of sovereignty among his neighbours the Hetrurians (P). He divided the three thousand three hundred men, of which his colony consisted, into three equal parts, called tribes, or thirds, each being commanded by a præfect or tribune. The tribes were divided into ten curiæ, and these subdivided into ten decuriæ. Over the former were appointed officers, named curiones; and others over the latter, called decuriones; each curia and decuria having its peculiar commander. He afterwards divided his small territory, not above five or six miles in extent, into three unequal parts. One was appropriated to the expences of religious worship, another reserved for the

Tribes,
curiæ,
decuriæ.

* Dion. Hal. p. 78. Cic. lib. iiii. de Leg. & lib. iii. de Nat. Deor.

(O) This practice continued from the time of Romulus to the end of the republic, and was used even under the emperors. Those who were candidates for employments went out early on the day appointed for their election, made a public prayer, and consulted the augurs. When their answers proved favourable, as they generally did, the augurs being

well paid for their pains, the candidates reported, that the gods were not averse to them, having the office they solicited. Upon this they were said to obtain and bear an auspicate.

(P) Some think that he chose twelve lictors, because he had seen twelve vulturs, a number which had given him the superiority over his brother.

king's

king's revenue and the exigencies of the state, and the third, which was the most considerable, divided into thirty portions, to answer to the thirty curiæ^f (Q) - The next step which Romulus took, was to distinguish the people, according to their birth and dignity, into patricians and plebeians. The former, as being of a more noble extraction, were to take care of the religious rites and ceremonies, and to bear all the civil and military dignities; the latter to till the ground, feed cattle, and follow trades, but not to have any share in the government, to avoid the inconveniences of a popular power. To prevent the seditions that such a distinction might produce, and to bind them to each other by reciprocal ties and obligations, every plebeian was allowed to choose, from the body of the patricians, a protector, who was obliged to assist him with his interest and fortune, and to defend him from the oppressions of the great. These protectors were styled patrons, and the protected were called clients. It was the duty of the patron to advise his clients in points of law, to manage their suits, to take care of them as of his own children, and secure their peace and happiness. The clients were to assist their patrons with money on several occasions, to ransom them or their children when taken in war, to contribute to the portions of their daughters, and to defray, in part, the charges of their public employments. They were never to accuse each other, or take contrary sides; and, if either of them was convicted of having violated this law, the crime was equal to that of treason, and any one was allowed to kill the offender with impunity. This patronage was a tie as effectual as any consanguinity or alliance, and had a wonderful effect towards maintaining union and concord among the people for the space of six hundred years; during which time we find no dissensions nor jealousies between the patrons and their clients, even in the

*Patricians
and ple-
beians.*

*Patrons
and clients,
their re-
spective
duties.*

^f Dion. Hal. lib. ii. p. 76. Plut. in Romulo. Strab. lib. v. p. 531.

(Q) Dionysius Halicarnassensis expressly affirms, that each decuria was subdivided into ten decuriæ, and that these lesser bodies were governed by decuriones. And, upon the strength of his authority, most compilers of the Roman history give the same account; but the learned Grævius is of opinion, that Dionysius, by a mistake, ascribes such a division to the curiæ as was peculiar to the turmæ in the army (1).

(1) Vide Grævium in Præfat. ad vol. i. Thef. Antiq. Rom.

times of the republic, when the populace frequently mutinied against those who were most powerful in the city^r.

Senate.

After this institution Romulus formed a senate, which consisted of a hundred persons, chosen from the patricians; but the choice was not made by the king himself; each tribe named three senators, and each of the thirty curiæ the like number; which made in all ninety-nine: so that Romulus named only the hundredth, who was the head, or prince of the senate, and the chief governor of the city when the king was in the field. They were called *pateres*, or fathers, either on account of their age, or fatherly care of their fellow citizens. Their descendants were the prime nobility among the Romans. The senate being thus established, Romulus ordered the curiæ to choose him

Celeres.

a guard of three hundred young men, ten out of each curia; and these he called *celerēs*, from their activity, and the expedition with which they executed the orders they received. They were all horsemen, but fought either on foot or on horseback, as occasion required, or the ground would allow. They were commanded by a tribune, called *tribunus celerum*, three centurions, and other inferior officers. Romulus proceeded to settle the respective powers and privileges of the king, senate, and people. The king's office at home was to superintend religious affairs, to be guardian of the laws and customs, to decide the weightier causes between man and man, referring those of less moment to the senate; to call together the senators, and assemble the people; first delivering his own opinion relating to the affairs he proposed, and then ratifying, by his consent, what was agreed on by the majority. Abroad, and in time of war, he was to command the army with absolute authority, and to take care of the public money^b. The senate were not only to be judges in causes of small importance, but to debate and resolve upon such public affairs as the king proposed, and to determine them by the plurality of voices. To the people he committed three important charges, namely, to create magistrates, enact laws, and conclude upon any war that was proposed by the king; but, in all these things, the approbation of the senate was necessary.

The religious laws of Romulus.

When order was thus established in political affairs, Romulus thought it his duty to make some regulations in religion. He did not indeed give it that form, to which

^r Plut. *ibid.* Dion. Hal. p. 83—85.

^b Dion. Hal. *ibid.* p. 84, 85.

it was afterwards brought; but contented himself with establishing regularity in the priesthood, and in the worship of those deities which Evander had introduced, or Æneas brought from Troy, or the Aborigines worshipped in their time. He appointed, that each curia should have its own temple, and its peculiar gods and priests; that the people should assemble on certain stated days in cænacula, or public halls; and that they should there feast in common on the victims that had been offered to the gods. He likewise established festivals, whereby religion became a relief to the labouring people. The chief ministers of the gods were from the patricians, and the inferior priests of such families as were honourable. They were to be at least fifty years old; and none but their wives were allowed to perform the functions of priestesses. Their sons were to wait at the altars till the age of puberty, and their daughters so long as they continued virgins. The sons were called Camilli, and the daughters Camillæ. When a priest had no children of his own, he might chuse the handsomest in his curia to attend him in the sacrifices. As the sacerdotal families were exempted from paying taxes, bearing arms, and, besides, their employment was for life, Romulus prohibited the seeking of it by intrigues and cabals, the purchasing of it by money, and even the trusting of it to the hazard of lots. He left to each curia the free choice of their priests, auspices, and augurs. The aruspices inspected the entrails of the victims; and the augurs foretold future events by the flight and singing of birds (R).

Thus

(R) As we shall frequently have occasion, in the course of this history, to speak of augurs and haruspices, or aruspices, it may not be improper to give some account, in this place, of that kind of divination. The art of divination, and foretelling future events, by the flight, chirping, or motions of birds, came from the Chaldæans to the Greeks, from them to the Hetrurians, and from the Hetrurians to the Latins and Romans. The name of *augur* is derived by some *ab avium gestu*; by others, *ab avium garritu*; that is, either from the motion and actions, or from the chirping and chattering of birds. As Romulus himself was well versed in this art, after he had divided the city into three tribes, he appointed an augur for each tribe (1). A fourth was added some time after, probably by Servius Tullius, who increased the tribes. These four were all chosen out of the patricians;

(1) Plut. *ibid.*

The asy-
lum.

Thus was the colony founded; but as it was thin of inhabitants, Romulus, to attract strangers from the neighbouring

but in the year of Rome 454, at the solicitation of the tribunes, five persons were added to the college, elected out of the common people (2); and, in the year 672, Sylla encreased their number to fifteen (3). The eldest of these presided over the rest, and was honoured with the title of *Magister Collegii* (4). Their office, which we find comprised in the augural law mentioned by Tully (5), was to interpret dreams, oracles, prodigies, &c. and to tell whether any action should be fortunate or prejudicial to particular persons, or to the whole state. Thus they were the interpreters of the will of the gods, with respect to the making of war or peace; and all were obliged to obey them, in so important an article. We find five sorts of auguries mentioned by the ancients; 1. From the appearances in heaven, as thunder, lightning, comets, and other meteors. 2. From birds, whence they had the name of auspices, from the Latin words *avis* and *conspicio*. Some birds furnished them with observations from their chattering or singing; others, from their flying. The former were called *oscines*, and the latter *præpetes*. For the taking of both these sorts of auguries, the augur went up to some high place, took the augural staff, which was bent at one end like a crozier, and marked out with it the four templa or quarters of the heaven. Then he turned to the east, and, in that situation, waited for the omen, which was of no signification, unless confirmed by another of the same sort. 3. From birds kept in a coop for that purpose. The manner of divining from them was as follows: early in the morning the augur that was to take the observation, after having commanded a general silence, ordered the coop to be opened, and then threw in a handful of crumbs or corn. If the chickens did not eat greedily, scattered their food about with their wings, let a great deal of it fall from their mouths to the ground, or, above all, refused to eat, the omen was reckoned unlucky, and some great misfortune portended; but if they fed greedily, and let none of their food drop out of their mouths, there was all the assurance that possibly could be wished for of happiness and success (6). This sort of augury was called *tripudium*, from the ancient Latin word *pavire*, to strike, and *terra*, the earth; because the birds, in eating greedily, struck the ground with their beaks. The fourth sort of augury was from beasts, namely, wolves, goats, foxes, heifers, asses, rams, hares, weasels, and mice. The general observations about them were, whether they appeared in a strange

(2) Liv. lib. x.
Alex. lib. v. cap. 19.
Alex. ab Alex. ibid.

(3) Flor. lib. iv. cap. 3.
(5) Cic. de Divin. lib. ii.

(4) Vide Alex. ab
(6) Vide

bouring countries, opened an asylum or place of refuge for fugitive slaves, homicides, outlaws, and insolvent debtors. These he did not at first receive within the walls, but allotted them the hill Saturnius, afterwards called Capitolinus, for their habitation. Nor was the appearance of religion wanting to cover the king's policy: he erected a temple to a new sort of divinity, called by him the Asylæan god, under whose protection all criminals were to live securely. Afterwards, when Romulus enlarged his new city, the

place, or crossed the way; whether they ran to the right or left, &c. The last sort of divination by auguries was from what they called *diræ*, or unusual accidents happening to any person, as stumbling, seeing apparitions, hearing strange voices, meeting a wolf, a fox, a hare, &c. Any augur was allowed to take an observation; but the judging of the omen was left to the decision of the whole college.

As to the aruspices, they were so called *ab aris aspicendis*, that is, from looking on the altars. The Roman aruspices were all taken at first from Hetruria, where their art was in great repute; but afterwards the senate ordered twelve of the sons of the chief men in Rome to be sent into that country, to learn there the rites and ceremonies of the Etruscan religion, of which this science was the chief part (7). The business of the aruspices was to look upon the sacred victims, and by them to foretel the success of any enterprize. They took their observations from the victims before they were cut up; from their entrails after they were cut up; from the flame that used to rise while they were burning; and lastly, from the

flour, bran, frankincense, wine or water used in the sacrifice. Before the victims were cut up, it was an ill omen when they would not come to the altar without being dragged, when they broke the rope, fled away, avoided the stroke, struggled much after it, made a great bellying, were long in dying, or bled but little. When the victim was cut up, they observed the colour of the parts, and whether any were wanting: a double liver, a little or lean heart, were counted very bad omens. If the heart was wholly missing, nothing could be thought more dreadful and fatal; if the entrails fell out of the priest's hands, or were more bloody than usual, or of a pale colour, they portended sudden danger and ruin. As to the flame of the sacrifice, it furnished them with a good omen when it was pure and clear, rose up in a pyramid without noise, and did not go out till the victim was consumed. The smoke likewise was considered, whether it whirled about, or spread itself to the right and left, or yielded a smell different from that of broiled meat. If the incense they burnt melted all at once, and had an agreeable smell, it was a lucky omen.

(7) Cic. de Divin. lib. i. Liv. lib. x. Flor. lib. iv. cap. 5. Plut. in Romul. lib. v. cap. 19.

*The rape of
the Sabine
women.*

asylum was inclosed within the walls, and those who had fled to it, being brought under some regulation, became citizens of Rome¹. Nothing was now wanting, but women, to secure the duration of the state; but, as the neighbouring people refused to give their daughters in marriage to such a crew of vagabonds, Romulus, by the advice of his grandfather Numitor, and the consent of the senate, proclaimed a solemn feast, and public games, in honour of Equestrian Neptune, called Consus. This occasioned a great concourse of people, who flocked from the adjacent places to behold those pompous shews, together with the new city; but in the midst of the solemnity, the Romans, upon a signal given by Romulus, rushing in with their drawn swords among the strangers, seized their daughters, and, by main force, carried them to their houses, where they were kept till the next day, without any farther insult being offered to them, agreeable to the express orders of Romulus. They were in all six hundred and eighty-three; and Romulus chose so many husbands for them, marrying them after the same manner that was ever after used in Rome² (S).

This violence was highly resented by the neighbouring people, especially by the Sabines; but as they were unwilling to engage in a war, their country being open on all sides, and defenceless, they first sent to demand the restitution of their daughters, promising to enter into an alliance with the Romans, whereby they should have liberty to

¹ Plut. & Dion. Hal. *ibid.*

² Liv. lib. x. cap. 9.

(S) The form used in marriage was, "Partake you of your husband's fire and water." This communication of fire and water between the husband and wife was the symbol of conjugal love and union, and insinuated, that their goods were in common between them. The virgins seized on this occasion were all called Sabines, because most of them were of that nation. The common opinion is, that they were, in all, six hundred and eighty-three; some say, five hundred and twenty-seven; and others reduce them to thirty only, deriving the word curia from Cu-

res, the name of the town, of which the women were for the most part natives. But no historian of any account is of this opinion. Romulus found but one married woman among all those who had been seized. Her name was Herfilia; and we are told by Zenodotus, quoted by Plutarch, that Romulus married her, and had a daughter by her, named Prima, because she was his first child, and a son, called Abilius; but other historians say, that Herfilia was married to a noble Roman, named Hostus; and that Tullius Hostilius, the third king of Rome, descended from her.

intermarry

intermarry with them: but Romulus was inflexible, demanding, on his part, that the Sabines should confirm the marriages of his Romans. While the treaty, which went on slowly, suspended hostilities on both sides, Acron, whom the historians style king of Cænina (T), being provoked at the late audacious rape, and jealous of the growing power of the new city, took the field; and, being joined by the inhabitants of Crustumium and Antemnæ, made an incursion into the Roman territories. Romulus instantly marched out against him, and, having engaged the enemy in the open field, challenged their leader, according to the custom of those times, to single combat, killed him, put his army to flight, and, pursuing the fugitives to their town, made himself master of it without opposition. He spared the blood of the conquered; but rased their city, and carried the inhabitants to Rome, where he allowed them the same privileges as had been granted to the most ancient citizens¹. For this victory, Romulus decreed himself the honours of a triumph; and, bringing home the spoils of king Acron, consecrated them to Jupiter Feretrius, so called, according to some, from the Latin word *ferire*, to smite, because he had killed the king with his own hand; or from the word *ferre*, to carry, because Romulus had himself carried the armour of the king he had killed. A name of distinction was likewise given to the spoils; for they were called opima spolia (U), because they were more honourable than any other, on account of their being taken by the general of the Roman army from the enemy's general, after he had killed him with his own hand.

Romulus, elated with this victory, marched with one legion (W), levied in haste, against the Antemnates and Crustumini,

Romulus defeats the Cæninenses, and kills their king.

Opima spolia.

Romulus reduces Crustumium and Antemnæ.

¹ Dion. Hal. lib. ii. p. 98. Plut. ibid. Liv. lib. i. cap. 10.

(T) Cænina was situated on the confines of Latium, and the country of the Sabines; whence some geographers make it a city of the Sabines, and others of ancient Latium. Cluverius thinks it stood on the banks of the Anio next to Rome; but Holstenius places it on the opposite bank, in the neighbourhood of the present Monticelli.

(U) Festus derives the word *opima* from *ops*, which signifies the earth, and the riches it produces; so that *opima spolia*, according to that writer, signifies rich spoils: but Plutarch derives it from the word *opus*; so that opima spolia, and spoils hard to be obtained, are, in his opinion, one and the same thing.

(W) The word *legion* is derived from the Latin word *legere*,

Cruſtumini, who had joined the king of Cænina; and having, without great difficulty, overcome them, and taken their cities, at the request of his own wife Herſilia, who was a native of Antemnæ, he not only pardoned the inhabitants, but tranſplanted them to Rome, where they were admitted to all the privileges of Roman citizens. By this conduct, the reputation of his clemency, as well as bravery, became ſo great, that ſeveral cities of Hettruria voluntarily ſubmitted to him. Cœlius, an Hettrurian general, led all the troops under his command to Rome, and ſettled on a hill near the city, which, from him, took the name of Mount Cœlius^m. And now Romulus, being obliged to enlarge the compaſs of his city, took in the hill Saturnius, called afterwards the Capitol; and, on the top of it, built a citadel, which he committed to the government of a noble Roman, named Tarpeius. The citadel was ſurrounded on all ſides with ramparts and towers, which equally commanded the city and country. From the foot of the hill Saturnius, a wall was carried on quite to the Tiber, and a gate opened in it, which they called Carmentalis, from Carmenta, the mother of Evander, who either lived there, or had, in that place, ſome altar or chapel erected to her.

*His war
with the
Sabines.*

Notwithſtanding this encrease of the Roman forces, the Sabines ſent a ſecond deputation to Romulus, to demand their daughters; and, upon his reſuſal began hoſtilities, and marched towards Rome with an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, under the command of their king Titus Tatius. Romulus, having received ſupplies from his grandfather Numitor, and from Hettruria, marched againſt them, at the head of twenty thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe. Romulus poſted his army between the hills Eſquilinus and Quirinalis; while the Sabines encamped at the foot of the hill Saturnius, in the plain afterwards called Campus Martius. Tatius, finding the Romans too well fortified to be attacked, was very uneaſy about the ſucceſs of the enterprize: but an unforeſeen accident extricated him out of his difficulties; for Tarpeia, daughter to the governor of the citadel, greatly admiring the bracelets and rings

^m Plut. Dion. Hal. ibid. Liv. ibid. cap. xi.

gere, to chooſe, the legions conſiſting of choſen men. The number of men in a legion was different at different times, as we ſhall occasionally obſerve, in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

of

of the Sabines, called to them from above, and promised to betray the place into their hands, provided they gave her what they wore on their left arms. The Sabines readily agreed to grant her what she required; and, being by her admitted into the citadel, made themselves masters of that place (X); an acquisition which enabled them to continue the war with more security. For a long time, only light skirmishes passed between the two parties; but at last, as they both began to be tired with the charges of the war, they resolved to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement, which was fought with great resolution on both sides, and renewed, for several days together, with almost equal success. In the last contest, the Sabines were at first put in disorder, and obliged to take refuge in the citadel, which the Romans, who pursued them, expected to have retaken; but the enemy, rolling great stones from the top of the hill, wounded Romulus on the head, and stunned him so, that, falling down senseless, he was carried out of the field into the city. This accident inspired the Sabines with new courage, who, falling upon the Romans, put them to flight in their turn, and pursued them to the gates of Rome. In the mean time Romulus recovering, returned to the battle, encouraged his routed troops, and, having made a vow to Jupiter, in order to obtain his favour, drove the enemy back to the citadel.

*The citadel
betrayed
to their
king.*

*A general
engage-
ment.*

*Romulus
wounded;*

*but drives
back the
enemy.*

Titus Tatius being in possession of the citadel, and Romulus continuing shut up in his city, neither party was very forward to hazard another engagement. The Sabines were doubtful, whether they should raise the siege, and content themselves with ravaging the Roman territory. The Romans, on their side, were no less undetermined. They considered, that the Sabines were a powerful people, and that the late victory had neither been complete nor decisive; but, on the other hand, they could not with honour restore the Sabine women; for that restitution would have been an acknowledgement of their weakness, which would have made the enemy more haughty,

(X) We are told, that the Sabines crushed Tarpeia to death with their bucklers, which they threw upon her, hinking they discharged their promise by thus giving her what they wore on their left arms. From her the hill Sa-

turnius took the name of Tarpeius, till the building of the Capitol; and even then the steepest part of it, whence criminals were thrown down headlong, continued to be called the Tarpeian Rock.

and more difficult to treat with. But while the men were thus deliberating, the women, at the persuasion of Herfilia, demanded an audience of the senate; and, being admitted, laid before them a design which they had formed, without the privity of their husbands. This was to mediate between the contending nations, and try whether they could put an end to the war which had been undertaken for their sake. Their proposal met with no opposition in the present conjuncture of affairs. A decree was immediately passed, permitting the women to go upon the negotiation they proposed. All the security that was required of them, was, that each should leave one of her children at Rome; the rest they were allowed to carry with them in their arms, in order to raise the compassion of their grandfathers. The women, being thus authorised, laid aside their ornaments, and putting on mourning, advanced to the camp of the Sabines, where, by throwing themselves at the feet of their fathers and relations, they raised a general compassion. King Tatius, having assembled his chief officers, ordered the women to declare on what purpose they were come; a task which Herfilia is said to have performed, in a long and pathetic speech: after which she begged a truce, that the chiefs of the two armies might have an opportunity of conferring together. As the Sabines wanted only an honourable pretence to put an end to the war, they were easily prevailed upon to accept the proposal. Accordingly, a truce was granted, during which the two kings had a conference, which ended to the satisfaction of both parties; for a treaty of union was made, and confirmed by oath, the articles whereof were, 1. That the two kings should reside, and jointly reign, at Rome. 2. That the city should still, from Romulus, be called Rome; but the citizens Quirites, a name till then peculiar to the Sabines (Y). 3. That the two nations should become one; and that the Sabines should be made free of Rome, and

The Romans and Sabines become one people.

(Y) The word *Quiris*, in the Sabine language, signified both a *dart*, and a warlike deity armed with a dart. It is uncertain whether the god gave name to the dart, or the dart to the god; but, however that be, this god *Quiris*, or *Qui-*

rinus, was either *Mars*, or some other god of war, and continued to be worshipped in Rome, till *Romulus*, who, after his death, was honoured with the name *Quirinus*, took his place (1).

(1) *Plut. in Romulo.*

enjoy all the privileges of Roman citizens^a. Three Sabine families of great distinction are particularly said to have settled at Rome on this occasion, with their relations and dependents. The head of one was Valerius Volefus; of another, Talus Tyrannus; and of the third, Metius Curtius, who had signalized himself in the last battle (Z). To Valerius Volefus Plutarch ascribes the honour of negotiating the peace.

The two nations being thus united, Tatius, in imitation of Romulus, formed a council of a hundred senators of his own nation, who were also styled fathers, and enjoyed the same privileges with those who had been instituted by the founder. The two councils assembled first at the houses of their respective kings, but afterwards met at the same place which from thence was called comitium (A). After this union of the two nations and se-

The comitium.

^a Dion. Hal. Liv. Plut. ibid.

(Z) While the Romans had the advantage, this brave Sabine, breaking into the centre of their army, and rallying his countrymen, who had been put in disorder, turned the scale in their favour. But Romulus meeting him, and engaging him in single combat, obliged him, as he was already wounded, to quit the field. Curtius being surrounded on all sides by the enemy, chose rather to throw himself into a pool, made by the inundation of the Tiber, than to go a great way about. As the pool was deep, and full of mud, Romulus, thinking his enemy was lost, left him, and rejoined his army; but the Sabine was taken out of the water, and the place ever after called Lacus Curtius, even when it was dried up, and almost in the centre of the Roman forum (2). Proculus says, that the earth having opened, the aruspices declared it neces-

sary, for the safety of the republic, that the bravest man in the city should throw himself into the gulf; whereupon one Curtius, mounting on horseback, leaped armed into it, and the gulf immediately closed. Before the building of the common sewers, this pool was a sort of sink, which received all the filth of the city. Some writers think, that it received its name from Curtius the consul, colleague to M. Genucius, because he caused it to be walled in, by the advice of the aruspices, after it had been struck with lightning (3).

(A) The word *comitium* is derived from the ancient Latin verb *cumire*, which signifies *to meet*. The comitium was at the foot of the hill Palatinus, over-against the Capitol. Not far from thence, the two kings built the temple of Vulcan, where they usually met, to consult the senate upon the most important affairs.

(2) Dion. Hal. ibid. (3) Varro de Ling. Lat. lib. iv.

nates,

The creation of the first Roman knights.

nates, were instituted, according to Livy *, the three bodies of Roman knights, called Ramnenses, Tatienses, and Luceres. The first body had its name from Romulus, the second from Tatius, and the third from the lucus or grove where the asylum stood, this last order being formed out of those who had there taken refuge. These three bodies of horse were incorporated into the Roman legions, which, from this time, consisted, according to the most common opinion, of four thousand men each; whence a legion was called quadrata. As Rome was chiefly indebted to the Sabine women for this happy increase of wealth and power, honourable privileges, and marks of distinction, were allowed them; every one was commanded to give way to them; all immodest discourses were forbidden in their presence; no indecent objects were to be brought into their sight; in capital causes they were exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary judges; and lastly, their children were allowed to wear the bulla aurea, the golden ball, hanging from their necks, and a particular robe, called prætexta, with a purple border, to distinguish them from the vulgar (B).

* Liv. lib. i. cap. 13.

The

(B) Authors are divided in their opinions about the form of this ornament, which the Sabine women were allowed to hang about the necks of their children. It was called bulla; and Plutarch says (4), that it was like the little bubbles which the drops of rain make, when they fall upon running water. It is therefore probable, that these little golden balls were hollow and light. Others think they were but half globes, being on one side flat, and on the other globular. Macrobius says, that Tarquin the elder extended the right of wearing this ornament to all the children of the patricians; and that he began with his own. The young men, when they attained the age of manhood, quitted the

bulla, and made an offering of it to the dii lares, or household gods. As to the prætexta, it had a border of purple round its edges, whence it took its name. This robe was worn by girls till their marriage, and by boys till they were seventeen, when they took the toga virilis, or manly robe. But what in the time of Romulus was a mark of distinction for the children of the Sabine women, became afterwards very common; for even the children of the liberti, that is, of those who were made free, wore robes bordered with purple, in their youth. In process of time, the gravest magistrates wore them, not only at Rome, but in the colonies and municipia. This prætexta was not only a mark of the

(4) Plut. ibid.

quality

The two kings reigned jointly, and in great harmony, for five years, Romulus holding his court on the hill Palatinus, and Tatius residing on the hill Tarpeius. The Sabines settled on a hill called by them Quirinalis, either in memory of their city Cures, or in honour of their god Quiris. The place between the hills Palatinus and Tarpeius became a common market-place for the two united nations, and was called the Forum. The union of the two nations soon produced a mixture of manners, customs, and religion. The Sabines adopted the Roman gods, and

quality of the person that wore it, but was besides looked upon as a sacred habit, and a kind of guard or defence against the injuries to which children are exposed. Thus Persius calls it *custos purpura* (5); and Quintilian, in one of his declamations, styles it, "the sacred habit of the *prætexta*, the robe, which raises in us a holy reverence and veneration to the helpless condition of childhood." In process of time the *bullæ* became as common as the *prætexta*, all the sons of the ingenui, or free-born, being allowed to wear it, but with this distinction, that their *bullæ* was not of gold, but of leather. In the account we have here given of the *bullæ aurea* and *prætexta*, we have followed Dionysius Halicarnassensis and Livy; but Macrobius, on the authority of some writers, relates the matter in a quite different manner; for he says, that Herfilia, being carried away with her daughter, fell in marriage to Hostus, an officer of great distinction, and was the first who bore a child to Rome. To this child alone, who was called Hostus Hostilius,

Romulus granted the privilege of wearing the *bullæ aurea*. Some are of opinion, that Tarquinius Priscus, in a triumph for a victory gained over the Sabines, first honoured his own son with the *prætexta* and *bullæ aurea*, for killing one of the enemy's chief commanders with his own hand. Others, without mentioning this victory, pretend, that Tarquin, among other wise institutions, took particular care to assign the proper habit both to the boys and girls, and appointed the *prætexta* and *bullæ aurea* for the sons of the senators and patricians, and the *prætexta* alone for their daughters, and also for the sons of those who had served among the horse the full time the law required. The figure of a man's heart was sometimes impressed on the *bullæ aureæ*, to put those who wore them in mind of this moral truth, that men are only valuable for the qualities of their hearts. In like manner the purple colour of the *prætexta* was to remind them of the modesty which became them at that age (2).

(1) Persius, Sat. v. ver. 30. cap. 6. Vide Dacier, in Horat. lib. v. ode 5.

(2) Macrobius, Saturnal. lib. i.

Yr. of Fl.
1614.
Ante Chr.
734.
U. C. 14.

*Death of
Tatius.*

*Romulus
defeats the
Camerini.*

Fidenates,

and Veientes.

the Romans worshipped indiscriminately those of the Sabines. They unanimously instituted the festival called Matronalia, in memory of the peace concluded by the mediation of the women (C). As to martial affairs, the conquest of Cameria, a city in the neighbourhood of Rome, was the only military achievement that distinguished the union of the two kings. Four thousand of its inhabitants were transplanted to Rome, and a colony sent from thence to Cameria. In the sixth year of Romulus and Tatius, the latter, having provoked the Lavinians, by protecting some of his friends, who had ravaged their territories, was by them murdered at the foot of the altar, while he was offering a sacrifice, together with Romulus, in the city of Lavinium, to the tutelary gods of the state. Romulus conveyed the body of his colleague to Rome, with great pomp, and caused it to be honourably interred on Mount Aventine. The Lavinians, fearing the resentment of Romulus, delivered up the assassins into his hands; but he sent them back unpunished, a circumstance which gave occasion to suspect, that he was not at least displeased at the death of his colleague P.

Not long after the death of Tatius, a cruel plague, attended with a great famine, breaking out at Rome, the Camerini embraced this opportunity to shake off the yoke, and lay waste the Roman territory. But Romulus gave them battle, killed six thousand of them on the spot; and returning to Rome, entered the city in triumph. The like success attended him against the Fidenates, whose city, standing about forty furlongs from Rome, he took; and made it a Roman colony. This conduct drew new enemies upon him; for the Veientes (D), reclaiming Fidenæ, as a city within their jurisdiction, laid siege to it; but their forces being defeated in two battles, and a great

q Dion. Halic. p. 110.

(C) This festival was celebrated on the first of March. During this festival, such of the Roman women as were married, served their slaves at table, and received presents from their husbands, as the husbands did from their wives in the time of the Saturnalia. As the festival of the Matronalia was consecrated to Mars,

and, as some will have it, to Juno Lucina, sacrifices were offered to both these deities.

(D) Veii was situated on a craggy rock, about one hundred furlongs from Rome; and is compared by Dionysius Halicarnassensis to Athens, for extent and riches. Cluverius places it in the neighbourhood of the present Scrofano.

number

number of them taken prisoners, together with their commander, they were forced to prevent their total ruin by a timely submission. They therefore sent ambassadors to Rome, to sue for peace; and Romulus granted them a truce for a hundred years, upon the following conditions: that they should deliver to him seven small towns on the Tiber, some salt-pits near the mouth of that river, and send fifty of their chief citizens to Rome, to be kept there as hostages. A war thus advantageously ended, procured Romulus the honour of a third triumph (E).

This was the last war in which Romulus engaged. He employed the remaining part of his life in settling the government on the surest foundations. He made many good laws; but we have only some fragments of them remaining. The first relates to marriages, and forbids a wife to leave her husband upon any pretence whatsoever; but, at the same time, allows the husband to put away his wife, and even to punish her with death, in case she should be convicted of adultery, poisoning, making false keys, or only of drinking wine. Each husband was confined to one wife, their goods being in common between them; but under the administration of the husband. In relation to children, Romulus gave their fathers an absolute power over them; so that they could, by their own private authority, imprison them, sell them for slaves, and even put them to death, of whatever age they were, and whatever dignity, office, or employment they held¹. He appointed no punishment for real parricide; but called all murder so, thinking the latter a detestable crime, the former im-

*The laws
of Romulus.*

¹ Dion. Halic. lib. ii. p. 92. A. Gell. cap. 23.

(E) The prisoners were all sold for slaves; and what was done at this sale, gave rise to a custom which prevailed ever after; for when they returned thanks to the gods for any victory, they used to dress an old man in a purple robe, with a child's bulla about his neck, and cry round him, "Sardians sell." By this ceremony they alluded to the old king or governor of the Veientes, who, in this war, had behaved like

a child; and to the Veientes, who, with the other Hetrurians, were a colony of Lydians, whose metropolis was the city of Sardis (4). Other writers date this custom from the time of the conquest of Sardinia by Tiberius Sempromius Gracchus, when such a number of slaves was brought from that island, that none were to be seen in the markets but Sardinians.

(1) Plut. & Dion. Halic. *ibid.*

possible:

*He pro-
vokes the
senate by
his arbi-
trary be-
haviour.*

possible : and indeed it was unknown in Rome for near six hundred years, as divorces were, notwithstanding the power granted to husbands^r.

Romulus, in the latter part of his reign, whether elated with his former successes, or carried away with notions of arbitrary power, began to enlarge his prerogative beyond its proper bounds, and to pay no longer any deference to his great council. The senators were assembled, though merely for form-sake, and to ratify his commands : but what principally provoked the fathers was, his sharing the conquered lands among his soldiers, without consulting them, and his restoring to the Veientes their hostages, against their opinion. This haughty and arbitrary carriage they could not brook ; and therefore conspired his destruction, which they soon after effected. Romulus having appointed a review of his troops on a plain without the city, the senate attended him thither. While he was haranguing them, a sudden storm of hail and thunder dispersed the army ; and the senators, remaining alone with the king, thought this too favourable an opportunity to be neglected. He was therefore slain, and his body immediately conveyed out of sight. Some writers tell us, that, the better to conceal the fact, the senators cut him in pieces, each of them carrying away a part under his robe. However that be, the senators took occasion, from the secrecy of the fact, and the concealment of the body, to persuade the multitude, that the king was surrounded by a flame, and snatched up into heaven. But this stratagem did not appease the soldiery, till Julius Proculus, a senator of great distinction, having assembled the curiæ, told them, that Romulus had appeared to him, and enjoined him to acquaint his people, that it had pleased the gods he should return to heaven, from whence he originally came ; but that he would be always a propitious god to them, under the name of Quirinus. As Julius Proculus, who was esteemed a man of great probity, and had been always thought a friend to Romulus, swore to the truth of this story, all suspicions were removed, and divine honours decreed to the deity^s. His death happened on the seventh day of July, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, and sixtieth, or, as others say, fifty-fifth year of his age. Such was the end of Romulus, the founder and first king of Rome.

Yr. of Fl.
1637.

Ante Chr.

711.

U. C. 37.

*Is mur-
dered.*

^r Plut. ubi supra.
lib. i. cap. 16.

^s Dion. Hal. lib. ii. p. 219. Plut. Lib.

He was thought to be the son of Mars; and it does not appear, that he ever acted unbecoming that character: for he had, in a short time, made his small colony formidable to all the neighbouring nations. Nor were his wisdom and policy inferior to his courage. In a few years, he increased his subjects from three thousand three hundred men, to forty-seven thousand; and, what is still surprising, formed a people out of a gang of slaves and profligates, who became masters of the world, and yet were long more renowned for their virtue than for their courage or conquests. After the death of his grandfather Numitor, the sovereignty of Alba devolved upon him; but he reserved to himself no other power over it, than that of naming annually a magistrate, with the title of dictator, to govern it in form of a republic.

Romulus dying without issue, the city was much divided about the election of a new king. The Romans did not judge it advisable to resign the regal authority to the Sabines; and the Sabines thought it was but just that the king should be chosen out of their nation, since they had peaceably submitted to Romulus, and contributed, as much as the Romans, to the raising of the city to its present wealth and power. During these disputes, the senators, to prevent anarchy and confusion, took the sovereignty into their own hands. The two hundred senators divided themselves into decuries or tens. These decuries drew lots which should govern first; and the decury to whose lot it fell, enjoyed the supreme authority for five days, yet in such manner, that one person only of the governing decury had the ensigns of sovereignty at a time. To these another decury succeeded, each of them sitting on the throne in his turn, wearing the crown, &c. This form of government, which was called interregnum, had not lasted long when the people, growing weary of such frequent change of masters, obliged the fathers to resolve on the election of a king. The interrex, therefore, for the time being, having summoned the people, addressed them thus: "Elect yourselves a king, O Romans; the senate gives their consent; and if you choose a prince worthy to succeed Romulus, the senate will confirm your choice." The people was so well pleased with this condescension of the senate, that they remitted the choice to them: but as the former difficulty still remained, whether the king should be a Sabine or a Roman, this occasioned long disputes, till at length they came to this agree-

*His death
is followed
by an in-
terregnum.*

Yr. of Fl.
1640
Ante Chr.
708.
U. C. 40.

*Numa
Pompilius
elected to
succeed
Romulus.*

agreement, that the Romans should choose the king, be obliged to elect a Sabine^t.

There was, at this time, a Sabine philosopher, who led a solitary life, and was wholly taken up with the worship of the gods. His name was Numa Pompilius, the fourth son of Pompilius Pompo, an illustrious Sabine. He had married Tatia, the daughter of king Tatius, and together with her, remained in his native country, preferring the tranquility of a private life to the splendor of a court. Upon the death of his wife, with whom he had lived thirteen years, he gave himself up entirely to the study of wisdom; and, leaving the city of Cures, confined himself to the country, wandering from solitude to solitude, in search only of those woods and fountains which religion had made sacred. His reclusive life gave rise to the fable, which was very early received among the Sabines, that Numa lived in familiarity with the nymph Egeria. This man both the senate and people strongly solicited to be their king. Then they dispatched Junius Proculus and Valerius Volesus, two senators of distinction, to acquaint Numa with their resolution, and make him an offer of the kingdom. The Sabine philosopher rejected at first their proposal, but being at last prevailed upon by the arguments and intreaties of the deputies, joined with those of his father, and of Martius his near relation, yielded; and, having offered sacrifices to the gods, set out for Rome, where he was received, by all ranks of people, with loud shouts of joy. Spurius Vettius, the interrex for the day, having assembled the curiæ, he was elected in due form, and the election was unanimously confirmed by the senate^u.

*He dismisses
the guard
of three
hundred
celeres.*

This king's reign was no way memorable for battles or conquests; for he made it his chief study to quiet all contentions at home, to reform the manners of the Romans, and to establish good policy in the city. The first step he took was to dismiss the royal guard of three hundred celeres, observing, that it would not become him to reign over a people he distrusted, or to suspect a people that compelled him to reign over them. In the next place he employed his endeavours to quiet the dissensions at Rome, to bring all the citizens to a perfect concord, and harmony among themselves, and to moderate the warlike

^t Liv. lib. i. cap. 17.
ibid. cap. 18.

^u Dion. Hal. lib. ii. p. 118. Plat. l.

ardour of the Romans by impressions of religion * (F). But though Numa had, according to Plutarch, right notions of the Deity, he did not introduce the true worship of the Supreme Being; but authorized both the Sabine and Alban superstitions, directing only order and decency in the performance of them. With this view he divided the ministers of religion into eight classes, namely, curiones, flamines, celeres, augurs, Vestal virgins, salii, faciales, and pontifices. The curiones were the particular priests of each curia: the flamines, so called from the fashion or colour of their caps (G), were priests, whose ministry was confined to some particular god, from whom they took their name, as the Flamen Dialis, the Flamen Martialis, &c. the celeres were inferior ministers, whose duty it was to take care of the sacrifices, under the direction of the tribunes, who had commanded them when they were guards to Romulus: the augurs not only foretold future events by the flying of birds, but had many other kinds of divination under their province: the Vestals were wholly devoted to the goddess Vesta, and obliged, under the severest penalty, to keep the sacred fire in her temple perpetually burning: the salii were the guardians of the ancilia, or twelve shields, hung up in the temple of Mars; they took their name from their dancing in the celebration of the annual festival instituted in memory of a

Divides the ministers of religion into eight classes.

* Liv. lib. i. cap. 19.

(F) Plutarch tells us (1), that he had true notions of the Deity; that is, of a first principle of all things, impassable, invisible, incorruptible, and purely intelligible; and therefore prohibited the representing of God in the resemblance of man or beast. The same author adds, that, for the space of one hundred and sixty years, there were no painted nor graven images in the Roman temples or sanctuaries.

(G) These priests were first called, as Plutarch informs us, pileamines, from the Greek word *πίλος*, or the Latin *pileus*,

which signified a sort of cap which was peculiar to them. Others think they took their names from the flame-coloured tufts they had on their caps. They were chosen by the people, and inaugurated by the pontifex maximus. The flamines could not be deposed but for very great reasons. Their wives, who were called flaminicæ, partook of the priesthood of their husbands, and shared with them the care of the sacrifices. A flaminica could not be divorced on any account; and, upon her death, the flamen lost his sacerdotal dignity.

(1) Plur. in Numa.

miraculous shield, which Numa pretended fell down from heaven: the business of the *feciales* was to demand satisfaction for the injuries Rome received from her enemies; to proclaim war against them in case of refusal; and to take care that all treaties with the neighbouring nations were faithfully observed: the pontifices (H) were the most venerable of all the classes; their office was to give judgment in all causes relating to religion; to enquire into the lives and manners of inferior priests, and to punish them if they saw occasion; to regulate the *seasts*, sacrifices, and all other sacred institutions; to determine what works should be deemed lawful, and what unlawful, on festival days. They had a president, with the title of *pontifex maximus*, whose office was one of the most honourable in the commonwealth². Some say that Numa reserved this eminent dignity for himself; and others, that he conferred it on his relation, Numa Marcius.

Dedicates
a temple to
Janus.

Numa's view, in thus multiplying the ceremonies of religion, was the more effectually to divert the Romans from pursuits of ambition and violence of arms. For the same purpose, or at least to check so fierce a people, ever ready, upon the slightest occasions, to begin a war, he dedicated a temple to Janus, the symbol of prudence, which looks two ways, and examines what is past, and what may come. This temple was to stand open in time of war, and to be shut in time of peace. He likewise erected an altar to *Bona Fides*, or Good Faith, in order to bring the republic to be faithful to her treaties, and the private citizens to their private contracts with each other. The same spirit of equity made him introduce another kind of deities, under the name of *Termini*, or Boundaries; which he caused to be placed on the borders of the Roman state, and of each man's private lands. In honour of these deities he instituted a festival, called *Terminalia*, which was annually celebrated on the twenty-second or twenty-third of the month of February: to remove the *Dii Termini*.

² Dion. Hal. lib. ii. p. 120—128.

(H) The word *pontifex* is, by most authors, derived from *pons* and *facere*, the repairs of the bridges, which were deemed sacred, being committed to the pontifices. But Plutarch finds fault with this etymology, and tells us, that the word *pontifex* was in use at Rome before there were any bridges there. He derives it from the word *potnis*, which, in old Latin, signified *powerful*. Others take it to be a compound of *potis* and *facere*, where *facere* signifies *to sacrifice*.

was deemed a sacrilege of so heinous a nature, that any man might kill, with impunity, the transgressor ¹.

*Improves
the laws.*

The reformation of religion was followed by an improvement of the laws; in which he had a particular regard to the preservation of modesty in women; nevertheless, he permitted husbands to lend their wives, after they had bore children. This was a kind of temporary divorce in favour of those men whose wives were barren; but the husbands still continued to have the same power over them, and could call them home, or lend them to others, as they pleased. He reformed the law made by Romulus, with relation to the power of parents over their children; for he would not suffer a father to sell his son after marriage, thinking it unjust, that a woman who had married a free man, should be obliged to live with a slave.

For the encouragement of agriculture, Numa divided the lands, which the late king had obtained by conquest, among those who had no other occupation; and the better to keep them attentive to the improvement of their farms, distributed them into pagi, or villages, over each of which he appointed a chief or superintendant, whose business was to keep a watchful eye over the husbandmen, to encourage them when diligent, to punish them when slothful, and to make a report to the king of the progress of agriculture in his district. By these means the lands were cultivated, and the city disburdened of the idle soldiery, who had been accustomed, under Romulus, to live by rapine ².

*Encourages
agricul-
ture.*

But the master-piece of Numa's policy was his distributing the citizens of Rome into distinct bodies of tradesmen. The city had been hitherto rent into two factions, occasioned by the union of the Sabines and first Romans; and nothing could be more dangerous than such a division of the state, as it were, into two different nations. Numa, therefore, to take away all distinction of Roman and Sabine, divided all the inhabitants according to their several trades and occupations, making every profession a particular company and society, and appointing to each their respective courts and privileges. In this division the musicians had the first rank, because employed in the offices of religion: the goldsmiths, carpenters, curriers, yers, taylors, &c. formed also distinct communities, and were allowed to make by-laws among themselves, to have their own festivals, particular sacrifices, &c. Thus the

*Distributes
the citizens
into distinct
bodies of
tradesmen.*

¹ Plut. Liv. & Dion. Hal. ibid.

² Plut. in Numa.

*Reforms
the calen-
dar.*

Romans and Sabines, being intermixed in the same societies, forgot their party-names, and were brought to an entire union^a.

The last reformation which Numa undertook, was that of the calendar. Romulus divided his year into ten months, which, according to Plutarch, had no certain or equal number of days, some consisting of twenty, some of thirty-five, and some of more^b. But Macrobius tells us^c, that he settled the number of days with more equality, allotting to March, May, Quintilis, and October, thirty-one days; to April, June, Sextilis, November, and December, thirty; making up in all three hundred and four days. Numa was better acquainted with the celestial motions; and therefore, undertaking to reform the calendar, added the two months of January and February. To compose these two months he added fifty days to the three hundred and four, in order to make them answer to the course of the moon; he then took six more from the six months that had even days, adding one odd day more than he ought to have done, merely out of superstition, to make the number fortunate. However, he could not allow more than twenty-eight for February; and therefore that month was always counted unlucky. Besides, he observed the difference between the solar and lunar course to be eleven days; and, to remedy the inequality, he doubled those days after every two years, adding an interstitial month after February; which Plutarch calls, in one place, Mercedinus^d, and in another Mercedonius^e (I). As Numa was sensible that the solar year

^a Plut. in Numa.
lib. i. cap. 23.

^b Idem ibid.
^d Plut. in Numa.

^c Macrobi. Saturnal.
^e Idem, in Jul. Cæs.

(I) Festus speaks of certain days, which he calls Mercedonii dies, because they were appointed for the payment of workmen and domestics. Perhaps the intercalary month was, for the same reason, called Mercedonius, from the Latin word *merces*, signifying *wages*. As for the other months, January had its name from Janus; February was so called from

the expiations, signified by the word februa, which were performed in this month; March, the first month of Romulus's year, had its name from Mars, his supposed father; April, from Venus, called by the Greeks *Ἀφροδίτη*; May, from Maia, the mother of Mercury, according to Plutarch (1); though Macrobius makes the Maia, to whom May was con-

(1) Plut. in Numa.

year consisted of three hundred sixty-five days, and six hours, and that the six hours made a whole day in four years, he commanded that the month Mercedinus, after every four years, should consist of twenty-three days; but the care of these intercalations being left to the priests, they put in, or left out, the intercalary day and month, as they fancied it lucky or unlucky, and, by this superstition created such confusion, that the festivals and solemn days came, in process of time, to be kept at a season quite contrary to that when they were first instituted^f.

Numa had now reigned near forty-three years, and was in the eighty-second of his age, when he died of a distemper, which gradually wore him away, without impairing the vigour of his mind. During his long reign, peace had so softened the warlike temper of the Romans, that it might be literally said of them, that their weapons were changed into instruments of husbandry: no intestine seditions, no ambitious desires of the throne, not so much as any murmurs against the person of the king, or his administration, appeared among them. When he died, he was as sincerely lamented by the Romans, as if every man had lost his dearest friend, or his own father. Strangers, to whom he was equally dear, upon the news of his death, flocked from all parts to Rome, to celebrate his obsequies, bringing along with them perfumes and crowns, to be used at his funeral. As he had forbidden the burning of his body, it was put into a stone coffin, and buried, pursuant to his own orders, with the greatest part of the books he had written, at the foot of the hill Janiculus (K), whither he was carried on the shoulders of his senators,

Numa dies.

^f Idem ibid. Vide Cenforin. de Die Natali, cap. 20.

secrated, the same with Rhea, Ops, or the Earth, and different from Mercury's mother (2); Ovid brings it from the word *maiores*, or *elders* (3). June either comes from *juventus*, because this is the youthful and gay part of the year (4), or is a contraction of *Iunonius*, and dedicated to the goddess Juno (5). The other months had their names from their order,

as Quintilis, Sextilis, September, October, November, and December. Only Quintilis and Sextilis afterwards changed their names into July and August, in honour of Julius Cæsar, and his successor Augustus.

(K) The books which he ordered to be buried with him, were dug up again four hundred years after his death, and

(2) Macrob. lib. i. cap. 12.

(3) Ovid. Fast. lib. v. ver. 73.

(4) Plut. ibid.

(5) Macrob. ibid.

tors, and followed by all the people, who, with tears and lamentations, bewailed the loss of so good a prince. He left behind him but one daughter, named Pompilia, who was married to Numa Marcius, by whom she had Ancus Marcius, the fourth king of Rome * (L).

Yr. of Fl.
1683.
Ante Chr.
665.
U. C. 83.

Tullus Hostilius.

The death of Numa was followed by an interregnum, which proved very short, Tullus Hostilius being unanimously chosen by the people, and accepted by the senate. Hostus, the grandfather of Tullus Hostilius, was originally of Medulia, a city of Latium; but had settled at Rome, about four years after its foundation. There he married the famous Herfilia, or, as others will have it, her daughter, and had by her Hostus Hostilius, the father of Tullus Hostilius (M). Tullus began his reign,

by

* Plut. Dion. Hal. & Liv. lib. i. cap. 21.

burnt by a decree of the senate. They contained his reasons for the novelties he had introduced into the Roman worship. We are indebted to Varro for this account (1). "One Terentius, (says he), had a piece of ground near the Janiculum; and a husbandman of his one day accidentally running over Numa's tomb, turned up some of the legislator's books, wherein he gave his reasons for establishing the religion of the Romans on the foundation which he left it. The husbandman carried these books to the prætor, and the prætor to the senate, who, after having read his frivolous reasons for the religious establishments, agreed, that the books should be destroyed, in pursuance of Numa's intentions. It was accordingly decreed, that the prætor should throw them into the fire." St. Austin thinks there were some footsteps of magic in these books, of which Numa had been in his lifetime suspected. Aurelius Vic-

tor assures us, that Numa's motives for the religion he established at Rome were found to be so trivial, that the senate thought fit to suppress them.

(L) Some writers have given Numa four sons, who, they say, were afterwards the stocks of four illustrious families. But the common opinion is, that he had only one daughter, named Pompilia; and she is said to have been born to him of a second wife, by name Lucretia, whom he married after his election to the crown. Ancus Martius, his grandson, was only five years old when his grandfather died; and therefore passed by in the next election, as not being of an age fit to govern.

(M) Hostus had signalized himself under Romulus, in his wars with the Sabines and Fidenates. He was the first who entered the breach at the taking of Fidenæ, and was on that account rewarded by Romulus with a mural crown. This was the reward bestowed by gene-

(1) Varro apud S. August. lib. vii. de Civit. Dei, cap. 24.

*His war
with the
Albans.*

by distributing certain lands, which were the demesnes of the crown, among such of his subjects as had no lands of their own. This act of generosity immediately gained him the hearts of his people. As he was of a bold and enterprising temper, he was more inclined to tread in the steps of Romulus than of Numa; and it was not long before he had a favourable opportunity of seconding his inclination. Coelius, or, as Livy calls him, Cluilius, who was at the head of affairs in Alba, being jealous of the growing greatness of Rome, privately commissioned some of the most indigent among his subjects to lay waste the Roman territory, not doubting but this insult would soon give occasion to a war between the two nations: nor was he disappointed in his expectation; for a Roman army, entering the territories of Alba, attacked the robbers, slew many of them, and took a great number of prisoners. Cluilius, having now a plausible reason for engaging his people in a war with the Romans, convened an assembly, and, by exaggerating the losses which Alba had sustained, brought them to this resolution, that an embassy should be first sent to Rome, to demand satisfaction; and, in case they refused it, that war should be declared. When the ambassadors arrived at Rome, Tullus, guessing at their errand, made use of various pretences to defer giving them audience; and, in the mean time, sent an embassy to Alba, with orders to require satisfaction on the part of Rome. A *fecialis* was at the head of the am-

erals on the person who first scaled the walls of a besieged city. In the second battle with the Sabines, Hostus was killed, and his death occasioned the flight of the Romans (1). Nevertheless he had distinguished himself before the Roman army was put to flight, in so eminent a manner, that the remembrance of his gallant behaviour was preserved by an inscription on a pillar erected on the field of battle (3). As for Hostus Hostilius, the son of Hostus, and father of Tullus, we find nothing worth men-

tioning said of him; but Tullus Hostilius appeared both to the Roman people and senate to be possessed of all those qualifications which could be desired in a successor to Numa. What some historians say of his education has no appearance of truth (4); to wit, that he was brought up in woods, and there kept sheep, as a common shepherd, it being no way credible, that one of the first and most wealthy of the Roman citizens should employ his son in that mean office.

(1) Plin. lib. xvi. cap. 4.
() Val. Max. lib. iii. cap. 4.

(3) Dion. Hal. lib. iii. p. 136.

ambassadors; who, finding Cluilius in the midst of the public forum, discharged his commission, and reminded him of the ancient treaty between the two nations; whereby it was stipulated, that they should never make war upon each other, till a reparation of injuries on either side had been previously asked in a friendly manner. To this remonstrance Cluilius answered, that he had already sent ambassadors to Tullus, but to no effect; and therefore declared war against him. Hereupon the *fecialis*, calling the gods to witness, that the Romans had been first refused their demands, and that they might therefore declare war, without any infraction of the treaty, left Alba, and set out for Rome. Upon the return of the Roman ambassadors, Tullus sent for the Alban deputies; and, being told by them, that their errand was to demand satisfaction of him, and, in case of a refusal, to declare war, the king replied, "Go, tell your master, that the king of Rome calls the gods to witness which of the two nations first refused the other satisfaction, that they may cause all the miseries of this war to fall upon those who first broke the treaty." Thus did Tullus reduce to bare appearances that sincerity which his predecessor had laboured to establish in Rome.

Both armies decline an engagement.

The Roman *fecialis* had allowed Cluilius the space of thirty days before hostilities should begin; which was no sooner elapsed than both armies took the field: but, when they came in sight of each other, their ardour cooled, neither party caring to come to an engagement. This inaction raised great murmurs in the Alban army against Cluilius, as the author of a mock war; insomuch that, not being able to bear their reproaches, he resolved to offer the Romans battle; or, if they declined it, to force their entrenchments: but, next morning, he was found dead in his tent, in the midst of his guards, without any signs of violence; a circumstance which occasioned various conjectures, some imputing his death to the friends of Rome, others to the anger of the gods, who, they said, had thus punished him for beginning an unjust and unnecessary war: but the greater part looked upon it as a common accident; and therefore chose in his room one Metius Fuffetius, or, as others call him, Sufetius, a man no less famous for his hatred to the Roman name than Cluilius. He had been one of the chief promoters of the war; but, whether he distrusted his own skill in the management of it, or did not care to

venture an engagement, he continued, under various pretences, in the same inactivity which he had blamed in his predecessor. In the mean time, he received certain advice, that the Veientes and Fidenates were preparing to attack both armies, when they should be weakened by a battle. This intelligence still encreased his delays; and he now thought of nothing but coming to a conference with the king of the Romans, and changing the preparations for war into a sincere reconciliation¹.

With this view he marched out of his entrenchments; and Tullus, not doubting but his design was to offer him battle, went out to meet him; but he was greatly surprised to find, that the Alban, instead of coming to an engagement, demanded an interview. However, he readily granted him his request; and the two commanders came to a parly at the head of their respective armies. After reciprocal salutations, and protestations of friendship, as if it had never been interrupted, Fuffetius acquainted the Roman king with the conspiracy of the Veientes and Fidenates, and produced the letters he had received from his friends in Fidenæ. Tullus acknowledged, that he had received the same intelligence; which had induced him to keep within his camp, and prevented his undertaking any thing against the Albans. Both consented to end the quarrel in an amicable manner, and expressed a willingness to unite the two nations; but in order to make the union more durable and perfect, Tullus proposed that all, or at least the chief, families of Alba should remove to Rome; or, in case they were unwilling to leave their native city, that one council should be established to govern both cities, under the direction of one of the two sovereigns. Fuffetius took aside those who attended him, to consult with them about this proposal; but they, though willing to come to a union with the Romans, absolutely refused to leave Alba; so that the only difficulty remaining was, to settle which city should have the superiority. Fuffetius spoke in favour of Alba, alleging, that she was the metropolis, or mother-city; whereas Rome was but a colony. Tullus urged in behalf of Rome her superiority in wealth and power; and, in the close of his speech, proposed to terminate the dispute by a single combat between himself and Fuffetius. The Alban general declined to enter the lists with Tullus, and made a new proposal; which was, that three champions should

An interview between the two commanders.

¹ Liv. lib. i. cap. 23.

be chosen out of each camp to decide the difference. To this Tullus agreed.

The Horatii and Curiatii.

The agreement was no sooner known in the two armies, than it excited a strong emulation among the young warriors, for the honour of being chosen to this important combat; but while the choice of the champions was yet in suspense, Fuffetius cast his eyes upon three Albans, whose birth had something wonderful in it. Dionysius Halicarnassensis^k gives us the following account of it: Sequinius, an illustrious citizen of Alba, had two daughters; one he married to Curiatius, a citizen of Alba; and the other to Horatius, a citizen of Rome. These two sisters were brought to-bed on the same day, each of three male children, who were now in the flower of their age, and remarkable for their strength and dexterity. The Alban general, therefore, imagining that the gods had brought them into the world, on purpose to determine the fate of their respective countries with their swords, communicated his thoughts to the king of Rome, and exhorted him to pitch upon the three Horatii, as he had fixed his choice on the three Curiatii. Tullus accordingly proposed the matter to the Horatian family; but would lay no restraint upon them. The three young heroes answered, that they could not dispose of their lives without his consent from whom they had received them. Old Horatius, the father of the three brothers, was under no small apprehension of a combat, wherein much of the blood of his family would be spilt; and, as an additional concern, one of his daughters was betrothed to one of the Curiatii. However, the love of his country getting the better of all other considerations, he left his children to their own choice. When he understood, that they, following the example of the Curiatii, preferred a glorious death, or important victory, to an inglorious life, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and, embracing his children, cried out, "I am a happy father!" and then commanded them to declare his consent to the king.

The dispute between Alba and Rome decided by them.

The combat of the Horatii and Curiatii being proclaimed in both camps, Tullus led the former, and Fuffetius the latter, the people strewing the way, as they passed with flowers, and putting garlands on their heads; for they were looked upon as victims, who had voluntarily devoted themselves for their country. A plain lying between the two camps, was chosen for the place

^k Dion. Hal. lib. iii. p. 148.

of the combat; and the two kings advanced, with their champions and *feciales*, to the middle of it, where, before the engagement began, they concluded a treaty, which served as a pattern for most of the treaties that were ever after made by the Romans (N). This solemnity being finished,

(N) Of this treaty Livy gives us the following account: First, one of the college of the *feciales*, named Marcus Valerius, asking king Tullus, "Whether he gave him orders to conclude a peace with the *pater patratus* of the Albans?" the king answered, "He did." "Give me then (replied the herald), "the sign of my commission." The sign was to be some vervain plucked up by the roots. "Yes, (answered the king), bring me some vervain that is pure." At these words the *fecialis* went and gathered some vervain on a little hill, brought it, and went on thus: "Do you then appoint me to be *fecialis* and plenipotentiary of Rome to the Albans, and engage to protect my equipage and retinue?" "Yes, (replied the king), so far as is consistent with my interest, and that of the Roman people." Then Valerius, the *fecialis*, appointed Spurius Fufius to be *pater patratus* of the treaty, by crowning him with vervain. His office, as such, was to pronounce aloud the words of the oath in the name of the Roman king and people, and to repeat the whole form of the treaty. After this ceremonial, which passed only among the Romans, the new *pater patratus* read the articles of the

convention in the presence of the Albans, and then expressed himself thus: "Hear, O Jupiter; hear, O *pater patratus* of the Alban people; hear, O Alban people; of these articles, as I have just now read them out of those waxen tablets, without fraud or deceit, and as they have been from one end to the other clearly understood, the Roman people will never be the first violators. If they should violate them by public authority, and by fraud, may Jupiter at that instant strike them, as I shall now strike this victim! May thy stroke, great Jupiter, be as much heavier as thy power is greater!" At which words he killed a sow, which was to be offered up as a sacrifice, in confirmation of the treaty, by a blow on the head with a flint. The heralds of the Albans took the like oaths, and also offered their sacrifices (1).

As to the *pater patratus*, it is not easy to determine whether he was a constant officer, and chief of the *feciales*, or only a temporary minister elected for the denouncing of war, or making a peace, which were both done by him. Rosinus makes him the constant governor or head of the *feciales* (2): Festus looks upon him as a distinct officer (3). Pomponius

(1) Liv. lib. i. cap. 24. (2) Rosin. lib. iii. cap. 21. (3) Auct. de Invent. Rer. lib. iv. cap. 14.

nished, the Roman and Alban champions advanced, with a slow pace, each towards his antagonist; but when the people expected to see them engage, they quitted their arms, and flew to embrace each other with all the marks of the most tender and sincere friendship. At this moving sight, the spectators, not able to restrain their tears, began to complain of their kings, for engaging so near and affectionate relations to shed each other's blood. But the tenderness of the young heroes did not abate their courage; each of them resumed his arms, and chose his adversary. Then the combat began with great impetuosity (O). The noise of their arms was already heard at a great distance, and the air rung with a confused mixture of shouts and acclamations from both camps, as either of the combatants appeared to have the advantage. The skill and dexterity of the champions kept the victory long in suspense. At length, the eldest of the Horatii received a mortal wound, and fell. At this sight the Albans triumphed; and their joyful acclamations threw the Romans into the utmost consternation, which was soon after changed into

Two of the
Horatii
 slain;

Lætus (4), and Polydore Virgil (5), are of opinion, that he was only chosen by one of the *seciales* upon such occasions as we have just now mentioned. No person was intrusted with this office, but who had a father and a son both alive; and therefore *pater patratus* is no more than a more perfect sort of father, as they imagined him to be, whose own father was still living after he himself had been a father for some time. That a *pater patratus* should be always chosen for the above mentioned purposes, was, according to some writers, a political law established by Numa, that king being well apprised, that a man, who had a father and children alive, would be more inclined to be faithful to his country, and promote the common interest. Some think that the

pater patratus was so called a *patrando jurejurando*; that is, from the oath he was obliged to take to attest the justice of his demand. Festus says, he was so called, because, by virtue of his commission, he acted as *pater patriæ*, that is, father of his country.

(O) Dionysius Halicarnassensis, by telling us, that the eldest of the *Curiatii* chose out the eldest of the *Horatii*; and that the other two chose their adversaries according to their age; seems to insinuate, that the two sisters had each three children one after another, and at different births; for he plainly supposes, that they were not all of the same age. But this difference of age most authors explain by the order in which the laws placed twins.

(4) Pomp. Lætus de Sacerdot. Rom. cap. 6.
Virg. lib. iv. cap. 6.

(5) Polyd.

despair

despair, when they saw the second Horatius, pierced through by another of the Curiatii, expire on the body of his brother: but the three Alban brothers were all wounded, and the remaining Horatius appeared unhurt and vigorous. However, not thinking himself a match for the three brothers together, he made use of a stratagem to separate them: he retreated, as if he fled; and the Curiatii pursuing him, but at unequal distances, as their strength allowed them, the Roman champion, turning short upon them, slew them all singly, before one could come to the assistance of the other; and, elated with this victory, seized the spoils of the vanquished; while the Roman camp resounded with joyful acclamations in honour of their hero. Thus Rome gained the superiority over Alba her mother-city; which Fufetius acknowledged on the field of battle, saluting king Tullus as his sovereign, and asking him what were his commands. Tullus answered, "I command you to keep the Alban youth in readiness to march at my orders, in case I make war with the Veientes."

and all the Curiatii by the remaining Horatius.

As Horatius returned to the city, he was met by his sister, who, seeing him loaded with the spoils of the three brothers, among which was a military robe which she had wrought with her own hands for the Curiatius to whom she had been betrothed, could not forbear tearing her hair, beating her breast, and reviling her brother with the most provoking and reproachful words, for imbruing his hands in the blood of his relations. Horatius, flushed with his late victory, and enraged at his sister's unseasonable grief, killed her upon the spot, and proceeded to his father's house; who not only approved the action, but would not allow his daughter to be buried in the sepulchre of the Horatian family. However, when Tullus returned to Rome, young Horatius was brought, by some illustrious citizens, before the tribunal, to take his trial. They thought it dangerous to abate the rigour of the laws in favour of conquerors; and therefore insisted on his being tried, and condemned, if found guilty. Tullus, being divided between his regard for the laws, and the desire he had to save young Horatius, and foreseeing he should be censured by some for condemning, and by others for acquitting the criminal, dextrously turned the affair into a state crime, the cognizance of which did not belong to him, but to two commissioners, or duumviri,

Horatius kills his own sister.

¹ Liv. lib. i. cap. 25, 26. Dion. Hal. lib. iii. p. 156.

whom

Is condemned by the duumviri, but saved by the people.

whom the king was to name. As the crime was notorious, and not disowned by the prisoner, the duumvir, without delay, pronounced sentence against him in these words: "We judge you to be guilty of treason: go, lictor, and tie his hands." As soon as judgement was given, Horatius, by the king's advice, appealed to an assembly of the people; by whom the sentence against the criminal was revoked, rather through admiration of his courage, says Livy, than for the justice of his cause. However, that the crime might not go wholly unpunished, Horatius was condemned to pass under the yoke, an ignominy with which it was usual to treat prisoners of war, who had surrendered their arms. The king also appointed expiations, to pacify the anger of the gods, provoked by this violation of the laws. Nor was this all; the pontifices erected two altars, one to Juno, and the other to Janus, which were still remaining in the time of Augustus, together with the yoke, known by the name of *fororium tigillum*, under which they made the criminal pass^m.

Tullus makes war upon the Veientes.

Tullus, mindful of the suspicious behaviour of the Fidenates, during his war with the Albans, cited them to appear before the senate of Rome, and answer for their conduct; but they, conscious of their guilt, and holding private intelligence with Fuffetius, who had exerted them secretly, to shake off the Roman yoke, refused to obey, and, in conjunction with the Veientes, took the field. Fuffetius, in compliance with Tullus's orders, joined him with the Alban troops; but, the day before the battle, he acquainted the principal officers with his design, which was to stand neuter, till fortune should declare for one side, and then join the conqueror. His project was universally approved; and all who were present bound themselves by a solemn oath to conceal his design, and obey his orders. In the mean time, both armies marched out of their entrenchments; and, while they were in motion, Fuffetius, leaving the place he had been posted in, retired with his men to a rising-ground. Tullus, being apprised of his desertion, in that distress made privately a vow, to add twelve priests to the college of the *falii*, and to build a temple to Fear and Palenest; then he exclaimed, with a loud voice, which was heard both by his own men, and by the enemy; "Courage, friends! we have conquered: it is by my order, that the

The treachery of the Albans.

^m Liv. & Dion. Hal. *ibid*.

Albans are possessing themselves of the hill, whence they are to fall down upon the enemy." The confidence of the king inspired his troops with courage; and the Fidenates and Veientes, on the other hand, looking on this motion of the Albans as suspicious, began to distrust their friendship. Thus the discouragement one army was under, and the valour of the other, decided the victory. The Roman cavalry attacked the Fidenates with great resolution, and obliged them to retire in disorder to Fidenæ. Tullus, without losing time in pursuing them, returned upon the Veientes; who, being disheartened at the defeat of their allies, after a faint resistance, quitted the field of battle, and perished for the most part, either in the Tiber, while they attempted to save themselves by swimming, or on the banks of that river, by the swords of the Romans. Then Fuffetius, coming down from his hill, fell upon the remains of the dispersed Fidenates and Veientes."

Tullus, concealing his knowledge of Fuffetius's treachery, went privately in the night to Rome, to consult the senate, and returned to the camp by break of day. He then detached Horatius, who had conquered the three Albans, with a chosen body of horse and foot, to demolish Alba, as had been concerted with the senate. While these orders were executing, Tullus commanded both the Roman and Alban troops to attend him, unarmed; but with private instructions to the Romans to bring their swords concealed under their garments. When they were all assembled, he laid open the perfidiousness and treachery of Fuffetius in a long speech; and, in the conclusion, ordered him to be fastened to two chariots drawn by horses, and to be torn asunder. His accomplices were all put to the sword; but the rest of the Alban soldiers were carried to Rome with the citizens, and the chief men among them were even admitted into the Roman senate. Others were promoted to the dignity of knights, and all, without exception, enjoyed the privileges of Roman citizens. Thus fell the city of Alba, famous for its riches, the number of its inhabitants, and, above all, for being the mother of Rome. This new increase of inhabitants obliged Tullus to enlarge the limits of the city; he took in Mount Cœlius, allowing the Albans to settle there, and built on the same hill his own palace. Next spring he marched against the Fidenates, defeated them in a pitched

Yr. of Fl.
1687.
Ante Chr.
661.
U. C. 87.

Alba demolished, and the Albans transplanted to Rome.

Tullus defeats the Fidenates.

* Liv. lib. i. cap. 27. Dion. Hal. lib. iii. p. 165.

battle;

battle; and, having obliged them to shelter themselves within their walls, by cutting off all succours and provisions, reduced them to such a state, that they surrendered at discretion. The ring-leaders of the revolt were punished, but the rest suffered to continue in their native city, under the same form of government, only dependent upon Rome. So complete a victory procured him the honours of a triumph, in which the spoils of the conquered enemy were carried before him as trophies.

As the power and wealth of Rome were much increased by these repeated victories, and the destruction of Alba, Tullus demanded satisfaction of the Sabines, who were a very powerful nation, for the insults which had been formerly offered to some Roman citizens at the temple of the goddess Feronia, which stood at the foot of Mount Soracte, upon the banks of the Tiber, and was frequented both by the Sabines and Romans (P). The Sabines, having solicited in vain the neighbouring nations to join them, kept themselves for some time on the defensive: but at length, being provoked by Tullus, who laid waste their country, they came to an engagement, which proved so bloody, that both nations, terrified with the numbers of their slain, retired into their respective countries, without attempting any thing more that campaign. Next year the war was renewed with more fury than before. Both armies met in the neighbourhood of Eretum, a town about thirteen miles from Rome, and fought with incredible fury, victory inclining to neither side till Tullus, inspiring his men with new courage, by making a vow to institute on the same day a festival, in honour of Saturn and Ops (Q), gained a complete victory. The conquered

Gains a complete victory over the Sabines.

(P) The goddess Feronia presided over forests, gardens, and orchards, and is thought by some to be the same with Flora or Proserpine. Her temple was frequented by the neighbouring nations, who came to pay their homage, and make offerings to the deity, which they worshipped in common. A fair was kept annually near her temple, and the preceding years some Roman citizens had been on that oc-

casión robbed, and kept in captivity, by the Sabines, who refused to set them at liberty, when demanded by their country, saying, that the Romans had used them in the same manner by opening an asylum, and peopling Rome with their fugitives.

(Q) The festivals of Saturn and Ops, or Rhea, were kept in the month of December, under the name of Saturnalia and Opalia, which were

ed had no other resource than to implore the clemency of the conqueror; and Tullus granted them a peace upon his own terms °.

Tullus, flushed with success, summoned all the Latin towns, which had been dependent on Alba, to submit to the Roman laws, and follow the fortune of their metropolis. Upon this citation it was resolved, in a general assembly of the Latins held at Feronium, that they should not by any means submit to Rome, but to the utmost of their power maintain their ancient independency. Two generals were elected by the assembly; to wit, Ancus Publicius of Cora, and Spurius Vecilius of Lavinium, to whom full power was granted of declaring war, or making peace, as they should think fit. However, the Romans did not deem it adviseable to make war upon them in a regular manner: they contented themselves with making inroads and incursions, and destroying their harvest. Medulia alone, which had received a colony in Romulus's time, and had now joined the Latins, was taken, and, as was then thought, rendered incapable of taking up arms again.

Takes Medulia, a Latin city.

Some years after, the Sabines, thinking themselves in a condition to repair their ancient losses, invaded the Roman territories, and, dividing themselves into small parties, over-ran the whole country. As they met with little opposition, they began to entertain thoughts of laying siege to Rome; but Tullus defeated them in a pitched battle, and made them once more sensible of the superiority of Rome.

Defeats the Sabines a second time.

Tullus, being now advanced in years, fell into superstition, and was easily imposed upon by stories of prodigies, and voices from heaven. Sometimes they told him, that it had rained stones on the hill of Alba, and sometimes that a voice from heaven had been heard there, commanding the Albans to resume their ancient ceremonies.

° Dion. Hal. p. 175. Liv. ibid.

were, properly speaking, one and the same solemnity, continued for several days together. The festival appropriated to Saturn was fixed to the sixteenth of the calends of January, and that of Ops to the fourteenth. Dionysius of Halicarnassus ascribes the origin of them to Tullus Hosti-

lius's vow. But Macrobius assures us, that they were celebrated in Italy, long before the building of Rome. Servants had at this time a right of being served by their masters, wearing their cloaths, and reproving them for their faults.

His death.

The king believed these prodigies, and appointed expiatory sacrifices for nine days, which gave rise to the custom of employing nine days to appease heaven, as often as men were alarmed with prodigies of this kind. As to the manner of his death, authors disagree: some tells us, that he was killed by lightning, with his wife, children, and whole family: others are of opinion, that he died by the hands of Ancus Marcius, his successor, who slew him and his whole family, while they were performing a domestic sacrifice; and then set fire to the palace, to conceal his crime. He died after a reign of thirty-three years, leaving the city greatly increased, but the dominions nearly the same as they had been in the time of Romulus.

Ancus Marcius.

After a short interregnum, the people and senate unanimously chose Ancus (R.) Marcius, the grandson of Numa,

• Liv. lib. i. cap. 31.

(R) Every Roman had, generally speaking, three, and sometimes four names: the first was called *prænomen*, the second *nomen*, the third *cognomen*, and the fourth *agnomen*. The *nomen* shewed the family from which he was sprung; the *prænomen* and *cognomen* were often nicknames, taken from the circumstance of the person's birth, or his defects, or bodily qualities; and the *agnomen* was a title of honour, as Africanus, Germanicus, &c. Thus the prince of the Roman orators was called Marcus Tullius Cicero. The *prænomen* Marcus signified, that he was born in the month of March; his *nomen*, or name Tullius, was that of his family; and his *cognomen*, or surname, Cicero, alluded to the mark or wart he had in his face, which was like a vetch, called by the Latins *cicer*. Valerius tells us, that Marcius had the name of Ancus from the Greek word *αγκών*, because he had a crooked arm, which

he could not stretch out to its full length. We must observe here, that the *ingenui* alone, or those who were free-born, were allowed to take three names; for the slaves in ancient times had no name, but what they borrowed from the *prænomen* of their masters; as Lucipor, Publipor, Marcipor, that is Lucii puer, Publii puer, &c. or the slave of Lucius, of Publius, &c. When this custom grew out of fashion, the slaves were usually called by some name of their own, which was often taken from their country, as Syrus, Geta, &c. Upon their manumission they took the *prænomen* and *nomen* of their masters; but, instead of the *cognomen*, made use of their former name, as Marcus Tullius Tiro, the freedman of Cicero. After the same manner it was customary for any foreigner, who had been made free of Rome, to bear the *prænomen* and *nomen* of the person by whose means he had obtained that privilege.

by

by his daughter Pompilia, and Marcius his relation, the son of that Marcius who persuaded Numa to accept of the kingdom; and afterwards killed himself, because he was not chosen in his room. The new king began his reign by endeavouring to restore the religious ceremonies which had been neglected in the last reign, to their former use, and to revive husbandry, advising his subjects to lay aside all sorts of violence, and to return to their peaceable employments. Notwithstanding this seeming inclination to peace, Ancus undoubtedly loved war, and was desirous of the honours of a triumph. However, the love he affected for the arts of peace gained him the affections of his subjects; but, at the same time, drew upon him the contempt of the neighbouring nations. The Latins were the first who made him give way to his martial inclination. These, pretending that their treaty with the Romans was no longer binding than while king Tullus lived, made inroads into the territories of Rome. Ancus therefore resolved to be revenged on them; but, out of respect to the laws of Numa, omitted no ceremony in declaring war, which that law-giver had appointed (S).

Yr. of Pl.
1714.
Ante Chr.
634.
U. C. 114.

*His war
with the
Latins.*

He

(S) The ceremonies were as follow: a *facialis* was sent to the Latins, to demand satisfaction. He no sooner arrived on the borders, than he cried out: "Great Jupiter, and ye confines of the Latin nation, hearken to justice. I come hither with a deputation from the Roman people, in all the legal forms; and I demand, that credit be given to what I say." After this formal declaration, he laid open his demands; and then calling Jupiter to witness the truth of what he said, he pursued thus: "If I have unjustly and impiously made these demands, mayest thou, great god, never suffer me to return to my own country!" He repeated these words at his entering the Latin territory; then to the first person he met; afterwards at the gate of the city; and, lastly,

in the market-place. If in about thirty days his demands were not satisfied, he added to what he had said before: "O Jupiter, Juno, thou Romulus, and all ye gods of heaven, of earth, and of hell, hearken! I call you all to witness, that the Latins are unjust. We will therefore enter into deliberations at Rome on the proper means of obliging them to give us just satisfaction." No sooner was the *facialis* returned, than the king referred the affair to the senate, addressing himself, according to the form prescribed by Numa, to each particular senator, in these words: "Say, what think you of the refusal, which the *pater patratus* and the whole nation of the Latins have given the *pater patratus* of the Romans, of restoring and granting us what we demanded of them?" To

E e 2

which

*He takes
several
cities from
them.*

He then took the field, with an army consisting entirely of new-raised troops, marched to Politorium, a Latin city, and made himself master of the place before the Latins could relieve it. He spared the city, and only transplanted the inhabitants to Rome, settling them with those of Tillena and Ficana, two other cities of Latium, which he likewise took, on the hill Aventinus. Next year he retook Politorium, which the Latins had repeopled; and upon this second reduction demolished it entirely. He then laid siege to Medulia, a place of great strength, which he reduced, after having led his troops four years successively against it. He likewise made himself master of Ficana, destroying it with fire and sword. This city he had taken in the beginning of the war, but, having neglected to demolish it, the Latins had possessed themselves of it; and it was with the utmost difficulty that he reduced it the second time. The Latins, enraged, but not discouraged, at their losses, made great preparations, and took the field with all the forces they could draw together. But Ancus, having defeated them in a pitched battle, obliged them to sue for a peace; and triumphed at Rome for the advantages he had gained ¹.

*His war
with the
Fidenates,
Sabines,
Veientes,
and Volsci.*

The Fidenates, Veientes, and Volsci, felt likewise the effects of his martial disposition. The Fidenates had revolted during the Latin war; and it was no sooner ended,

¹ Liv. lib. i. cap. 33.

which each senator gave this answer, "Let us again demand our rights by a just and lawful war: this is the opinion for which I declare." When the greater part of the senators had thus declared their opinion, the war was considered as unanimously agreed on. Then the *fecialis* went to the confines of the enemy's country, carrying in his hand a javelin, which was dipped in blood, and either headed with iron, or burnt at the end. When he arrived on the territories of the Latins, he pronounced the following form of words in the presence of at

least three persons, not under fourteen years of age: "On account of the damages which the Latin nation has done the Roman people, and in obedience to a decree made by the senate and people of Rome, importing that war be declared against the Latins; I, and the Roman people, declare and begin it." At these words he threw a dart upon the enemy's lands. It is to be observed here, that at this time no use was made of the king's name or authority; he never being mentioned, but only the senate and people (1).

(1) Liv. lib. i. cap. 32.

than

than Ancus marched against them, and took their city by surprise; this being the first instance we meet with in the Roman history of that kind of attack. The king dug a way under-ground from his camp, quite under the walls of Fidenæ; and his men, having by that contrivance entered the city without being observed, opened the gates to their companions, and put Ancus in possession of the place, in which he left a strong garrison, after having caused those to be put to death who had been most active in the revolt. He next marched against the Sabines, who had renewed hostilities, defeated their united forces, and granted them a peace upon honourable terms. Over the Veientes he obtained two complete victories, for which a triumph was decreed him by the senate¹.

The Janiculum taken in.

Rome was greatly enlarged in this king's reign; for he not only carried the walls round the Aventine hill, but also inclosed the hill Janiculum, which stood on the other side of the Tiber, and made it a sort of citadel for Rome. In order to open a communication between the city and the new citadel, he built the bridge Sublicius (T), over the Tiber, where it washes the foot of the Aventine hill. He likewise made a large ditch, called Fossa Quiritium, which was no small defence against those who came from the plains. And now the city having received a great increase, Ancus, to suppress the licentiousness of such multitudes of people, built a large prison in the Roman forum. But he did not content himself with enlarging the city: he likewise extended its dominions; for having taken from the Veientes the Mesian forest, the territories of Rome reached quite to the sea, where he built the port and city of Ostia, to secure the advantages of trade to his subjects. About this town he caused many salt-pits to be dug; and the distribution of salt which he made among his subjects at this time, gave rise to those public liberalities called congiaria, from the word *congius*, a measure used among the ancient Romans. He rebuilt the temple

Ostia built.

¹ Dion. Hal. lib. iii. p. 172.

(T) Some writers derive the name Sublicius from the piles on which it stood, that being the import of the Latin word *sublicia*; others from the ancient word *licio*, which signifies to join. Neither iron nor copper were made use of in building this bridge; both being

equally prohibited, if we believe Plutarch, by an ancient oracle. The care of keeping it in good repair belonged first to the pontifices, and afterwards to the quæstors. It was the first bridge that was built over the Tiber, and perhaps in Italy.

*Ancus dies.**An account
of Tar-
quin's fa-
mily.*

of Jupiter Feretrius, after a more stately and magnificent manner; and spent the latter years of his reign in improving the city, and enriching the citizens. He died, after a reign of twenty-four years, during which he shewed himself no way inferior to any of his predecessors, in the arts either of peace or war. Plutarch says, he died a violent death; but is contradicted by most of the ancients.

Ancus left two sons, one an infant, the other near fifteen years of age, both under the tuition of Tarquin; not suspecting that a stranger, who had lately settled at Rome, could gain the suffrages of the people, in competition with his son, and place the crown on his own head. Tarquin was the son of a rich merchant of Corinth, who, to secure his great wealth from the rapine of Cypselus, the tyrant of that place, had left his native country, and settled in Tarquinii, one of the most famous cities of Etruria. There he married a woman of distinction, and had by her two sons, to whom he gave Etrurian names, calling the one Arunx, and the other Lucumo. Arunx, who was the eldest, died before his father; and though he left his wife with child, yet his father, not knowing it, and dying soon after, left his whole estate to Lucumo, his second son: so that the posthumous son of Arunx was disinherited before he was born, and therefore took the name of Egerius, from *egere*, to want. Lucumo, being now in possession of his father's immense riches, aspired to the highest dignities in Tarquinii, his wife Tanaquil, who was of a noble extraction, inflaming his ambition; but being looked upon in Etruria as a stranger, he was debarred from acquiring any considerable post in the country where he dwelt. Roused therefore by the reproaches of the aspiring Tanaquil, he resolved to remove to Rome, where two Sabines had been raised to the throne, and where personal merit was the surest and only means of arriving at the first dignities of the state (U). He was no

(U) The success which attended the new-comers gave rise to the following fable; to wit, that as Tarquin was on the road with his wife, in an open chariot, an eagle appearing over his head, at the foot of the Janiculum, snatched off his hat, and soaring up again, was lost for some time among

the clouds; but at length came down with great rapidity, and left the hat on Lucumo's head. Hereupon Tanaquil, who is said to have been skilled in the art of augury, embracing her husband with tenderness, in a transport of joy, explained to him the happy presage of his future grandeur (1).

(1) Liv. ubi supra.

sooner admitted citizen of Rome, than he endeavoured to appear entirely Roman, changing the prænomen of Lucumo into Lucius, and the nomen, or name Damaratus, which favoured too much of the Greek, into Tarquinius, borrowed from Tarquinius, where he had been brought up. As for the cognomen of Priscus, or Old, it was not probably given him till after his death, when it was used to distinguish him from the other Tarquin. The polite and engaging behaviour of the Greek, now become a Roman, soon gained him the favour of the people, and made him known in the court of Ancus, into whose favour he artfully insinuated himself; and lest his immense riches should create suspicions in a city which was yet poor, he offered to deposit them in the public treasury, to supply the wants of the public. As he was not ignorant, that military exploits were a sure step to great honours, he not only contributed to the expences of the war out of his estate, but, in all expeditions, distinguished himself in a very eminent manner. In the war with the Latins he fought on foot, and against the Veientes signalized himself at the head of the Roman cavalry; so that the king, in consideration of his gallant behaviour, raised him to the rank of a patrician and senator. As he was no less prudent in council than formidable in arms, he shone in the senate from his first admission into it; and his advice was always followed by the king, in military expeditions*.

Tarquin raised to the rank of a patrician and senator.

Tarquin, looking upon the death of Ancus as a critical time to attempt mounting the throne, brought on the election with the utmost expedition, and caused the curiæ to be summoned, before young Marcius was quite fifteen. For the greater precaution, he took care to keep his pupil out of the sight of the people during the comitia, and, for that purpose, sent him into the country on a hunting-match. In the mean time, he carried on his intrigues, and gained some by money, and others by promises. He was the first who introduced into Rome the custom of soliciting for offices, and making interest to obtain them; the Romans having, till his time, concealed from the world the desire they had of obtaining the highest posts: but the Greek, who was above these timorous scruples, plainly begged the kingdom, in an harangue which he made to the people, urging the example of Tatius and Numa, the first an enemy as well as a stranger, and the

* Dion. Hal. lib. iii. p. 184, 185.

Yr. of Fl.
1738.
Ante Chr.
610.
U. C. 138.

*Tarquin
elected
king.
His war
with the
Latins.*

second wholly unacquainted with the city; whereas he was not only a friend to the Romans, but had spent all his riches among them, and was so well acquainted with the laws and customs of Rome, that the late king had employed him in affairs, both civil and military, of the greatest consequence. Then heartfully insinuated his past services; and, as the people had a high opinion of his merit, they commanded him (for that was the term then used) to take upon him the management of public affairs. In the beginning of his reign, to strengthen his party in the senate, and reward those who had shewn most zeal in his election, he created a hundred new senators, who were called *senatores minorum gentium*, because chosen out of the plebeian families. However, they had the same authority in the senate as the other senators, and their children were deemed patricians.

His first war was with the Latins, from whom he took the cities of Apiolæ, Crustumium, Nomentum, and Collatia. The inhabitants of Apiolæ were sold for slaves, but those of Crustumium and Nomentum, having submitted after their revolt, were treated with great clemency. Collatia, which was more obstinate, met with a more severe treatment: the inhabitants were disarmed, and obliged to pay a large sum of money. As for the city, he thought he might dispose of it as he pleased; and therefore gave the sovereignty of it to Egerius, his brother Arunx's son, who from thence took the name of Collatinus, which he transmitted to his posterity. Corniculum was likewise besieged, taken by storm, and reduced to ashes. Tarquin's progress alarmed the other cities of Latium: some of them united their forces against the common enemy; but they were defeated in a bloody battle near Fidenæ, and obliged to enter into an alliance with the conqueror. Hereupon a national assembly of all the Latins being held at Ferentinum, it was resolved that they should employ all their strength to oppose the torrent that threatened them. Pursuant to this resolution, they drew together what forces they could; and, having engaged all Sabinia, and great part of Hetruria, to join them, they took the field with a very numerous army. But Tarquin, having defeated the confederates in two actions, forced those Latin cities, which had refused his alliance, to sue for it, and submit to a sort of dependence upon Rome. Tarquin, on his return, was honoured with a triumph.

† Dion. Hal. lib. iii. p. 188, 189, 190. Liv. lib. i. cap. 35.

The spoils he had taken in the conquered cities of Latium, especially in Apiolæ, he employed in building a circus for the Roman games, otherwise called the Great Games (W). The place chosen for the circus was the Myrtian

The Circus Maximus built.

or

(W) As Tarquin was of a Greek family, he was the first who thought of building a circus at Rome, in imitation of the chief cities of Greece; for the first circus we read of was built at Elis, where the Olympic games were celebrated, and served as a pattern for all the rest. Livy assures us, that the Roman games were also called the Great Games; but we must not infer from thence, that all the sports, which were celebrated in the circus, and called Circeses, were the Great Games. Some were celebrated in the circus in honour of Ceres, Apollo, &c. which were different from the Roman or Great Games; as were also the Megalenses; for the former were celebrated before the nones of April, and the latter on the eve of the nones of September. Besides, the Great Games were celebrated in honour of the Great Gods, whence they were called the Great Games; and the latter in honour of Cybele. Lastly, the Great Games were instituted by Tarquinius Priscus, and the Megalenses not till the time of Junius Brutus, who appointed them in honour of Cybele, then called *Μεγαλήσια*, or the Great Goddesses. As to the name of circus, which was given to the magnificent structure raised by Tarquin, some derive it from *circulus*, a circle, part of it being built in that

shape. Others will have it to have been so named, because the chariots, that disputed the prize, were obliged to run seven times round the posts which were at each end of it. The poets mention only seven rounds, without expressly saying whether they were about several posts, or one only. But Cassiodorus tells us, in express words, that it was necessary to turn round seven different posts. However, it is generally thought that there was but one post, round which the charioteers were obliged to drive seven times. From this turning round some derive the word *circus*; but Tertullian (1) pretends, that the Roman circus took its name from Circe, the fabulous daughter of the sun; and imagines that she was the first who invented the Circesian sports, intending by them to represent the course of the sun her father, running round the globe of the earth in a chariot drawn by four horses.

The circus had four fronts, one at the bottom, where the posts stood, one at the opposite end where the chariots started, and one at each side, whence the spectators beheld the shews. Dionysius Halicarnassensis tells us, that this circus was three stadia and a half long, and four jugera broad; and that one hundred and fifty thousand men could sit in it at

(1) Tertul. de Spectac.

their

*Tarquin
subdues the
twelve lu-
cumonies
of Hetru-
ria.*

or Murtian valley, which reached from the Aventine to the Palatine hill (X).

The war of the Latins was scarce ended, when all Hetruria combined against Tarquin, on account of his detaining the ambassadors whom they had sent to demand some prisoners (Y). It was even decreed in a general assembly of the twelve lucumonia, that, if any city of Hetruria stood neuter, it should be for ever cut off from the general alliance. Having thus raised a considerable army, they took the field, ravaged the Roman territory, and made themselves masters of Fidenæ, by the treachery of some of the inhabitants. The king did not appear the first year in the field, but quietly suffered them to go on without opposition, choosing rather to let them triumph for a time, than to encounter them without the necessary preparations. Next year he armed all his legions, and, having applied to his allies for succours, took the

their ease. Pliny (2) tells us, that the Roman stadium contained six hundred and twenty-five Roman feet, each of which contained twelve inches, or sixteen fingers breadth; so that the circus, as it was, according to the above mentioned writer, three stadia and a half long, must have been two thousand one hundred and eighty-seven Roman feet in length. As it was four jugera broad, each of which contained, according to Pliny, two hundred and forty Roman feet, it is from thence manifest, that the circus was nine hundred and sixty Roman feet broad, and consequently above twice as long as it was wide. So that the length of the circus was somewhat more than three English furlongs. It was called the Great Circus, either on account of its vast circumference, or because the Great Games were celebrated in it, or, perhaps, because it was

consecrated to the Great Gods, namely, to Vertumnus, Neptune, Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and especially to the Dii Penates of Rome, which were in a special manner called Great Gods. This circus was extremely beautified and adorned by the Roman emperors, in whose times it was enlarged to such a prodigious extent, that it contained, in their proper seats, two hundred and fifty thousand spectators (3).

(X) This valley was so called, according to some, from a temple erected to a goddess of that name at the foot of the Aventine hill. Others style it Myrtea, from a temple built in that place to Venus, furnished Myrtea, because the myrtle was consecrated to her.

(Y) Each of the twelve cities that composed the ancient Hetruria, elected a representative or president, who was distinguished by the appellation of lucomo or lucmo.

(2) Plin. lib. i. cap. 3.

(3) Plin. lib. xxxvi.

the field early in the spring, and divided his army into two bodies. The Romans he commanded himself, and placed his cousin Collatinus at the head of the allies. Collatinus was defeated, while, presuming too much on his strength, he divided his army to plunder the enemy's country. But the king, with his Romans, made a more fortunate campaign, having routed the Hetrurians, first near Veii, and afterwards under the walls of Cære. As Fidene was a key to the Roman dominions, Tarquin marched against it with all his forces, put the Hetrurian army, that covered it, to the rout, and made himself master of that important place. Such of the Fidenates as were suspected to have been concerned in betraying it to the enemy, were whipped to death; the rest were sent into banishment, and their lands divided, by lot, among the Roman soldiers. Then Tarquin hastened to fall upon the Hetrurians once more, before the whole strength of the new army they were raising could be got together. He came up with them near Eretum, ten miles from Rome, and overthrew them with great slaughter; for which victory the senate decreed him a triumph *.

The Lucumonies, despairing of any future success against the Romans, sent deputies to the king, with an unlimited commission to conclude a peace upon any terms. As Tarquin was naturally inclined to clemency, and followed that inclination when he found it no way prejudicial to his ambition, he granted them a peace, without insisting upon any other condition than their owning his sovereignty over them. The Hetrurians readily agreed to this; and, in proof of their accepting the king of Rome for their sovereign, sent him all the ensigns of royalty which were in use among them; namely, a crown of gold, a throne of ivory, a sceptre, with an eagle on the top of it, a tunic embroidered with gold, and adorned with figures of palm-branches (Z), and a purple robe, enriched

The Hetrurians sue for peace;

which is granted them upon their acknowledging Tarquin for their king.

* Idem, p. 192.

(Z) This the Latins called *tunica palmata*, which we ought to distinguish from the *tunica picta*. The former was not properly speaking, a long hanging robe, but rather a vest, which was partly hid under the robe. It had, at first, no sleeves, and afterwards but very short ones. As all the Romans wore tunics, they shewed the difference of their rank by that of their tunics. Some sewed upon their's purple flowers, which were stuck on like the heads of nails, and hence came the word *laticlavium*. Only the chief magistrates, senators, and

riched with flowers of several colours. However, Tarquin deferred wearing these stately ornaments, till the people and

and generals of the army were allowed to wear these. The inferior magistrates, the Roman knights, and some other officers in the army, wore indeed tunics with purple flowers; but these flowers were smaller than the others; and from thence comes the name of *angusticlavium*. Those who triumphed, instead of embroidered flowers, wore purple palm branches upon their tunics, or *tunicæ palmatæ*. As to the *toga picta*, some think it was a robe common among the Romans, only of a purple colour: and as to the robe in general, it was nothing but a very long mantle hanging in great folds quite down to the ground, which they sustained upon their right shoulders, throwing one lappet of it over the left. The robes of the senators were adorned with great purple flowers, as well as their tunics, and those of the knights with smaller. The robes of those who triumphed, were probably adorned with palm-branches as well as their tunics. At least it is certain, they were made of rich stuffs, and were called *togæ pictæ*. Two persons only had ever the privilege of wearing them out of a triumph, namely, Paulus Æmilius and Pompey.

We have followed here the most common opinion with relation to the *laticlavium* and *angusticlavium*, about which critics are strangely divided. Some are of opinion, that the

clavi were a kind of flowers interwoven in the cloth; others will have them to be the buttons or clasps by which the tunic was held together. A third sort pretend, that the *latus clavus* was nothing but a tunic bordered with purple. Scaliger thinks the *clavi* did not belong to the vest, but hung down from the neck, like chains and ornaments of that nature. Rubenius endeavours to refute all these conjectures, and to prove that the *clavi* were no more than purple lines or streaks in the middle of the garment. According to that author, they did not receive the name of *clavi* as an immediate allusion to the heads of nails, to which, he says, they bore no resemblance, but were so called from their being of a different colour from the rest of the garment; for the Romans, says that writer, used to inlay their cups, and other precious utensils, with studs of gold, or other ornamental materials. These, from their likeness to nail-heads, they called in general *clavi*. So that it was natural to bring the same word to signify these lines of purple, or other colours, which were different from all the rest of the garment, as those *clavi* were of a different colour and figure from the vessels which they adorned. A modern critic of no mean character (4), tells us, that the *clavi* were nothing else but purple galleons, with which they bordered the fore-

(4) Dacier, in Horat. lib. ii. sat. 5.

and senate had consented to it by an express law. He then applied these regalia to the decoration of his triumph, and never after laid them aside. In his triumph he appeared in a gilt chariot, drawn by four horses, clothed in a purple robe, and a tunic embroidered with gold, attended by twelve lictors, with their axes and fasces, with a crown on his head, and a sceptre in his hand. Thus ended the war with the Heturrians, after it had lasted nine years.

Tarquin having now an interval of rest from his wars, applied all his thoughts to the beautifying, cleansing, and fortifying the city. He built the walls of Rome with hewn stone, and those famous common-sewers, which have been since numbered among the wonders of the world * (Y).

He

* Liv. lib. i. cap. 38.

Yr. of Fl.
1759.
Ante Chr.
589.
U. C. 159.

His triumph.

Applies himself to the beautifying of Rome.

part of the tunic, on both sides, in a place where it came together. The broad galoons, says he, made the laticlavium, and the narrow the angusticlavium. As to the name of clavi, he thinks the ancients gave that name to any thing that was made with a design to be put upon another.

(Y) Pliny, who did not examine them till near eight hundred years after they were built, could not speak of them without admiration (5). Rome contained at that time four hills within its compass; namely, the Palatinus, Tarpeius, Quirinalis, and Caelius. In the vallies between these hills, the rain-water and springs uniting, formed great pools, which laid under water the streets and public places. The mud likewise made the way impassable, infected the air, and rendered the city unhealthy. These inconveniencies prompted Tarquin to undertake the cleansing the city from its filth, by con-

veying off the waters through subterraneous canals or common-sewers into the Tiber. He made all the arches of these common-sewers of hard stone, and spared neither expence nor labour to make the work durable. Their height and breadth were so considerable, that a cart loaded with hay could easily pass through them underground. But what most increased the difficulty of the work, was the conveying of the waters, which, through these sewers, were to carry off the filth into the Tiber. It was necessary to cut through hills, and, under the city, through rocks, a channel large enough for a navigable stream, and covered with arches strong enough to bear the weight of houses, which were often built upon them, and stood as firm as on the most solid foundations. The expence of this great work was never so well understood, as when it came to be repaired: for the

(5) Plin. lib. xxxiii. cap. 15.

censors

*This war
with the
Sabines*

He likewise adorned the forum, furlrounding it with galleries, in which were shops for tradesmen, and building temples in it, with schools for the youth of both sexes, and halls for the administration of public justice.

The king had scarce ended these works, when he engaged in a war with the Sabines, under pretence that they had assisted the Hetrurians. Both armies took the field, and came to an engagement on the confines of Sabina, which lasted the whole day, without any considerable advantage on either side; insomuch that the generals, standing in awe of each other, retired to their respective camps, and soon after returned home, without attempting any thing else that campaign. Tarquin employed the winter in making the necessary preparations against the next year. He considered, that he had been often prevented from pursuing the advantages of a victory for want of horse; for, though the infantry was very numerous, the cavalry continued on the same footing on which Romulus had left it. He therefore resolved to add some new bodies of knights to those of the first institution. In any state, less superstitious than that of the Romans, this design would have been put in execution without any dispute; but in Rome, the innovation, which Tarquin intended to introduce, met with great opposition. As the first division of the horse into three bodies had been determined by auguries, Actius Nævius, the most famous augur of that time, opposed the king, and took upon him the defence of Romulus's institution.

*The ad-
venture of
Nævius
the augur.*

Tarquin could not persuade himself that the augur was serious in his opposition; and therefore commanded him to be brought into his presence, fully resolved to confound and discredit the diviner in the art, which superstition maintained, to the diminution of the royal authority. As soon as Nævius appeared before Tarquin, in the middle of the forum, and in the sight of all the people, "Canst thou discover by thy art, diviner, (said the king), whether what I am thinking of can be done, or not? Go, and consult thy birds." The augur did as he was ordered; and returning quickly, answered, with great composure, "Yes, Tarquin, my art tells me, that what you are thinking of may be done." Upon this, the king, pulling out a razor from under his robe, and taking a flint in his hand, replied, with a contemptuous smile; "I was that

censors gave no less than a who undertook the cleansing of
thousand talents to the person it.

in

ing whether it was possible to cut this flint with this razor. I have taken thee in thy own craft ; the introducing the gods into thy decisions is all cheat and imposture. If thou canst perform what is impossible, do." At these words the people burst into laughter : but Nævius, without discovering the least surprize, addressed the king with an air of assurance, and said, " Put the razor to the flint, and try : I readily submit to any punishment, if you do not perform what you thought on." The king tried the experiment, and saw, to his great surprize, the flint give way to the edge of the razor, which cut through it with so much ease, that it reached the king's hand, and drew blood from it *. Livy says, that Nævius took the flint into his own hand, and cut it in Tarquin's presence †. Be that as it will, the people testified their surprize by loud acclamations ; and Tarquin, turning his contempt for augury into admiration, laid aside his project of increasing the number of the corps of horse, and contented himself with augmenting the number of knights of each corps, making the Roman cavalry amount in all to eighteen hundred men. From this time, no determination was made, either in the camp or city, without the approbation of the augurs. As for Nævius, Tarquin erected a statue of brass to his memory in the comitium, which continued there till Augustus's time. The razor and flint, which were kept as monuments of the miracle, were buried near it, under an altar, at which witnesses were afterwards sworn in civil causes (B).

Tarquin, early in the spring, took the field against the Sabines, who, having received considerable reinforcements from Hetruria, were encamped near the conflux of the Anio and the Tiber. The Hetrurians were posted on one bank of the Tiber, and the Sabines over-against them

Tarquin renews the war with the Sabines.

* Dion. Hal. p. 203.

† Liv. lib. i. cap. 36.

(B) This event, though related with so many circumstances, attested by all the writers of the Roman history, and adopted by some of the fathers of the church, who impute it to magic, is without all doubt a mere fabulous invention, and was looked upon as

such by Tully, who, though himself an augur, writes of it thus : " Look with contempt (he speaks to his brother Quintus) on the razor and flint of the famous Actius ; when we reason as philosophers, we ought to lay no stress upon fables (7)."

(7) Cic. de Divinit. lib. i.

His success.

on the other. The confederate armies had a communication by a bridge of boats; and this Tarquin, who had encamped on a hill near the banks of the Anio, found means to set on fire, by sending down the river flat-bottomed boats, loaded with dry wood, sulphur, and resin. The Sabines hastened to extinguish the flame, leaving, as is very frequent on such unforeseen and sudden accidents, their camp unguarded. Then Tarquin, laying hold of this opportunity, attacked, and made himself master of it; while a detachment which he had sent out, having passed the Tiber in the night, fell suddenly on the camp of the Hetrurians. The enemy, thus attacked on both sides, immediately fled, and, in the confusion, perished, some by the flames, some by the sword, and others by leaping into the river. The arms of the enemy, which came floating down the stream, brought the news of the victory to Rome, before the arrival of the couriers dispatched by the king ^a.

He ravages their country;

After this victory, Tarquin, without allowing the enemy any respite, entered the territory of the Sabines; who having, with incredible expedition, drawn together another army, faced him a second time; but, being once more routed with great slaughter, they had at last recourse to the clemency of the conqueror, and sued for peace: but Tarquin did not grant them more than a truce, which was no sooner expired, than they passed the Anio, and made incursions on the Roman lands. Tarquin, leaving the city, fell upon the plunderers; and, having taken their booty from them, encamped, with the few forces he had with him, opposite to the enemy, while the rest of the army advanced. The Sabines, whose courage was not in the least abated by their former misfortune, did not fail to offer him battle; and the king, as soon as he was joined by the forces he expected, accepted the challenge. As the Sabines were not inferior to the Romans, either in numbers or bravery, the victory continued doubtful, till a body of horse, which Tarquin had detached before the battle, having taken a compass, fell unexpectedly on the enemy's rear. Then the Sabines were seized with a panic, and abandoned the field in a disorderly manner. Few of them reached the neighbouring cities, their retreat being cut off on one side by the main body of the Roman army, and on the other by the detachment of horse. Those who escaped the

and defeats them in a second battle.^a Liv. lib. i. cap. 37.

Swords of the conquerors, fled to their camp, which, though well fortified, was attacked, and taken, almost without resistance, by the Romans. Thus ended this campaign. Next year the Sabines, having chosen a more experienced commander, appeared early in the field, but declined a battle. Tarquin, not thinking it safe to attack the enemy's camp, surrounded it on all sides; and, by cutting off their communication with the neighbouring country, reduced the Sabines to the utmost extremity. The Romans looked upon them as a sure prey; but the Sabine general, taking the advantage of a dark and stormy night, marched his army out of his intrenchments, and, without being observed, got out of the enemy's reach, leaving only in the camp some wounded men, and a few cattle^b. And thus the campaign ended.

reduces them to the utmost extremity.

Next year, the Romans and Sabines appeared anew in the field, as soon as the season was fit for action; and, having encamped near each other, the two generals agreed to put the whole to the issue of a battle. As Tarquin had divided his army, which was very numerous, into three bodies, he commanded the Romans himself, put his nephew Arunx at the head of the Hetrurians, and gave the command of the Latins, and other allies, to Servius Tullius, a foreigner, who, from a slave, was become a Roman citizen. The two armies engaged with the utmost fury, and fought the whole day with equal intrepidity and resolution; but, in the end, the Romans gained the victory, after Tarquin had inspired his men with fresh courage, by making a vow to build a magnificent temple in honour of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The Sabines being routed and dispersed, Tarquin entered their country, which now lay exposed to him; and, having plundered their lands, returned to Rome, loaded with booty, and crowned with glory. During the winter, he made the necessary preparations for besieging their fortified places, during the next campaign. But, in the mean time, the Sabines, despairing of success, humbled themselves so far, as to send deputies to Tarquin, offering to put him in possession of all their fortresses, upon honourable conditions. The king treated them favourably; delivered up to them their prisoners without ransom; and, having taken possession of their country, returned to Rome, and entered the city in triumph^c.

He defeats them in a third battle.

The Sabines submit, and are treated with clemency.

^b Liv. lib. i. cap. 37.

^c Liv. *ibid*.

*The temple
of Jupiter,
&c. on the
Capitol.*

Tarquin, being now advanced in years, thought only of enjoying the sweets of repose after his great labours, and continual victories. However, in consequence of the vow he had made to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, he levelled the top of the hill Tarpeius, marked out the plan of the temple, and laid the foundations of that glorious structure, which afterwards became the principal place of the Roman worship. And now the celebrated Nævius appears again upon the stage: this augur being consulted about what part of Rome Jupiter would like best, declared for the hill Tarpeius, formerly Saturnius. But, when they came to consecrate the area, a difficulty arose about removing the gods, who had already altars on the hill, without giving them offence. By the help of augury, all these gods were consulted, and found willing to be removed, except the god Terminus, and the goddess Youth, who insisted upon not being displaced, and were consequently enclosed within the walls of the temple, which was afterwards consecrated to Jupiter, his wife Juno, and his daughter Minerva. Not long after this consecration Nævius disappeared; and, as the manner, as well as the author, of his death were utterly unknown, the sons of Ancus Marcius endeavoured to fix the calumny on the king, and, by that imputation, to stir up the people against him; but, their accusation being found groundless, the sons of Ancus were detested for having calumniated their king, and delivered up to him by the incensed multitude. Tarquin, who was naturally inclined to mercy, pardoned them, in consideration of the favours he had received from their father. Motives of religion prompted him to be more severe on a prostitute Vestal, by name Pinaria, whom he condemned to be buried alive. As this is the first instance we meet with of this kind of punishment, Tarquin is thought to have been the author of it. It was ever after inflicted on such of those priestesses as dishonoured their consecration. However, the king did not shew less esteem to the college of the Vestals; but, on the contrary, added two to their number, and encreased it to six ^d.

*He con-
demns a
to be
buried
alive.*

*The sons of
Ancus con-
spire the
death
of Tar-
quin.*

As Tarquin was now about eighty years of age, and drew near his end, the ambition of the sons of Ancus grew daily more active: they had not forgot the arts, by which Tarquin had secured to himself their father's kingdom, and had long watched an opportunity of seizing it

^d Idem ibid.

for themselves; but finding it impossible to put their design in execution, they lived quietly under his government, till he began to take proper measures for continuing the crown in his family, by marrying one of his daughters to Servius Tullius. Then they set no bounds to their resentment; but resolved to put the king to death, before the interest of his son-in-law was established among the people. The method they took for the execution of their design was this: they hired two young men, who, dressing themselves like peasants, with hatchets on their shoulders, as if they were wood-cleavers, began a feigned quarrel near the king's palace. Many of the conspirators crowded about them, under pretence of putting an end to the dispute, which still continued, till they got to the gate of the palace: then they called out on the king for justice, and were brought before him by the officers of the court. At first, they began to rail at each other, till they were restrained by a lictor, and ordered to speak by turns. Then one of them began to tell his story; and while the king was wholly intent on what he said, the other gave him a great blow on the head with his hatchet, and leaving his weapon in the wound, fled, with his companion, out of the palace. But, while some of the king's attendants hastened to his assistance, others, pursuing the assassins, seized them. When they were put to the torture, they confessed, that they had been employed by the sons of Ancus. Queen Tanaquil, who had courage and wisdom above her sex, did not lose her presence of mind, even at the sight of her dying husband: she immediately commanded the palace to be cleared of the crowd, and gave strict orders, that no person whatsoever should be admitted within the gates. Then, shutting herself up in the apartment of the expiring king, with her son-in-law Servius Tullius, his wife, and Ocrista his mother, she encouraged Servius to ascend the throne. She then opened the window, which looked into the street, where this accident had brought the people together, and, with an air of assurance, told them, that the wound was not dangerous; that the king was stunned with the blow, but was recovered, and hoped to have the pleasure of seeing his people very soon; but, in the mean time, ordered them to obey Servius Tullius, who would administer justice to them, till the king was perfectly recovered. This wise dissimulation of Tanaquil had all the success she could expect from it: the sons of Ancus, believing that the king was still alive, went of their own accord into ban-

He is assassinated in his own palace.

Queen Tanaquil by a stratagem secures the kingdom to her son-in-law.

nishment; so that the plot, which perhaps would have succeeded, had the people seen Tarquin dead, was quite defeated, upon their believing, that he was alive. The second day after the murder of Tarquin, Servius Tullius heard causes from the throne in the royal robes, and attended by the lictors; but, as he pretended only to supply the king's place, when any difficult case occurred, he promised to report it to the king. As he thought it incumbent upon him to enquire into the wicked attempt upon the king, and revenge it, he cited the sons of Ancus to appear before his tribunal; and, upon their non-appearance, caused them to be declared infamous, and their estates to be confiscated. After he had thus managed affairs for some time, and, by his prudent administration, gained the hearts of the people, the death of Tarquin was published as a thing recent, with great lamentations in the palace; and Servius, after having performed his obsequies with great pomp, appeared in public with a strong guard, and all the marks of royalty, without waiting for the election either of the senate or people*. Livy indeed tells us, that he took possession of the kingdom with the consent of the senators; but, as he was not duly elected, the people looked upon him rather as governor, than king, of Rome.

Yr. of Fl.

1775.

Ante Chr.

573.

U. C. 1-5.

*Servius
Tullius.*

The most probable account authors give of the birth and education of Servius Tullius, is as follows: he was the son of Ocrisia, a native of Corniculum, who was made captive by the Romans at the taking of that place; but who his father was, is uncertain. Dionysius Halicarnassensis tells us, that one Tullius, an officer of royal extraction, who was killed in the defence of his country, was the husband of Ocrisia, whom he left with child at his death. Tarquin made a present of this beautiful captive to his queen Tanaquil, who, being apprised of her extraction, and pleased with her polite behaviour, restored her to freedom: but as her son was born while she was in a state of slavery, the name of Servius was added to that of Tullius, which he received from his father. This is Dionysius's account. But Plutarch pretends, that Ocrisia was very young when she was carried into captivity; and that she was afterwards married to one of Tarquin's clients, by whom she had Servius†. Some have given this prince a divine origin, and made him the son of Vulcan, or, at least of the lar, or the household god, of Tar-

*His birth
and educa-
tion.*

* Dion. Hal. lib. iii. p. 186.

† Plut. de Fort. Rom.

quin's

quin's palace. Perhaps by the god of the royal palace they meant Tarquin himself. But, however that be, it is certain, that Tarquin expressed all the tenderness of a father for Servius, and took particular care of his education. Tanaquil, who was no less fond of him than her husband, in order to gain him the greater veneration and esteem among the people, with what political view is not known, spread a report, which the credulous people believed, that a sudden flame, in form of a crown, surrounded the head of Servius, while he was a child, and asleep in her apartment^s. Yet, notwithstanding the great favour shewn him by the king and queen, it was chiefly by an uniform and wise conduct, that he raised himself to the throne. He was distinguished in the army by his gallant behaviour; and his extraordinary abilities in council so conciliated the esteem and affection of the people, that he was unanimously raised to the rank of a patrician, and a place in the senate. The king then married him to an illustrious Roman lady, by name Gegania; and, upon her death, as his merit and fame daily encreased, Tarquin thought it no dishonour to his family to give him his daughter Tarquinia in marriage. From this time the court set no bounds to the favours they bestowed upon him. The king reposed an entire confidence in him, trusting him with the management both of his domestic concerns, and the affairs of the public; in which he acquitted himself so well, that the people were no less satisfied with his conduct than with the king's: and this popularity upon the death of her father-in-law, paved his way to the throne.

Servius, notwithstanding his superior merit, looked upon himself as chiefly indebted to Fortune for his grandeur; he therefore erected an incredible number of temples and altars to her, under the names of Fortuna Primigenia, Fortuna Obsequens, Fortuna Privata, Fortuna Virgo, Fortuna Virilis, &c. As he proposed Numa for his pattern, and designed to establish as much order in the civil as that wise prince had settled in the religious polity of Rome, to gain himself respect from the people, he pretended to have a private correspondence with the goddess Fortune, as Numa had maintained an intercourse with Egeria^b. However, the beginning of his reign was not without disturbances and dissensions. The sons of Ancus Marcius had a strong party among the patricians,

*The honour
he pays to
the goddess
Fortune.*

^s Liv. lib. i. cap. 41.

^b Plot. Quæst. Rom. p. 281.

*He gains
the people
to his in-
terest.*

who thought it beneath them to be governed by a man born in slavery : besides, it had been hitherto customary in Rome not to proceed to the election of a king, till after an interregnum ; and this rule, established ever since Romulus's time, Servius had broken through, taking the power into his own hands, without the order or consent of the people. Complaints of this nature were at first dropped, as it were, accidentally, in private assemblies ; but at last produced an almost general conspiracy. The senators agreed among themselves to force the new king, the first time they assembled, to lay down his authority, to establish an interregnum, and then to proceed to the free election of another king. Servius, in this emergency, endeavoured to gain the people, and make use of them against the senate. As he was a man of great eloquence, instead of the senate, he assembled the people, and placing one of the two grandsons of the late king on each side of him, made an artful and moving speech to the multitude. He entreated them to be joint-guardians with him of the offspring of a prince whose memory ought to be dear to them ; he promised to protect the people against the patricians ; to pay all their debts ; and to divide among them the lands taken from the enemy. Nor were his promises fallacious : in a few days, he commanded all those who were in debt to send him an account of their debts, and the names of their creditors ; and, opening counting-houses in the forum, paid there all the debtors bills with his own money. He moreover published an edict, commanding all those who had usurped lands belonging to the public, to quit them at an appointed time ; and ordered the Roman citizens, who had no lands of their own, to petition for them. In short, he revived many of the laws of Romulus and Numa, which were become obsolete, and made several new regulations in favour of the common people, who were in many things put upon an equality with the senators and patricians †.

Though Servius was naturally more inclined to works of peace than to military exploits, yet he found himself obliged to engage in a long war with the Veientes, and the rest of the Etrurians, who had shaken off the yoke, pretending, that their obligations to be subject to Rome were dead with Tarquin, who had subjected them. But Servius, taking the field, soon subdued them anew, and

† Dion. Halic. lib. iv. cap. 236.

depriving

depriving them of their lands, transferred the property of them to such of the new citizens of Rome as had yet no lands. For this victory he obtained, by the favour of the people, in opposition to the senate, the honours of a triumph; and entered Rome with all the pomp which Tarquin had introduced in public shews¹.

*He defeats
the Hetrurians.*

Servius, finding the people entirely attached to his interest, resolved to take advantage of their present favour, to render his title to the throne less disputable. Accordingly, he assembled the citizens; and, in a moving speech, which drew tears from their eyes, complained of a design formed by the patricians to take away his life, and to bring back the sons of Ancus; and this for no other reason, but because he was too kind to the common people. In the close of his speech, he left the kingdom to their disposal, begging them to determine between him and his pupils on one side, and their competitors on the other. Servius had no sooner ended his speech, than he came down hastily from the tribunal, in order to leave the assembly; but they even used violence to stop him, entreating him to be their king, and encouraging him not to fear the plots of his enemies. Then some, whom the king had dispersed among the multitude for that purpose, cried with a loud voice, "Let the curiæ be assembled without delay, that we may elect Servius to be our king." In the mean time that prince, though at the bottom of the whole intrigue, affected to act only in compliance with the inclination of the people. "I am glad (said he), to find you have gratitude for the good offices I have done you. You may," continued he, with an air of indifference, "do just as you please." Accordingly, a day was appointed, and Servius was unanimously elected^m. However, as the senate, whose faction was formidable, could never be brought to confirm the election, Servius deliberated with himself, whether he should not renounce the dignity conferred on him by the people. But having imparted his uneasiness and perplexity to Tanaquil, she removed his apprehensions, and even prevailed upon him to take an oath, whereby he engaged never to resign the crown. This great queen died soon after: and Servius omitted nothing that could contribute towards transmitting the remembrance of her noble actions to posterity. To immortalize her domestic virtues, the true glory of a wo-

He is legally elected by the curiæ.

¹ Fast Capit. & Dion. Hal. p. 232.
Dion. Hal. lib. iv. p. 218.

^m Liv. lib. i. cap. 41.

man, he hung up her distaff in the temple of Hercules^a.

*'He enlarges
Rome.*

*Adds a
fourth tribe
to the three
old ones.*

*Institutes
the compita-
lia.*

*Divides
the Romans
into tribes.*

Servius, soon after his election, marched against the rebellious Hetrurians, reduced them, and was, on that account, honoured with a second triumph. After this victory, he employed all his attention in adorning and enlarging the city. To the hills Palatinus, Tarpeius, Quirinalis, Cœlius, Aventinus, he added the Esquilinus and Viminalis, enclosing them within the limits of the city, and fixing his own palace on the Esquilinus, in order to draw inhabitants thither. He likewise added a fourth tribe to the three originally established by Romulus, calling it Tribus Esquilina. The public imposts and taxes were raised by laying a certain sum on every tribe; hence the public subsidies were called tributes; and those who commanded the tribes in war, were from them named tribunes, though that name was afterwards given to several sorts of magistrates. The law which obliged each inhabitant to continue in the tribe in which he was born, established great regularity in levying both the militia and the taxes. Servius made likewise a law, that a piece of money should be paid, upon every death, into the temple of the goddess Libitina, who presided over funerals; another into the temple of Juno Lucina, upon every birth; and another into the temple of Youth, as soon as any person was past the state of childhood. By these means the number of Roman citizens was known, especially of such as were able to bear arms. No regard had hitherto been had at Rome to slaves; but Servius, perhaps to do honour to his first condition, extended his care even to them, ordering little wooden oratories to be erected in all the cross-ways of the several quarters of the city; these he consecrated to the dii compitales, or gods of the cross-ways; and appointed slaves only to be priests of these gods, who had their particular festival, on which masters gave their slaves rest from all labour; and by this act of humanity gained their good-will^o.

That an equal order might be established in the country, as well as in the city, the king divided the whole Roman territory into distinct tribes, commanding that there should be at least one place of refuge in each tribe, situated on a rising-ground, and strong enough to secure the effects of the peasants, in case of a sudden alarm. These strong places he called pagi, that is, villages; and

^a Plin. lib. iii. cap. 7.

^o Liv. lib. i. cap. 43, 44.

commanded

commanded that each of them should have its peculiar temple, tutelary god, and magistrates. Each of them had likewise its peculiar festival, called paganalia, when every person was to pay into the hands of those who presided at the sacrifices, a piece of money, the men of one kind, the women of another, and the children of a third. By this institution, an exact computation was made of the men, women, and children in each tribe ².

In the mean time, his two wards, Lucius Tarquinius, and Arunx, the grand-children of Tarquin, being grown up, in order to secure their fidelity, he married them to his two daughters. And though the elder of these daughters, who was of a mild and tractable disposition, resembled in character the younger of his pupils, as the elder of his pupils did the younger of his daughters, who was of a violent and vicious temper, yet he thought it adviseable to give his elder daughter to Tarquin, and the younger to Arunx; for thus he matched them according to their ages, and at the same time hoped, that the elder Tullia's sweet disposition would temper Tarquin's impetuosity, and the younger Tullia's vivacity rouse the indolence of Arunx.

During the public rejoicing for this double marriage, the twelve lucumonies of Hetruria, uniting their forces, attempted to shake off the Roman yoke; but were in several battles defeated by Servius, and obliged to submit to him on the same conditions on which they had submitted to his predecessor. For this success Servius was honoured with a third triumph ³.

The king, being thus disengaged from a troublesome war, returned to the pursuit of his political schemes, and put in execution that great engine of policy which Rome made use of ever after, and which established a perpetual order and regularity in all the members of the state, with respect to wars, to the public revenues, and the suffrages of the comitia. The public supplies had hitherto been raised upon the people at a certain sum a-head, without any distinction of rich and poor: whence it likewise followed, that when levies were made for the war, the rich and poor were equally obliged to take the field, according to the order of their tribe; and as they all served at their own expence, the poorer sort could not support the charges of a campaign. Besides, as the most indigent of the people saw themselves burdened with the same taxes

*Marries
his two
daughters
to the
grand-sons
of the late
king.*

*Reduces the
twelve lu-
cumonies of
Hetruria.*

*He insti-
tutes the
census.*

² Dion. Hal. p. 220.

³ Fast. Capit.

as the rich, they pretended to an equal authority in the comitia : so that the election of kings and magistrates, the making of peace or war, and the judging of criminals, were given up into the hands of a populace who were easily corrupted, and had nothing to lose. Servius formed a project to remedy these evils, and put it in execution, by enacting a law, enjoining all the Roman citizens to bring in an account in writing of their own names and ages, and of those of their fathers, wives, and children. By the same law, all heads of families were commanded to deliver in upon oath a just estimate of their effects, and to add to it the places of their abode, whether in town or country. Whoever did not bring in an account of his effects, was to be deprived of his estate, to be beaten with rods, and publicly sold for a slave. Servius, from these particular accounts, which might be pretty well relied on, undertook to ease the poor by encreasing the burdens of the rich, and, at the same time, to please the latter, by augmenting their power and influence^r.

*Divides
the Roman
citizens
into six
classes, and
these into
centuries.*

To this end, he divided the Roman people into six classes : the first class consisted of those whose estates and effects amounted to the value of ten thousand drachmæ, or a hundred thousand asēs (C) of brass ; the first way of computing being used by the Greeks, and the latter by the Latins. This class was subdivided into fourscore centuries, or companies of foot. To these Servius joined eighteen centuries of Roman knights, who fought on horseback ; and appointed that this considerable body of horsemen should be at the head of the first class, because the estates of these knights, without all doubt, exceeded the sum necessary to be admitted into it. However, the public supplied them with horses, for which a tax was laid upon widows, who were exempt from all other tri-

^r Dion. Hal. lib. iv. p. 223. Liv. ubi supra. Aul. Gell. lib. xvi.

(C) As was a pound weight of brass, consisting of twelve equal parts, or ounces. Uncia, one ounce ; sextans, two ; quadrans, three ; triens, four ; quincunx, five ; semis, six ; septunx, seven ; bes, eight ; dodrans, nine ; dextans, ten ; deunx, eleven ; as, twelve, or a pound weight, or the whole of an estate, which was gene-

rally divided in the same manner, in the last wills of the Romans. For example : “ tres instituit (Cæsar) hæredes. C. Octav. ex dodrante, & L. Plin. & Q. Ped. ex quadranti ;” i. e. three-fourths to Octavius ; and to the other two the remaining fourth. When a man inherited the whole estate, he was said to be “ ex asse hæres.”

butes.

butes. This first class, including infantry and cavalry, consisted of ninety-eight centuries. The second class comprehended those whose estates were valued at seven thousand five hundred drachmæ, or seventy-five thousand ases of brass. It was subdivided into twenty centuries, all foot: to these were added two centuries of carpenters, smiths, and other artificers. In the third class were those who were esteemed worth five thousand drachmæ, or fifty thousand ases. This class was subdivided into twenty centuries. The fourth class was of those whose effects were rated at the value of five hundred drachmæ, or twenty-five thousand ases, and was divided into twenty centuries: to which were added two other centuries of trumpets, and blowers of the horn, who supplied the whole army with this martial music. The fifth class included those only whose whole substance did not amount to more than twelve hundred and fifty drachmæ, or twelve thousand five hundred ases; and this class was divided into thirty centuries. The sixth class comprehended all those who were not worth so much as those of the fifth class: they exceeded in number any other class, but nevertheless were reckoned but as one century*.

The wise king drew from these regulations all the advantages he had expected. Levies for the army were no longer raised by tribes, nor were taxes laid at so much a head, as formerly, but all was levied by centuries. When, for instance, an army of twenty thousand men, or a large supply of money, was wanted for the war, each century furnished its quota both of men and money: so that the first class, which contained more centuries, though fewer men, than all the other together, furnished more men and more money for the public service, than the whole Roman state besides. By this institution, the Roman armies consisted, for the most part, of the rich citizens of Rome, who, as they had lands and effects to defend, fought with more resolution, while their riches enabled them to bear the expence of a campaign. As it was but just the king should make the first class amends for the weight laid on it, he gave it almost the whole authority in public affairs, changing the comitia by curiæ, in which every man gave his vote; into comitia by centuries, in which the majority was not reckoned by single persons, but by centuries, how few soever there might be in a century. Hence the first class, which contained more centuries than the other

Advantages accruing from this division.

* Liv. lib. i. cap. 43.

five taken together, had every thing at its disposal. The votes of this class were first taken; and if the ninety-eight centuries agreed, or only ninety-seven of them, the affair was determined, because these made the majority of the hundred and ninety-three centuries, which composed the six classes. If they disagreed, then the second, the third, and the other classes in their order, were called to vote, though there was very seldom any occasion to go to the fourth class for a majority of votes: so that, by this good order, Servius brought the affairs of the state to be determined by the judgement of the most considerable citizens, who understood the public interest better than the multitude, liable to be imposed upon, and easily corrupted.

*The census
and lustrum.*

The people being thus divided into different orders, according to the census or valuation of their estates, Servius resolved to solemnize this prudent regulation by some public act of religion, that it might be the more respected, and the more lasting. Accordingly, all the citizens were commanded to appear, on a day appointed, in the Campus Martius, which was a large plain, lying between the city and the Tiber, formerly consecrated by Romulus to the god Mars. Here the centuries being drawn up in battalia, a solemn lustration, or expiatory sacrifice, was performed, in the name of all the people. The sacrifice consisted of a sow, a sheep, and a bull, whence it took the name of *suovetaurilia*. The whole ceremony was called *lustrum*, à *luendo*; that is, from paying, expiating, clearing, or perhaps from the goddess Lua (D), who presided over expiations, and to whom Servius had dedicated a temple. This wise king, considering, that in five years there might be such alterations in the fortunes of private persons, as to intitle some to be raised to a higher class, and make it necessary to reduce others to a lower,

(D) The name of this goddess was lost through the ignorance of editors, but brought to light again by Justus Lipsius, in his commentaries on Tacitus: for that ancient writer tells us, that Servius Tullius consecrated an altar to the goddess Lua. But the editor, not knowing who this goddess was, changed the word Lua into Luna, as if Servius had dedicated an altar to the moon.

Lipsius corrects this mistake, and shews that Lua was the goddess to whom the sacrifice of the lustrum was offered. As she was the goddess of expiations, the lustrum probably took its name from her, as she did hers from the word *leo*, which signifies *to pay*, because on that day every one paid his quota of the tax laid on his century.

enjoined, that the census should be renewed every five years. As the census was usually closed by the lustrum, the Romans henceforth began to compute time by lustrums, each lustrum containing the space of five years. Some writers are of opinion, that Servius at this time coined the first money which had ever appeared at Rome; and add, that the circumstances of the lustrum probably led him to stamp the figures of the animals there slain, on pieces of brass of a certain weight. It is past all doubt, that money was called pecunia, from the word *pecus*, which signifies *cattle*; a name which continued to be given to all coins, when the impressions on them were changed into more noble figures[†].

The government of the city being thus established in so regular a manner, Servius, remembering his former servile condition, and touched with compassion for those whom the misfortunes of an unsuccessful war had reduced to slavery, thought that such of them as had by long and faithful services deserved and obtained their freedom, were much more worthy of being made Roman citizens than untractable vagabonds from foreign countries, who were admitted without distinction. He therefore gave the freedmen their choice, either to return to their own country, or continue at Rome. Those who chose to continue there he divided into four tribes, and settled them within the city; and though they were distinguished from the plebeians by their old name of *liberti*, or freedmen, yet they enjoyed all the privileges of free citizens. The senate took offence at the regard which the king shewed to such a mean people, who had very lately shaken off their fetters; but Servius, by a most humane and judicious discourse, entirely appeased the fathers, who passed his institution into a law, which subsisted ever after[‡].

This sage monarch, having thus established order among the people, undertook at last to reform the royal power itself. His predecessors had reserved to themselves the cognizance of all causes both public and private; but Servius, finding the duties of his office too much for one man to discharge well, committed the cognizance of ordinary suits to the senate, and reserved that only of state-crimes to himself[§].

All things being now regulated at home, both in the city and country, Servius turned his thoughts abroad, and

He gives the freedmen the privilege of Roman citizens.

Reforms the royal power.

[†] Dion. Hal. & Liv. *ibid.*
227.

[‡] Idem. *ibid.*

[§] Dion. Hal. lib. iv. p. 226.

*Secures the
fidelity and
friendship
of the La-
tins and
Sabines.*

formed a scheme for attaching the Sabines and Latins to the Romans, by such social ties as should be strengthened by religion. He summoned the Latin and Sabine cities to send their deputies to Rome, to consult about an affair of great importance. When they were assembled, he proposed to them the building of a temple in honour of Diana, where the Latins and Sabines should meet once a year, and join with the Romans in offering sacrifices to that goddess; that this festival should be followed by a council, in which all disputes between the cities should be amicably determined, and proper measures taken to pursue their common interest. The king's design met with no opposition: the deputies only added, that the temple should be an inviolable asylum for the united nations, and that all the cities should contribute towards the expence of building it. It being left to the king to choose a proper place, he pitched upon the Aventine hill, where the temple was built, and here assemblies were annually held. The laws to be observed at these general meetings, were engraved on a pillar of brass, and were to be seen in Augustus's time, in the Latin tongue, but in Greek characters *.

*Wicked in-
trigues of
Tarquin
and the
younger
Tullia.*

Servius was now grown old, and the ambition of Tarquin, his son-in-law, revived, in proportion as the king advanced in years. His wife used her utmost endeavours to check the rashness and fury of her husband, and divert him from all criminal enterprizes, while her younger sister, a domestic fury, was ever instigating Arunx, who placed all his happiness in a private life, to the most villainous attempts. Similitude of temper and manners formed, by degrees, a great intimacy between her and Tarquin. At length she proposed nothing less to him than the murder of her father, sister, and husband, that they two might wed and ascend the throne together. They accordingly paved their way to an incestuous marriage; he by poisoning his wife, and she her husband; and then had the assurance to ask the king's and queen's consent to their marriage. Servius and Tarquinia, though they did not give it, were silent, through too much indulgence to a daughter, in whom their only hope of posterity was now placed. But these criminal nuptials served only as the first step towards a yet greater iniquity: the wicked ambition of the new-married couple first shewed itself against the king; they publicly declared that the crown belonged

* Dion. Hal. lib. iv. p. 230.

to them ; that Servius was an usurper, who, being appointed tutor to Tarquin's grand-children, had deprived his pupils of their inheritance ; that it was high time for an old man, who was but little able to support the weight of public affairs, to give place to a prince who was of a mature age, and in all respects qualified to reign.

The patricians, whom Servius had taken great pleasure in humbling, were easily gained to Tarquin's party ; and, by the help of money, many of the poorer citizens were also brought over to his interest. The king, being informed of their treasonable practices, endeavoured to dissuade his daughter and son-in-law from such proceedings, which might end in their ruin ; and exhorted them to wait for the kingdom till his death. But they, despising his counsels and paternal admonitions, resolved to lay their claim before the senate ; which Servius was obliged to summon : so that the affair came to a formal process. Tarquin reproached his father-in-law with having ascended the throne without a previous interregnum, and with having bought the votes of the people, and despised the suffrages of the senate. He then urged his right of inheritance to the crown, and the injustice of Servius, who, being only his guardian, had kept possession of it, when he himself was of an age to govern. Servius answered, that he had been lawfully elected by the people ; and that, if there could be an hereditary right to the kingdom, the sons of Ancus had a much better title than the grandsons of the late king, who must himself have been an usurper. He then referred the whole to an assembly of the people ; which being immediately proclaimed all over the city, the forum was soon filled ; and Servius harangued the multitude in such a manner as gained all their affections. They cried out, with one voice, " Let Servius reign ; let him continue to make the Romans happy." Amidst their confused clamours, these words were likewise heard ; " Let Tarquin perish ; let him die ; let us kill him." These exclamations alarmed him so much, that he retired to his house in great haste ; while the king was conducted back to his palace amidst the acclamations of the people.

They gain over the patricians.

Tarquin lays his claim before the senate.

Servius is confirmed by the people on the throne.

The ill success of this attempt cooled Tarquin's ardent desire of reigning ; but his ambition prompted him to act a new part. He undertook to regain the favour of his father-in-law by caresses, submission, and protestations of

Tarquin regains the king's favour.

*Tarquin's
bold at-
tempt.*

a sincere regard and affection for him; insomuch that the king, who judged of the probity of others from his own heart, was sincerely reconciled to him, and tranquillity re-established in the royal family. But it was not long before Tarquin, roused by the continual reproaches of his wife, began to renew his intrigues among the senators, of whom he had no sooner gained a considerable party, than he put in execution a stratagem which surprised the people by its novelty, and succeeded by the boldness of its execution: he cloathed himself in the royal robes, and, causing the fasces to be carried before him by some of his domestics, crossed the Roman forum, entered the temple, where the senate used to meet, and seated himself on the throne. Such of the senators as were of his faction he found already in their places (for he had given them private notice to be there early); and the rest being summoned to assemble in king Tarquin's name, made what haste they could to the appointed place, thinking that Servius was dead, since Tarquin assumed the title and functions of king. When they were all assembled, Tarquin made a long speech, reviling his father-in-law, and repeating the invectives against him which he had so often uttered, calling him a slave, an usurper, a favourer of the populace, and an enemy to the senate and patricians. When he was yet speaking, Servius arrived, and, rashly giving way to the motions of his courage, without considering his strength, drew near the throne to pull Tarquin down from it. This struggle raised a great noise in the assembly, which drew the people into the temple; but nobody ventured to part the two rivals. Tarquin, therefore, being more strong and vigorous, seized the old man by the waist, and hurrying him through the temple, threw him down from the top of the steps into the forum. The king, who was grievously wounded, raised himself up with some difficulty; but all his friends had abandoned him; only two or three of the people, touched with compassion, lent him their arms to conduct him to his palace.

*Tullia's
unheard-of
cruelty.*

As they were leading him on slowly, the cruel Tullia appeared in the forum, whither she had hastened in her chariot, on the first report of what had passed in the senate. She found her husband on the top of the steps of the temple, and, transported with joy, was the first who saluted him king. Her example was immediately followed by the senators of Tarquin's party. This unnatural daughter, not content to see her father thus deposed, took her husband aside, and suggested to him, that he would
never

never be safe, so long as the usurper of his crown was alive. Tarquin, thus stimulated, instantly dispatched some of his domestics to take away the remains of the unfortunate king's life. The orders for the wicked parricide were no sooner given, than Tullia mounted her chariot again, with an air of triumph, to return home. The way to her house was through a narrow street, called Vicus Cyprius (E), or the Good Street. There the assassins had left the king's body, which was still panting. At this sight, the charioteer, struck with horror, checked his horses, and made a stop. "Why don't you go on?" (cried Tullia to him) "What stops you?" The charioteer, turning about to her, "Alas!" (said he), "it is the body of the king your father!" At these words Tullia, catching up a stool that was in the chariot, and throwing it at his head, "Go on, (she cried), and don't be afraid of driving over a dead body." The charioteer obeyed; the blood of the father is said to have dyed the wheels of the chariot, and even the cloaths of the inhuman daughter; and hence the street was called ever after Vicus Sceleratus, the Accursed or Unnatural Street. Such was the end of Servius Tullius, after he had lived seventy-four, and reigned forty-four years.

Servius is murdered by Tarquin, who usurps the throne.

He was a prince of eminent justice and moderation, and made Rome more formidable by a peace of twenty years, than his predecessors had rendered it by a course of victories. He was beloved by the people, esteemed by the patricians, and perhaps would have had no enemies, if he could have preserved the affections of his own family. Tarquin, not suffering his obsequies to be performed with the usual pomp, lest the people might, on that occasion, rise up in arms, and revenge his death, Tarquinia conveyed the body of her husband privately by night to his tomb, and the night following died herself; but whether of grief, or by her own hands, or by the wickedness of Tullia, is uncertain. The veneration which the people had for this king's memory seems to have placed him among the gods; for the slaves annually celebrated his festival in the temple of Diana Aventina, on the anniversary of his death.

The character of Servius.

Death of Tarquinia.

Tarquin, having thus possessed himself of the throne by a most wicked parricide, behaved, during the whole of

(E) The word *cyprius*, according to Varro, is an old Sabine word, signifying *good* or *happy*; for this street, as the same author informs us, was first inhabited by the Sabines.

Yr. of Fl.
1819.
Ante Chr.

529.
V. C. 219.

Tarquin II.
His ty-
ranny.

his reign, like a cruel and despotic tyrant. In the very beginning of it, the surname of Proud was given him, on account of his haughty disposition. As he had ascended the throne without a previous interregnum, and despised the suffrages of the people, and approbation of the senate, he communicated no affairs of state either to the senate or people. All controversies whatsoever he decided himself, assisted by his intimate friends; and banished, fined, and even executed by his own authority. To prevent the natural consequences of his tyranny, he kept constantly a strong guard about his person, consisting mostly of strangers, who were ready, on all occasions, to execute his pleasure. Wealth and merit became unpardonable crimes, as plainly appeared in the murder of M. Junius, a venerable old man, the father of the famous Brutus, who afterwards destroyed the regal power. This Junius was descended of a noble family, and possessed an ample patrimony; on which considerations Tarquin the elder had given him his daughter in marriage. The new king, to get possession of his estate, caused both him and his other son to be assassinated, Brutus escaping, by counterfeiting madness. The principal members of the senate retired into voluntary banishment, to avoid the effects of the king's cruelty and avarice. The people, who had rejoiced at first to see the senate humbled, were, in their turn, as ill treated as the senators, and all the laws made in their favour annulled. Informers were dispersed all over the city, to watch the words and behaviour of every citizen; and the worst construction was put upon every thing. All assemblies of the people, even for diversion and recreation, were prohibited both in the city and country².

Gains a
strong party
among
the Latins.

But, as he was well apprised that the people would, sooner or later, attempt to shake off the yoke, and recover their ancient privileges and freedom, he turned his thoughts to gain a strong party among foreigners; and, with this view, married his daughter to Octavius Mamilius, a man of great interest among the Latins. Mamilius indeed did his utmost to bring over a great many leading men of his country to the interest of his father-in-law; and his solicitations succeeded; but the king had like to have lost them by his haughty behaviour: he had invited the Latins to meet in a national assembly at Ferentinum, on a day appointed by himself. The deputies came and

² Dion. Hal. lib. iv. p. 244—246. & Liv. lib. i. cap. 49.

took their places in the sacred grove : but as Tarquin did not appear, after they had waited some hours, the assembly grew impatient ; and Herdonius, an enterprising man, who hated Tarquin, took this occasion of inveighing against him. His speech made no small impression upon the assembly ; Mamilius, however, prevailed upon them to adjourn the council till the next day. Then Tarquin appeared, and having first made a frivolous excuse for his absence, acquainted the assembly, that his business with them was to demand his right of commanding the Latin armies, a right which he derived by inheritance from his grandfather. Upon this declaration, a profound silence ensued, till Herdonius, stepping into the midst of the assembly, uttered a bitter invective against Tarquin, and represented the fatal consequences of admitting his proposal. Tarquin, disconcerted by the boldness of the orator, desired that the assembly might sit again the following day, when he promised to answer the invectives of Herdonius.

In the mean time, having corrupted some of this Latin's domestics, he engaged them to hide a great quantity of arms in their master's baggage. Next morning, he entered the assembly with an air of confidence ; and after having told them, that the malice of Herdonius against him was wholly owing to his having refused him his daughter in marriage, he accused his adversary of having laid a plot to cut off all the deputies present, and to usurp a tyranny over the Latin cities. In proof of this charge, he informed them of the arms concealed in Herdonius's baggage. The accused, knowing nothing of those arms, consented to be adjudged guilty, if, upon examination, the fact alleged should be found true. Accordingly, his baggage was searched ; and the arms being found, and brought into the assembly, the innocent Herdonius was immediately sentenced to be thrown into a basin at the head of the spring of Ferentinum ; where a hurdle being laid upon him, and stones heaped upon it, he was pressed down into the water, and drowned ^a.

The Latins, not doubting that Herdonius was guilty of the crime laid to his charge, looked upon Tarquin as their deliverer, renewed the treaty made with his grandfather, and declared him general of the Latin armies. Not long after this transaction, the Hernici, and two cantons of the Volsci, entered into an alliance with him upon the same

His treacherous contrivance to destroy Herdonius.

Declared general of the Latin armies.

^a Dion. Hal. p. 247. Liv. lib. i. cap. 50, 51.

*The Ferie
Latinae.**Assisted by
the Latins,
he defeats
the Volsci,
and sub-
dues the
Sabines.*

terms. Tarquin, to secure the fidelity of his new allies, erected, with their approbation, a new temple in the midst of them, on a hill near the ruins of Alba, which he consecrated to Jupiter Latialis. There the diets of the confederate cantons were to assemble; and these assemblies were called latia. The twenty-seventh of April was the day appointed for their annual meeting, and had the name of Feriæ Latinæ^b. The Romans, as the chief members of the alliance, always presided at the sacrifices and deliberations. The diet consisted of forty-seven deputies from so many cities, who formed the Latin association, which was afterwards the best part of the Roman strength, and contributed more than all the rest of Italy to the conquest of the world.

With the assistance of the Latins, Tarquin thought himself in a condition to make war upon those Volsci who had refused to enter into an alliance with him; but as he could not depend upon the fidelity of the Romans, he blended them in the same legions with the Latins, who, till his time, had constituted a separate corps. The inhabitants of Sueſſa Pometia (F), one of the most flourishing cities of the Volsci, were the first who felt the effects of this new alliance. They had plundered the territories of their neighbours: Tarquin, laying hold of this pretence to begin the war, marched against them, defeated their army, laid siege to their city, and, having taken it by storm, gave the plunder of it to his troops, reserving only the tenth part of the spoil towards the expence of finishing the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus^c. He then turned his arms against the Sabines, who had committed some depredations in the Roman territories, gained two complete victories over them, and made the whole Sabine nation tributary. Upon his return to Rome, where he triumphed twice^d, he undertook to finish the common sewers and the great circus; and having obliged the idle populace to work, without any other reward than that of a poor maintenance, soon brought to perfection those two structures which his grandfather had begun^e.

^b Dion. Hal. lib. iv. p. 250.
Capitol. ^c Dion. Hal. p. 251.

^e Liv. lib. i. cap. 53.

^d Fassi

(F) Dionysius Halicarnassensis reckons Sueſſa Pometia among the most wealthy cities of the Volsci. It was called Pometia, to distinguish it from

another Sueſſa in the country of the Aurunci, beyond the Liris. It stood between Cora and Velitrae, at a small distance from these two cities.

*His war
with the
people of
Gabii.*

In the mean time, many discontented patricians, abandoning their native country, took refuge at Gabii, a city of Latium, about a hundred furlongs from Rome, and prevailed upon the inhabitants to make war upon Tarquin. This war lasted seven years, with various success; during which time the Romans, who could neither sow nor reap, being afflicted with a great famine, began to murmur, and at length to demand of Tarquin, in a tumultuous manner, either peace or provisions. Their complaints and murmurs being fomented, by emissaries sent privately from the exiles at Gabii, the whole city was involved in confusion. The people seemed only to wait for a favourable opportunity to take up arms, and drive out Tarquin, the cause of all their misfortunes. The king being on one side unwilling to make a shameful peace, and apprehending, on the other, a general revolt of his subjects, was at a loss what resolution to take, and under the greatest uneasiness. But his son Sextus Tarquinius found out an expedient, no less dishonourable than artful, for extricating him out of this difficulty: he pretended to be upon very ill terms with his father, and openly inveighed against him as a tyrant. In consequence of these invectives, the king, as it had been agreed on beforehand, commanded him to be publicly beaten with rods as a rebel. This incident was no sooner known at Gabii, than the inhabitants, desirous to have Sextus among them, made him privately great offers; which he readily accepted, after they had solemnly promised never to deliver him up to his father upon any pretence whatsoever. It is not to be imagined how agreeable Sextus's arrival was to the Gabini, or what hopes they founded on their gaining over a prince who was so much valued by the Romans. From that time, they looked upon Rome as already reduced: and, indeed, the artful Sextus played his game with all imaginable dexterity: his public and private discourse turned upon nothing but the tyranny of the king of Rome. From words he proceeded to actions. No enemy Rome ever had was more active: he often ravaged the Roman lands, and returned to Gabii, loaded with booty. His father took care to facilitate his military exploits, and sacrificed such soldiers and officers as he suspected, to the glory of his son.

*The stratagem by
which he
became
master of
that city.*

The reputation of Sextus being thus increased by the craft of his father, without the least suspicion of any intelligence between them, the Gabini placed so much confidence in his fidelity and valour, that they appointed him

Sextus Tarquinius is appointed by the Gabini commander in chief of their army.

commander in chief of their army. His authority being now sufficiently established in Gabii, he dispatched a slave, in whom he could confide, privately to Rome, to enquire of his father what he should do. The king, not thinking fit to answer either in writing, or by message, took the slave into a garden, and there struck off the heads of all the tallest poppies. Then he sent back the messenger. Sextus understood the hint; and, having assembled the Gabini, pretended to have discovered a plot to deliver him up to his father. The people pressed him to declare the conspirators, and extorted from him, as it were, by force of entreaty, the name of Antistius Petro, a man whose merit had made him the most considerable person in his country. Sextus had bribed his servants to convey among his papers some letters from the king of Rome; which being produced and read, the incensed multitude, without farther examination, immediately stoned him, and committed to Sextus the care of discovering his accomplices, and inflicting on them such punishments as he should judge proper. Thus authorised, he ordered the gates of the city to be shut; and, having sent officers into the several quarters of it, caused all the eminent men of Gabii to be inhumanly massacred. In the midst of this desolation and confusion, he opened the gates to his father, whom he had acquainted with his design, and put him in possession of the city. The Gabini sunk into the utmost despair at the sight of the tyrant, who now had their lives, their estates, and their liberty, at his disposal. But Tarquin, on this occasion, consulting good policy more than revenge, treated them with great humanity, and even entered into an alliance with them, the articles of which were written on a shield, made of the hide of an ox sacrificed on that occasion. This treaty was still to be seen at Rome in Augustus's time, in the temple of Jupiter Fictius, or Sancus, that is, the God of Fidelity ^f.

Tarquin jealous of his children.

As Tarquin was jealous even of his own children, he took care to keep them at a distance from Rome. With this view he left Sextus at Gabii, declaring him king of that city, and sent Titus and Arunx to found two new colonies, the one at Signia, and the other at Circæum, a promontory on the coast of the Tyrrhenian sea. His fourth son, Lucius Tarquinius, was allowed to remain in Rome, as not being yet of an age to give him umbrage.

^f Dion. Hal. p. 252—257. Liv. lib. i. cap. 53—55.

The Romans, being now accustomed to the yoke of an imperious master, bore it with great patience, and allowed Tarquin to enjoy a profound peace. It was at this time, that an unknown woman appeared at court, loaded with nine volumes, which she offered to sell; but demanded a very considerable price. Tarquin refusing to purchase them at her rate, she withdrew, and burnt three of them. Some time after, she returned, and demanded the same price for the remaining six. She was therefore looked upon as a mad woman, and driven away with scorn. However, after having burnt the half of them, she ventured to return a third time, asking as much for the remaining three as she had demanded for the whole nine. Tarquin, surprised at the novelty of such behaviour, caused the books to be put into the hands of the augurs, who, finding them to be the oracles of the Sibyl of Cuma, declared them to be an invaluable treasure; and advised the king to buy the three at the same price which the woman had asked for the nine. Tarquin followed their advice, and the woman, having received the sum she demanded, soon after disappeared, having first exhorted the Romans to preserve her books with great care. Tarquin appointed two persons of distinction, styled *duumviri*, to be guardians of them (G); and ordered them to be locked up in a vault, under the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, as soon as that building was finished:

*The books of
the Sibyl.*

(G) These officers were afterwards encreased to ten, and then to fifteen; and, as their numbers encreased, were called *decemviri*, *quindecimviri*, *sacris faciundis*. It was their business to consult the Sibylline books, when the senate thought proper. But recourse was never had to them, unless the republic was under, or threatened with some great calamity: as when a dangerous sedition was like to break out, when the Roman armies had been defeated, or when any of those prodigies appeared which were thought fatal to Rome. Then the *duumviri* had the care of putting in execution

whatever they thought commanded by the books of the Sibyls. They also presided over the sacrifices, and public sports, which they appointed to appease the wrath of heaven. And lastly, they ordered every thing that related to the *ludi seculares*. Their office was for life, and they were exempted from taxes, and from all civil and military employments. This magistracy continued at Rome from the time of Tarquin the Proud to the reign of the emperor Theodosius, when this and many other ancient superstitions were entirely abolished.

there they remained till they were burnt with the temple itself.

*The temple
of Jupiter
Capitolinus.*

Rome still continuing to enjoy peace, though the people were as much discontented as ever, Tarquin, in order to keep them employed, undertook the finishing of the temple of the Capitol, which his grandfather had begun. He hired, for this purpose, architects and skilful workmen out of Hetruria, and obliged his own subjects to perform the laborious part, in which only they could be serviceable. This temple, which was dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus, stood on the top of the hill Tarpeius, which had lately been inclosed within the city wall. As the workmen were digging the foundations of the temple of Jupiter, they are said to have found, very deep in the earth, the head of a man, whose features were preserved entire, and the blood as red and fresh as if it had been but newly shed: hence the place acquired the new name of Capitol. The Romans, looking upon this as a prodigy, consulted the augurs, who declared it to presage, that Rome would, in process of time, become the mistress and head of Italy (H). This interpretation encouraged Tarquin to spare no pains nor expence in raising a structure to the honour of those gods who were the authors of so glorious a destiny. Accordingly the foundations were laid, and the temple was built in a most stately manner. It stood upon eight acres of ground; was two hundred feet broad, and about two hundred and fifteen long. The front of this magnificent structure was to the south, facing the hill Palatinus, and the Forum Romanum. A hundred steps led up to it from the forum, which were divided at certain distances by large landing-places. This front consisted of three rows of columns, and the two sides of the temple were adorned with a peristyle, consisting of a double row of pillars. It was in after-ages burnt down more than once (I); but the Romans always rebuilt it,

still

§ Dion. Hal. p. 256, 260. Varro apud Laëtant.

(H) Arnobius tells us (1), Tarpeius was called Capitol, that the name of the man to whom this head belonged, was chief fortress in Rome. Tulus; so that the word Capit- (I) It was burnt in Sylla's time by the negligence of those who kept it; but Sylla rebuilt it in a more magnificent man-

(1) Arnob. contra Gentes, lib. vi.

still preserving the same proportions. The whole arch of this prodigious building was gilt both within and without (K). It contained three chapels, or rather three temples, under the same roof, one dedicated to Jupiter, another to Juno, and the third to Minerva (L). As this was a religious undertaking, the Romans assisted Tarquin in carrying it on, with more chearfulness than usual; but the honour of putting the last hand to this stately work was reserved for a Roman consul in the time of the republic^b.

While Tarquin and the Romans were thus employed, a plague breaking out at Rome, the king sent his two sons, Titus and Arunx, to consult the oracle of Delphi on the cause and cure of the contagion. The princes prepared magnificent presents for Apollo; and Junius Brutus, who was to attend them for their amusement, resolved to carry his offering also. He was the son of that venerable patrician whom Tarquin had caused to be murdered in the beginning of his reign; and had long appeared as an idiot at court, whence he was known by the name of Brutus. His affected follies had something inexpressibly amusing in them, and he knew how to make use of them at proper times, and suppress them when unseasonable. He had been brought up, ever since his father's death, in the king's palace, with the princes his cousins, who were greatly diverted with his facetious sallies. The present he chose for the god was an elder-stick; which afforded matter of diversion for the whole court. However, not being ignorant that the gods of those times, or their ministers,

Tarquin sends his two sons with Brutus to consult the oracle of Delphi.

^b Dion. Hal. lib. iv. p. 257—259. Liv. lib. i. cap. 55.

ner. It was burnt a second time in the reign of Vitellius, and repaired by Vespasian. It underwent the same misfortune under Titus, and was rebuilt by Domitian, but always on the old foundations of Tarquin.

(K) The gilding of the whole arch of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was a work undertaken by the Romans, as Pliny informs (2), after the destruction of Carthage. This undertaking, if Plutarch is to be credited (3), cost twelve

thousand talents; a sum which exceeds all belief. The gates of the temple were of brass, covered with large plates of gold. The inside of the temple, and the columns which supported it, were all of marble.

(L) The inside of the temple was divided into three parts by two rows of columns, which made the nave, and the two aisles. The nave formed the chapel of Jupiter, and the two aisles the chapels of Juno and Minerva.

(2) Plin. lib. xxxiii.

(3) Plut. in Octav.

were influenced by the value of the presents, he had the precaution to inclose a rod of gold in his stick, without any person's knowledge. This was a true symbol of his own mind and conduct; for he concealed the most valuable gifts of nature under a contemptible outside. All things being prepared, they set out for Delphi; and the young princes having executed their father's commands, enquired of the oracle, which of them should be king of Rome. The god answered, that the government of Rome was reserved for him who should first kiss his mother; a response, which the princes misunderstanding, agreed to salute their mother at the same instant together, and reign jointly. But Brutus, knowing the meaning of the oracle, as soon as they arrived in Italy, pretended to fall down by chance, and kissed the earth, the common mother of all mankind¹.

*The siege of
Ardea.*

The two princes, on their return to Rome, found the city in great commotion, on account of the war which the king had declared against the Rutuli, under pretence that they had entertained some Roman exiles. He had already invested Ardea, their metropolis, which lay sixteen miles south-east of Rome. While the Romans lay before this place, the officers used to make mutual entertainments in their quarters. One day, when Sextus Tarquinius entertained his brothers, and his kinsman Collatinus, the conversation happened to turn upon the merit of their wives, every one extolling the good qualities of his own. This discourse occasioned a dispute; and, in order to end it, they agreed to mount their horses and surprise their wives. She whom they should find employed in the manner most agreeable to her sex, was, by common consent, to have the preference. Away therefore they posted first to Rome, where they found the king's daughters-in-law spending their time in feasting and diversions. From Rome they hastened to Collatia, where they found Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, in the midst of her maids, spinning and working in wool, though the night was far advanced before their arrival. They therefore unanimously gave her the preference; and, after having been entertained at her house, returned next day to the camp before Ardea².

*The rape of
Lucretia.*

Sextus, captivated with her beauty, found a pretence to return very soon to Collatia, where he was received by

¹ Dion. Hal. *ibid.* p. 264, 265. Liv. *ibid.* cap. 56.
Hal. p. 261—277. Liv. lib. i. cap. 56—60.

² Dion.

Lucretia,

Lucretia, in her husband's absence, with great civility and respect. At midnight he found means to convey himself into her bedchamber, approached her bed with his drawn sword, and, laying his hand on her breast, threatened her with present death, should she refuse to gratify his guilty passion. Lucretia awaking, and seeing death so near, was in the greatest confusion imaginable, while Sextus, endeavoured by entreaties, mixed with menaces, to obtain her compliance. But when he found, that all his eloquence proved ineffectual; and that even the fear of death could not prevail upon her to consent, he threatened her with ignominy, telling her, that if she would not yield to his desires, he would first kill her, then lay one of her slaves dead by her side, and declare, that he had only revenged the injured honour of Collatinus. The dread of infamy surmounted every other consideration in the breast of Lucretia; and Sextus, having obtained his wishes, returned early next morning to the camp. Lucretia, not being able to endure the thoughts of life after the violation she had suffered, wrote to her husband to meet her at her father's house; and then repaired to Rome. With her father Lucretius came Publius Valerius, afterwards Poplicola, and her husband was accompanied by Lucius Junius Brutus, and many other Romans of distinction; for Lucretia had acquainted them, that she had an affair of the utmost consequence to impart.

When her friends were thus assembled, she disclosed in few words the whole transaction, declared her firm resolution not to outlive the loss of her honour; and conjured them not to let the crime of Sextus Tarquinius go unpunished. They endeavoured to comfort her, observing, that there could be no guilt where the heart was innocent: but the Roman heroine, embracing her father and husband with a flood of tears, plunged a dagger, which she had concealed under her garment, into her breast, and fell dead at their feet¹. While so tragical a sight filled the spectators with grief and consternation, Brutus drew near the body of Lucretia, and, snatching the poignard out of her bosom, told her relations, that tears and lamentations could never be heard, whilst vengeance cried so loud. Then, raising the poignard, "I swear, (said he), by this blood, which was once so pure, and which nothing but the detestable villany of Tarquin could have

Her death.

Brutus encourages her relations to revenge her death.

¹ Dion. Hal. & Liv. *ibid.*

polluted,

polluted, that I will pursue Lucius Tarquinius the Proud, his wicked wife, and their children, with fire and sword; nor will ever suffer any of that family, or any other whatsoever, to reign at Rome. Ye gods, I call you to witness this my oath!" At these words he presented the dagger to Collatinus, Lucretius, Valerius, and the rest of the company; who forthwith engaged in the same solemn obligation. These noble Romans, surprised at the sudden and unexpected change in the demeanor of Brutus, believed him inspired, and gave themselves entirely up to his counsels. He then let them know, that his folly had been feigned, exhorted them to revenge the death of Lucretia, and encouraged them to shake off the shameful yoke under which they had so long groaned. Finding them all resolved to submit to his conduct, and take what measures he should judge most proper for the execution of the design, he commanded the gates to be shut, that all might be kept secret from Tarquin till such time as the people should be assembled, the dead body exposed, and a public decree passed for banishing the king. The senate being assembled, not one member opposed the banishment of Tarquin; but as they were divided in their opinions with respect to the new form of government, Brutus represented to them the absolute necessity of coming to a speedy resolution, demonstrating, that as the regal power was not consistent with the security of the state, and safety of the people, it ought not to be trusted with one man; he, therefore, proposed that two should be chosen to govern with equal authority and power. Then, because names alone gave some persons offence, he advised them to change the name of Kingdom for that of Commonwealth, and, instead of the title of King and Monarch, to give those who should govern, some more modest and popular denomination. He added, that the only expedient to keep these magistrates in awe, would be to prevent their perpetual power; and that, if they were annual, after the manner of Athens, they might learn both how to obey, and how to command. Lastly, that the name of King might not be wholly lost, he proposed giving it to one who should be charged with the care of religious matters, and be called Rex Sacrorum (M); that the employment should be

*Brutus
procures
the banish-
ment of the
Tarquins.*

(M) Dionysius Halicarnassensis gives us the following account of this institution: because the king, (says he), had in a great many respects been serviceable to the state, the common

be for life, and attended with immunity from warfare; but that the rex sacrorum should only concern himself with those religious rites which the king had charge of before. The particulars of this speech were approved of by the senate; and a decree was immediately issued for banishing the king, and all his posterity^m.

Brutus, having thus gained the senate, caused the yet bleeding Lucretia to be carried to the place where the comitia were usually held; and, placing the dead body where it might be seen by all, he ordered the people to be called together. When the multitude were assembled, he began his speech to them by explaining the mystery of his past conduct, and the necessity he had been under, for more than twenty years, of counterfeiting folly, as the only means of preserving his life, after the murder of his father and elder brother. Then he proceeded to acquaint them with the resolution the patricians had taken to depose the tyrant; and pressed them, in the strongest terms, to concur in that design. He enumerated the many crimes which had rendered Tarquin odious to his subjects; he observed, that he had poisoned his own brother and wife, murdered his lawful sovereign, and filled

Stirs up the people against him.

^m Liv. lib. i. cap. 58, 59.

commonwealth thought it very proper always to preserve the name of king in the city. Upon this account they ordered the augurs and pontifices to choose a fit person, who should engage never to meddle with civil affairs, but devote himself wholly to the care of the public worship, and to the ceremonies of religion, with the title of Rex Sacrorum (1). Livy informs us, that this dignity was inferior to that of pontifex maximus, the establishers of the commonwealth having made the rex sacrorum but a subordinate officer, even in affairs of religion, lest the name of king, which had been for-

merly so odious to the people, should still, in some measure, prove prejudicial to their liberty (2). His wife was called queen, and was one of the chief priestesses. None but patricians were admitted to this dignity. The rex sacrorum was always chosen in the comitia of the people assembled in the Campus Martius by centuries. As he was not allowed to have any concern in civil affairs, when the usual sacrifices before the electing of magistrates or generals were over, he was obliged to withdraw. So jealous were the Romans even of the shadow, of a king.

(1) Dion. Hal. lib. v. Antiquit.

(2) Liv. lib. vi.

the

the common-sewers with the bodies of the nobility; that he ascended the throne as an usurper, and continued on it as a tyrant; treacherous to his best friends, and inhuman to all his subjects; that his three sons were as tyrannical as himself, especially the elder, of which they had a dismal instance before their eyes; that since the king was absent, and the patricians were resolved to shake off the yoke, neither men, money, nor foreign aid, should be wanting, if the people were not deficient in courage. He urged, at the end of his speech, that it was shameful in them to think of commanding the Volsci, the Sabines, and other nations abroad, while they were slaves at home; and to maintain so many wars, in order to gratify the ambition of a tyrant, while they had not courage enough to undertake one for their own liberty. As for the army before Ardea, he told them, that he did not doubt but they would readily join in whatever should be agreed on in the city^a.

Yr. of Fl.

1842.

Ante Chr.

506.

U. C. 242.

A common-wealth established at Rome. Lucretius declared interrex.

The multitude, transported with joy at the thoughts of liberty, signified their consent with loud acclamations, and called for arms. But Brutus did not think fit to arm the people, till they had confirmed by their suffrages the decree of the senate, for banishing Tarquin. This decree deprived him of all the prerogatives belonging to the regal authority, condemned him, and all his posterity, to perpetual banishment, and devoted to the infernal gods every Roman who should, by any means, attempt his restoration. The curiæ being assembled, and the decree proposed, they were unanimous in confirming it. The administration being now reduced to an interregnum, Lucretius was, by the suffrages of the people, declared interrex; so that it was his business to prepare every thing for the election of the new magistrates. He therefore called the people together once more, not by curiæ, but by centuries; and directed them to come armed into the Campus Martius, in order to elect their new governors, who, according to the plan of government proposed by Brutus, and approved by the people, were to be called Consuls (N). The interrex proposed to the people Junius

^a Liv. Dion. Hal. *ibid*.

(N) Pomponius the civilian word *consulere*, as signifying, is of opinion, that the name to watch for the public good. of consul was taken from the Varro derives it from the same word,

Brutus, the head of the conspiracy, and Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, who were unanimously elected to the new dignity, and proclaimed consuls. In the mean time, Tarquin, being informed by some who had quitted the city before the gates were shut, that Brutus was raising commotions to his prejudice, hastened to Rome, attended only by his sons, and a small number of his most trusty friends; for he was little apprehensive of a conspiracy directed by one whom he despised as an idiot: but finding, to his great surprize, the gates shut, and the people in arms upon the walls, he returned, with all possible expedition, to the camp. There the army, during his short absence, had been gained over by the conspirators to their party. Livy tells us, that Brutus went in person to the camp; and that he arrived before Ardea at the same time that Tarquin appeared at the gates of Rome. Others say, that the new consuls sent

*Junius
Brutus and
Tarquinius
Collatinus
proclaimed
consuls.*

word, but in a different signification; to wit, as importing *to consult*, or *ask counsel*, because the intent of those who first instituted the consuls, was, that they should do nothing without the advice of the people and senate. The law which placed them at the head of the republic, calls them prætors and judges. We have this law still remaining, as quoted by Tully, in the third book of laws. When it was made in the comitia, which changed the monarchy into a republic, it was couched in the following words: "Reges imperio duo sunt, iique præeundo, judicando, & consulendo, prætores, judices, consules, appellantor. Militiæ summum jus habento. Nemini parento. Ollis salus populi summa lex esto." The consuls were allowed the common use of the sceptre, crown, and a habit of distinction. But Livy assures

us, that on the days of their triumphs, in the public sports, and at solemn sacrifices, they wore a crown of gold, an ivory staff, or sceptre, and a habit striped with purple, as the kings did (1). Valerius Maximus (2) tells us, that they retained at first as many lictors as the kings; to wit, twenty-four: he adds, that the consul Poplicola reduced them to twelve. But each consul was not attended by twelve lictors, neither did they divide them so as to have six a-piece; they were only guarded by twelve lictors alternately, each in his month. This ceremonial began with the two first consuls; the consul who was the oldest, or had most children, or most suffrages for the consulship, had the lictors the first month. Brutus was attended with the fasces before his colleague Collatinus.

(1) Liv. lib. xxx.

(2) Val. Max. lib. xii.

*Tarquin
abandoned
by his
army.*

letters to the camp, giving an account of the resolutions taken at Rome, and exhorting the troops to shake off the tyrannical yoke. However that be, it is certain, that, before Tarquin returned, the soldiers had been convened by centuries, and unanimously agreed to receive the decree passed in the city; so that, when Tarquin returned, they refused him admittance. The tyrant, being thus driven from his capital, and abandoned by his troops, was forced, at the age of seventy-six, to fly with his wife and children to Gabii, or, as Livy will have it, to Cære, in Hetruria. Titus Herminius and Marcus Horatius, who commanded the army under Tarquin, made a truce with the Rutuli for fifteen years; and having raised the siege of Ardea, returned to Rome with all their forces*. Thus ended the regal state of Rome, two hundred and forty-two years, according to the common computation, after the building of the city; and a new form of government was introduced, which, without any considerable alteration, subsisted till the times of the emperors.

* Dion. Hal. & Liv. ubi supra.



END OF THE NINTH VOLUME

